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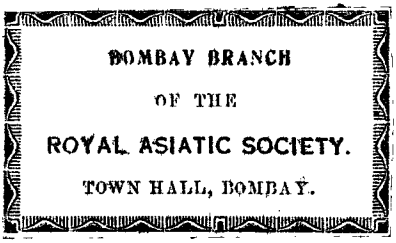

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ENCYCLOPÆDIA METROPOLITANA:

OR,

SYSTEM OF UNIVERSAL KNOWLEDGE:

ON A METHODICAL PLAN

PROJECTED BY SAMUEL TAYLOR COLERIDGE.

CABINET EDITION.

HISTORY OF THE OTTOMAN EMPIRE.

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HISTORY

OF THE

OTTOMAN EMPIRE,

INCLUDING A SURVEY OF THE

GREEK EMPIRE AND THE CRUSADES.

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BY

SAMUEL JACOB, A.B.
TRINITY COLLEGE, CAMBRIDGE.

COLONEL PROCTER,
ROYAL MILITARY ACADEMY, SANDHURST.

REV. J. E. RIDDLE, M.A.
ST MARY'S HALL, OXFORD;

AND

JAMES M'CONECHY.

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PREFACE.

UNDER the common title of a History of the Ottoman Empire the reader will find in the present volume a History of the Byzantine Empire, from its foundation by Constantine to its close by the capture of Constantinople by Mohammed the Second in 1453—a sketch of the History of the Crusades compiled from the most authentic sources—and a continuous narrative of the principal events that have distinguished the Turkish annals from the commencement of the Saracenic power in Eastern Europe to the present day. The deep interest now so universally felt in the fate of Turkey, linked as that fate has become with the interests of civilization throughout the world, has led the Publishers to use every effort to make this treatise as comprehensive as possible; and the Editor, to whom the task of preparing this volume for the press has been entrusted, entertains a confident hope that it will be found by the student of history to contain, within moderate limits, all the information that is necessary to enable him to form a correct opinion on the past and future relations of Turkey to the other states of Europe.

GLASGOW, 17*th July* 1854.

CONTENTS.

Page

CHAPTER I.

THE EASTERN EMPIRE—FROM THE FALL OF THE WESTERN EMPIRE OF THE ROMANS TO THE END OF THE EIGHTH CENTURY. From A.D. 476 to A.D. 800, ... 1

CHAPTER II.

MOHAMMED—RISE OF THE SARACEN OR MOHAMMEDAN POWER. From A.D. 569 to A.D. 632, ... 24

CHAPTER III.

PROGRESS OF THE SARACEN OR MOHAMMEDAN POWER.—THE SINGLE KHALIFATE. From A.D. 632 to A.D. 755, ... 53

CHAPTER IV.

THE KHALIFATE FROM THE RISE OF THE ABASSIDES TO THE END OF THE ELEVENTH CENTURY. From A.D. 750 to A.D. 1081, . 82

CHAPTER V.

THE FIRST CRUSADE. From A.D. 1095 to A.D. 1099, . . . 105

CHAPTER VI.

THE SECOND CRUSADE; with Supplementary Remarks on the State and Prospects of the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem after the Death of Godfrey, ... 177

CHAPTER VII.

THE THIRD CRUSADE, ... 196

Page

CHAPTER VIII.

THE FOURTH CRUSADE, ... 221

CHAPTER IX.

THE LAST FOUR CRUSADES; including a Sketch of the Byzantine Empire during their Progress, ... 246

CHAPTER X.

FROM THE RISE OF THE OTTOMAN EMPIRE TO THE CAPTURE OF CONSTANTINOPLE, A.D. 1453, ... 304

CHAPTER XI.

FROM THE CAPTURE OF CONSTANTINOPLE TO THE DEATH OF SULTAN SELIM I. From A.H. 857, A.D. 1453, to A.H. 926, A.D. 1520, . 330

CHAPTER XII.

FROM THE ACCESSION OF SULEIMAN THE GREAT TO THE PEACE OF CARLOWITZ. From A.D. 1520, A.H. 926, to A.D. 1700, A.H. 1112, 348

CHAPTER XIII.

FROM THE PEACE OF CARLOWITZ TO THE PEACE OF CAINARJE. From A.D. 1699, A.H. 1110, to A.D. 1774, A.H. 1188, . . . 378

CHAPTER XIV.

FROM THE PEACE OF CAINARJE TO THE PRESENT TIME. From A.D. 1774, A.H. 1188, to A.D. 1854, A.H. 1270. 393

HISTORY OF THE OTTOMAN EMPIRE.

CHAPTER I.

THE EASTERN EMPIRE — FROM THE FALL OF THE WESTERN EMPIRE OF THE ROMANS, TO THE END OF THE EIGHTH CENTURY.

FROM A D. 476 TO A. D. 800.

At the epoch of the final destruction of the Roman Empire in the West, the eastern division of that stupendous fabric of universal dominion still continued to present the majestic remains of pristine grandeur, and retained at least the outward aspect of splendour and power. It had sustained the rude shock of successive barbarian irruptions, less through the courage of its defenders, than by the passive solidity of its structure, and the natural strength of its position; and it had witnessed and survived the prostration of the more ancient edifice of the Roman glory before that irresistible deluge, which, after bursting through its external bulwarks, had recoiled and swept past its walls to overwhelm the whole surface of Western Europe. The receding current of invasion forsook the devastated provinces between the banks of the Danube and the shores of the Mediterranean: the remoteness of the Asiatic and African dependencies of the empire had protected them from a similar desolation. At the period, therefore, when the sword of Odoacer destroyed the last vestige of the Augustan Sovereignty in the West, the Eastern successors of Constantine still boasted an extent of dominion little diminished since the original partition of the Roman World. Of the Eastern Empire,—or to substitute a familiar title which more appropriately describes its principal nation and language, and expresses its protracted duration, the Greek or Lower Empire,—the European portion comprehended the provinces of Greece with its islands, Illyricum, Macedonia, Thrace, and Mœsia; or the whole vast tract of country bounded

by the Adriatic, the Mediterranean, the Euxine, and the Danube. Its transmarine possessions included Asia Minor, Syria, Egypt, and Lybia; and if we ask by what conservative force the people of these various and distant countries, formed of discordant races, and animated by no common sentiment of patriotism or loyalty, were held together under the same sceptre, we shall rise from the inquiry only to echo the general surprise of historians, that in the mere inheritance of the laws and arts of Rome consisted all the strength of the Eastern Empire.

During the expiring throes of the Western Empire, the throne of Constantinople was unworthily filled, as we have seen,[1] by the Isaurian Zeno. The commencement of his wicked and pusillanimous reign was disturbed by the intrigues of the Empress Verina, his mother-in-law, and the widow of his predecessor Leo, misnamed the Great. In the palace of the Eastern Empire, the influence of women and of eunuchs was supreme; and the ambition of Verina easily excited a revolt against the husband of her daughter. By the success of the conspiracy, the Isaurian was compelled to take refuge in his native mountains; and Basiliscus, the brother and creature of Verina, already infamous for his cowardice or treason in the Vandalic war,[2] was raised to the vacant throne. Except to mark the depravation of morals, the quarrels of a profligate Court are little deserving of historical record. The usurper rewarded his sister for the diadem which she had bestowed on him by the murder of her lover; and it was an offended paramour of his own wife who assisted the vengeance of Verina. By a second conspiracy of the palace, Basiliscus was hurled from the throne, Zeno was recalled, and the restless spirit of Verina was again displayed in the excitement of another revolt and the support of a second usurper. But this new enterprise, which she maintained in the provinces until the close of her life, terminated unsuccessfully; and Zeno continued to hold the sceptre in his feeble grasp until the period of his natural death. His reign is chiefly memorable for the art, or good fortune, with which he diverted the dangerous force of the Ostrogoths from the ruin of his own empire to the conquest of Italy; and the only faint shadow of glory in the life of Zeno is reflected from the alliance of the great Theodoric, who subjugated, and condescended to rule, the fairest portions of the dismembered Western Empire under the nominal supremacy of the despot of the East.[3]

[1] Vide History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire, p. 548.
[2] *Ibid.* p. 553.
[3] Theophanes, *Chronographia*, p. 111, 113, &c. and Marcellinus (*in Chron. Evagrius*) *passim.* Procopius, (*De Bello Goth.*) lib. i. c. 1. Jornandes, c. 52–57.

On the death of Zeno, the marriage of his widow Ariadne with Anastasius, a respectable officer of the imperial household, produced the elevation of her new husband to the throne of the Cæsars. The private virtues of Anastasius placed his life in strong contrast to that of his predecessor: but his domestic reign of twenty-seven years was undistinguished, except by a civil war, of which religious discussions formed the pretext; and, of its foreign events, the most remarkable was the defeat of the imperial forces in a contest, jealously and rashly provoked with the more vigorous power of Theodoric.[1] Anastasius was succeeded by Justin, an illiterate Dacian peasant, who had risen by his military merit, during a service of fifty years, to the command of the imperial guards, and who was seated by their suffrages on the vacant throne. The new emperor, at the epoch of his accession, was already advanced in years; and he gradually resigned the civil administration of government to his nephew, Justinian, whom he had previously drawn from obscurity in Dacia, and educated as his heir. On the decease of his uncle, Justinian became the sole ruler of the empire, and commenced a long, a memorable, and, on the whole, a glorious reign, of thirty-eight years.[2]

Justin. A. D. 518.

A. D. 527.

The internal and the foreign transactions of the empire during this busy period are sufficiently various and important to deserve a distinct enumeration;[3] and our notice may first be engaged by those domestic events in the government of Justinian which illustrate the personal merits and actions of the monarch, and the condition and resources of his dominions. Of the peculiar character of his reign no inconsiderable share is attributable to the influence of the extraordinary woman who was raised by his affections from the lowest degradation to the partnership of the purple. This was the famous Theodora, a comedian, a courtezan, and an empress. Without imitating the prurient taste with which a great historian has laboriously polluted his pages, by exhausting the scandalous chronicle of her vices,[4] it is only necessary to observe, that the origin

[1] Jornandes, c. 58. Marcellinus, *Chron.* p. 44-48.

[2] Marcellinus, *Chron.* p. 49, 59, &c. Zonaras, lib. xiv.

[3] The principal authority of this period is Procopius, the secretary of Belisarius, from whose various pages both the foreign and domestic events of the reign of Justinian may be collected. But the testimony of Procopius, notwithstanding the elegance and skill of his narration, is impeached by its base contradictions; and in his public History, and his more secret *Anecdotes*, he doubly disgraces himself by his adulation and his malignity.

[4] Gibbon (c. 40) has nowhere betrayed the lamentable corruption of his mind more disgustingly than in the eagerness with which he has here raked up the grossest indecencies from the Anecdotes of Procopius.

of Theodora was vile; that her youth was educated in the theatre of Constantinople, and consumed in an abandoned licentiousness which deepened the shame of a disgraceful vocation; and that on a repentant or artful retirement from a life of public and vagrant infamy, she accidentally attracted the notice of the patrician Justinian, retained sufficient beauty to captivate his fancy, and developed mental endowments which fixed his attachment, and finally ensured his confidence and respect. The Roman law forbade the marriage of a senator with a woman of servile origin or theatrical profession; but Justinian was resolved to raise his concubine to the dignified station and sacred rights of a wife; and during his uncle's life his influence obtained an imperial edict which relaxed the morality of the ancient jurisprudence, declared a glorious repentance open to the females of the theatres, and permitted them to contract the most honourable unions. The nuptials of Justinian and Theodora were immediately solemnized; she shared the subsequent exaltation of her husband; and on his accession to the purple, he gave the highest proof of the constancy of his attachment and the unbounded measure of his esteem, by associating her in honours which, in the earlier ages of the empire, his predecessors had denied to the most virtuous of consorts. She not only shared his coronation, but was seated on his throne as an equal and independent colleague; and the oaths of allegiance were administered to the provincial governors in the joint names of Justinian and Theodora, as Emperor and Empress of the East.[1]

The fidelity of Theodora to Justinian, from the hour in which she became his concubine, may be safely inferred from the silence of a malignant satirist: his reproaches of her arrogance and her avarice may be received with suspicion. It would also appear that ambition was the master passion which had subdued or absorbed her more grovelling vices; and the cruelties which are odiously opposed to her better qualities, were probably the dictates of her political fears. To the wisdom of her counsels, Justinian himself has bequeathed a questionable testimony:[2] but it is certain that he was more than once indebted for the safety of his throne to the strength of her resolution. In balancing the weight of her virtues and her vices, a large allowance is due to the demoralizing influence of her education, the corruption of her age and country, and the precarious tenure of her power. Upon this estimate some indulgence, and even honour, may be claimed for the memory of a woman who raised herself from the infamy of the theatre to the dignity of the throne, whose moral energies were equal to a con-

[1] *Novell.* viii. lit. 3. [2] *Ibid.* viii. lit. 1.

quest over the habitual licentiousness of her youth, and whose mental firmness and prudence sustained the administration of an empire. After a reign of twenty-two years she sank under the slow tortures of a cancer; and with her expired the last symptoms of vigour in the government of Justinian.[1]

When that Emperor ascended the throne of the East, the peace of Constantinople had been long distracted by the violence of two factions, which derived their origin from the chariot races of the circus. In these ancient games the drivers were now distinguished by the different colours of their dresses; and the absurd ardour which the idle population of a luxurious capital felt in the issue of every contest was shewn in the espousal of a chosen hue. But of the four usual colours of red, white, green, and blue, it was principally the last two which obtained and divided the favour of the populace; and these badges of festivity were gradually converted into the emblems of political and even of religious party. These contests soon swelled into tumultuous and bloody combats between the factions, which disturbed every festival; and on one occasion, in the reign of Anastasius, the greens are said to have drawn their concealed weapons and treacherously murdered three thousand of their blue opponents.[2] The feeble though pompous administration of government was alternately assailed and protected by the opposition of these factions; and emperors were not ashamed to purchase the security of their throne by an alliance with one and the oppression of the other. Before his accession, Justinian had displayed his partiality for the blue faction, who supported his claims to the throne, and professed to share his zeal for the purity of religion. At the commencement of his reign, they presumed on the imperial favour to satiate a furious vengeance upon their opponents, and to fill the capital with their licentious excesses. An edict of Justinian, which repeatedly declared his resolution to enforce the equal administration of justice, was as often eluded by the superior influence of the triumphant faction; and the public anarchy increased with impunity, until the insolence of the blues, and the despair of their adversaries, threatened a total dissolution of the powers of government.[3]

[1] From the original evidence collected by Gibbon (*ubi suprà*) it is not difficult to form a candid estimate of the conflicting qualities of Theodora. Many passages of her life suggest an obvious parallel between her character and that of Catherine of Russia; nor will the comparison be unfavourable to the Eastern Empress. Her genius was, probably, not inferior to that of the famous Czarina: her moral reformation is honourably contrasted with the personal dissoluteness which survived and disgraced the elevation of Catherine to a throne.

[2] Marcellinus, *Chron.* p. 47.

[3] Theophanes, p. 142. Procopius, (*De Bello Persico,*) lib. i. c. 24. Gibbon, ch. xl.

In the fifth year of his reign, Justinian was at length provoked to make a serious and impartial effort for repressing the disorders of Constantinople by the execution of some notorious assassins of both factions. This act of equal justice served only to produce a momentary truce and union between blues and greens to resist the imperial authority. A violent sedition was excited, in which the combined insurgents burned the palace of the metropolitan præfect, massacred his attendants, and spread a conflagration which destroyed the cathedral of St Sophia, a portion of the imperial palace itself, and a great number of public and private edifices. The rioters even proceeded to place a reluctant nephew of the Emperor Anastasius on the throne; and the fortunes of Justinian must have perished in the same hour, if they had not been sustained by the firmness of a woman. In the universal panic of the courtiers, Theodora alone preserved courage to oppose the proposition for an ignominious flight; her spirit overcame the timidity of her husband; and the obvious and easy expedient of rekindling the animosity of the factions was successfully adopted. The blues, reminded of the danger of an union with antagonists whom they had long outraged and oppressed, were persuaded to return to their allegiance; with their aid the deserted greens were surrounded and assailed in the circus or hippodrome, the nursery and citadel of faction, by the imperial forces under Belisarius; and thirty thousand of the insurgents were slain in a merciless and indiscriminate slaughter. The unfortunate and involuntary usurper was made prisoner and executed; and an imperial edict, suppressing the games of the theatre, marked the close of a sedition which, from the cry of the insurgents, *Nika*, (Conquer!) has obtained its distinction in the disorderly annals of the Byzantine empire.[1]

The factions of the circus, and disputations of the courts, simultaneously divided the anxiety of Justinian; and at the moment when the wildest ebullitions of popular license threatened the safety of his person and the duration of his reign, he was actively engaged in a design which has immortalized his name as a prince, and perpetuated his authority as a legislator. This noble and memorable enterprise had for its object to digest, to reconcile, and to explain the accumulated civil jurisprudence of republican and imperial Rome. In the age of Justinian such a reformation had become equally desirable and difficult. During a period probably of above one thousand years, since the original enactment of the Twelve Tables of the Roman Law, the statutes of the Republic and the

[1] Procopius, (*De Bello Persico,*) lib. i. c. 26. Marcellinus, *Chron.* p. 54, 56. Theophanes, p. 155–158. Zonaras, lib. xiv. *ad* p. 63. Gibbon, *ubi suprà.*

edicts of the emperors had been incessantly multiplied; and the confused and often contradictory mass of jurisprudence was swollen by the commentaries of lawyers into countless volumes of various reputation and authority, which divided the opinions and distracted the judgments of the courts.[1]

The merit of originating so stupendous a work of revision must be conceded to the personal resolve of Justinian. To the learning and discretion of Tribonian, an illustrious lawyer, aided by the counsel of nine other jurisconsults of eminence, Justinian, in the first year of his reign, intrusted the duty of revising the ordinances of his imperial predecessors; and the selection, which expunged the contradictions and superfluities of these enactments, was diligently accomplished in fourteen months. The work, composed, by imitation, perhaps, of the number of the twelve tables of the Roman law, in as many books, was then confirmed by the signature of the Emperor, and distinguished by his name; and the JUSTINIAN CODE was solemnly proclaimed as the universal law of the empire. A labour of far greater extent, and more arduous execution, was next assigned to Tribonian with an increased number of associates: to compose a general commentary on the spirit and substance of the ancient and existing jurisprudence; to pass judgment on the conflicting opinions and decisions of previous civilians; and to extract from the most celebrated of their innumerable treatises, the approved principles and deductions of the science. In three years the whole of this design was completed by Tribonian and his coadjutors, and its execution was ratified by the authority of their master. Under the title of INSTITUTES, the elementary principles of law were defined and promulgated in a distinct and invaluable work, of which the publication in four books,[2] immediately preceded the appearance of the grand and ultimate digest, in the shape of commentaries, on the whole circle of Roman jurisprudence. The term of PANDECTS, or general receivers, denotes the comprehensive object of these books, fifty in number; and their authority was intended and declared to supersede the use of the voluminous texts of various antiquity, of which they formed the abridgement or abstracts. Thenceforth, the three works of the Code, the Institutes, and the Pandects, were to form the complete and only recognised system of jurisprudence; and all earlier provisions were discarded as either obsolete and

A. D. 529.

A. D. 533.

[1] Terasson, *Histoire de la Jurisprudence Romaine*, fol. p. 1—73. Heineccius, *Historia Juris. Romani*, No. 112—349.

[2] Gibbon, who eulogizes the method of the *Institutes*, has failed to observe how closely the order of their division is imitated in that admirable compendium of our own law,—the *Commentaries* of Blackstone.

valueless in themselves, or embodied into the perfect collations of legal wisdom.[1]

But these revisions and additions were not adequate to satisfy the wants of the tribunals, or the restless passion of legislation; and every year in the long reign of Justinian was marked by the production of some new edict, or novel law. Of these, many were subsequently repealed by himself, and others were rejected by his successors: but the remaining number of the Justinian acts, under the general term of NOVELS, were collected after his death: their authority has been admitted in conjunction with that of the Code, the Institutes, and the Pandects, into the general system of the imperial legislation; and they form the fourth great division of that famous body of jurisprudence which is still emphatically distinguished as THE CIVIL LAW.[2]

A. D. 565.

The transmission of the Civil Law to the states of Western Europe, in which it has become naturalized, forms a doubtful and curious chapter in the history of jurisprudence and of nations. We may reject the vulgar tale which attributes its adoption in the Italian schools to the discovery of a copy of the Pandects at Amalfi in the sack of that city by the Pisans in the twelfth century: for it is certain that lectures on these books were read in the University of Bologna a few years before that event.[3] The introduction of the jurisprudence of Justinian into Italy was a necessary result of the conquest of that peninsula; and the government of the Imperial Exarchs must at least have perpetuated its authority in the Italian provinces during more than two centuries. The immediate causes which, after the dark ages, led to the revival of its scientific study, are involved in obscurity: but when the German emperors attempted to establish the title of their succession to the universal monarchy of the Cæsars, they eagerly enlisted the services of a crowd of civilians, who were prepared to deduce the loftiest maxims of imperial prerogative from the arbitrary doctrines of the Institutes. In another cause, the zeal of the Romish clergy laboured to establish the authority of the same system of jurisprudence; and the method and principles of the canon, were founded on those of the civil law. The growing fame of the latter system occasioned its reception also

[1] Terasson, 295-354. Heineccius (*Hist. Juris. Rom.*) No. 384-404; and a reference is always implied to the more modern text of Gibbon, whose forty-fourth chapter contains an excellent digest of the history and principles of the Roman law.

[2] Terasson and Heineccius *ubi suprà*. Ludewig, *Vitâ Justiniani*, p. 250-258.

[3] Gibbon, ch. xliv. 86, 89, *notes*, threw some suspicion on this tale, for which the only original authority is an anonymous and undated Pisan chronicle: but Mr Mills (*Travels of Theodore Ducas* vol. ii. p. 78, 79), has completely exploded the fable.

among the free municipal communities of Italy and Germany; from those countries its study was disseminated by its clerical and lay professors throughout Europe; and while, in most of the continental nations, it is still closely interwoven, under different modifications, with local varieties of jurisprudence, the civil law has in our own country extended and retained its influence over the ordinary tribunals of Scotland and the ecclesiastical and maritime courts of England.[1]

The reformation of the Roman jurisprudence was not the only great work which adorned the reign of Justinian. His love of magnificence, and his zeal for the honour of religion, and the defence of an unwarlike empire, were evinced in the construction and repair of numerous ecclesiastical, military, and civil edifices. The majestic cathedral of Sta. Sophia, at Constantinople, which he rebuilt entirely after the earlier fabric had been consumed by fire in the sedition of the *Nika*, remains to this hour a splendid and venerable monument of his piety and taste; and both the capital and provincial cities were decorated by his care with numerous other churches, inferior only to that more famous structure in grandeur and beauty. The fortifications which lined the banks of the Danube, and those also which covered the internal European provinces, were assiduously augmented in strength and number; the Asiatic frontier on the side of Persia was protected by many new fortresses; and these artificial bulwarks avouch the provident forethought and indefatigable exertions of Justinian for the security of subjects whose courage was insufficient, without such aid, for their own defence.[2]

A large portion of Justinian's expenditure was consumed, not in purposes of selfish luxury, but in the construction of churches, fortresses, bridges, and aqueducts; and the merit of these useful public works may excuse the cost of palaces, and even atone for the more expensive ambition of conquest. The sale of honours and offices, the imposition of onerous taxes, and the injurious privilege of monopolies, were the usual disgraces of the imperial government: but some earnest though vain efforts to check the progress of venality by rigorous legislative enactments,[3] prove that Justinian was not insensible to the shame which it entailed upon his administration; and a more honourable example may be adduced of his desire to advance the internal prosperity of his empire by the promotion

[1] Blackstone, Introduction, sec. 1, p. 17-20. Gibbon, *ubi suprà*.

[2] The principal authority for the public works of Justinian is Procopius: (*De Ædificiis:*) and the flattering homage of these six books may be weighed against the malignant depreciation of his *secret* history, or Book of Anecdotes.

[3] *Novellæ*, viii. tit. 3.

of the industrious arts. By his liberality, some Persian monks were bribed to effect the secret and difficult introduction of the silk-
A. D. 552. worm from China into the Eastern Empire; under his encouragement his subjects soon learned to rival the Chinese in the treatment of the insect and the manufacture of its produce; and to the enlightened views of Justinian is Europe originally indebted for the establishment of one of the most useful among the occupations which minister to the purposes of elegant luxury.[1]

When Justinian ascended the throne, he found the empire engaged in a war with the Persian monarchy, over whose vast extent the dynasty of the Sassanides still exercised their hereditary dominion. After a truce which was observed between the Roman and Persian empires for nearly eighty years, the reigns both of Anastasius and Justin had been consumed in desultory hostilities with Kobad, the nineteenth sovereign of his house; and under the reign of his son Chosroes, so renowned in oriental romance under the more proper appellation of Nushirvan, the contest was still protracted, little to the glory of the Byzantine arms, until the penetration or good fortune of Justinian intrusted their direction to a commander, whose martial spirit and genius were worthy of the best ages of the Roman republic or empire. This was the famous Belisarius: the submissive servant of a jealous despot; the dupe, or domestic slave, of a licentious and domineering wife; but a consummate general in the field, a hero in personal prowess, a merciful and prudent victor, and a sagacious statesman. By birth a Thracian peasant, Belisarius had enrolled himself in the private guard of Justinian before the elevation of that prince to his uncle's throne; but we know nothing positively of his early life and services until the new emperor promoted his fidelity to a command in the Persian
A. D. 529. war. The natural genius of Belisarius for war was of that lofty and decisive cast, which has little to borrow from the experience and rules of the science. At the head of an army inferior in numbers, and dispirited by recent defeats, he encountered and totally overthrew a Persian host on the plain of Dara. In the following campaign, his skilful movements baffled the design of a second Persian invasion of Syria, and saved that wealthy province from impending ruin.[2] Soon afterwards, the impatience of Justinian to embark in projects of conquest in the West induced him to submit to the dishonour of buying peace from Persia; and Belisarius, who, in the sedition of the *Nika*, had signalized his devotion

[1] Procopius, l. viii. (miscalled *De Bello Gothico*) c. 17. Theophanes, p. 83. Zonaras, lib. xiv. p. 69.

[2] Procopius, *De Bello Persico*, lib. i. c. 12-18.

to the cause of Justinian, by his defeat of the insurgents, was selected by his imperial master for the conduct of the VANDALIC WAR.

Since the failure of the expedition against Carthage under Basiliscus, in the reign of Leo, the Vandalic kingdom of Africa had been no further assailed by the arms of the Eastern Empire. But the internal divisions of the Vandals themselves now tempted the ambition of Justinian. Gelimer, an aspiring chieftain of the royal line, had dethroned his sovereign Hilderic; and the reign of a usurper and an Arian was equally detested by a faction of the Vandals and by his Catholic subjects, the descendants of the Roman provincials. The ostensible and immediate pretext under which Justinian covered his design for the conquest of Africa, was the desire of obtaining the release of the deposed monarch of the Vandals; but the true reason was his anxiety to recover the dissevered provinces of the West; and the distraction of the Vandalic monarchy was hailed by Justinian as an auspicious occasion for the re-establishment of the Roman dominion over the Præfecture of Africa.[1] A.D. 533.

The resources of the empire, as collected for the Vandalic war, are a memorial of its declining strength. Less than seventy years had elapsed since a force of eleven hundred vessels and one hundred thousand men had been despatched from the port of Constantinople for the reconquest of Africa:[2] the utmost efforts of Justinian could assemble for the same enterprise only six hundred vessels and thirty-five thousand soldiers and mariners; of these, but fifteen thousand were land forces; and their heterogeneous composition falsified their title to the proud name of a Roman army. The guards of Belisarius, who had been enlisted in his private service, formed the flower of his host: the remaining bands were composed chiefly of Isaurians, Heruli, Huns, and other barbarians. Wherever war has arisen into a service, the infantry are the strength of armies; and the large proportion of five thousand horse to an irregular array of only ten thousand foot, the chief dependence placed on this cavalry, and their prevailing use of the bow, all mark the decay of the Roman art. But the defects of military spirit, of discipline, and of organization, were all counterbalanced by the personal character of one man; and in the motely squadrons of Belisarius, the qualities of the ancient legions were supplied by the valour and genius of their leader.

After a tardy navigation from Constantinople to Sicily, Belisarius led his fleet over to the African coast, and effected the disembarkation of his troops at a spot distant about five days' journey from

[1] Procopius, *De Bello Vandalico*, lib. i. c. 7.
[2] Theophanes, p. 99. Zonaras, lib. xiv.

Carthage. For the defence of their capital, the Vandals were compelled to risk an engagement; but neither their dissensions, nor the absence of a part of their force in the civil war of Sardinia, nor the skill of Belisarius, would explain their successive and easy defeats by the far inferior numbers of the imperial army; if, during a century of luxurious indulgence in a warm and enervating climate, they had not utterly degenerated from the valorous qualities of their Northern ancestors. After a feeble struggle, Gelimer himself set the example of flight, and the subjugated descendants of the Roman provincials, in hereditary hatred to their conquerors, gladly opened the gates of the capital and other cities to their imperial deliverers. The Vandals, who in three generations had multiplied from their original number of fifty thousand warriors to one hundred and fifty thousand men, besides women and children, secured their lives by an inglorious submission; and in a single campaign the ancient Roman province of Africa was completely reduced under the dominion of the successor of Constantine. Sardinia, Corsica, and the Balearic Isles, all dependencies of the Vandalic kingdom, followed its fate. The usurper Gelimer himself, after removing the last obstacle to the ambition of Justinian, by the murder of his captive, Hilderic, the lawful king of the Vandals, and ally of the emperor, was finally compelled to surrender to the generosity of his conqueror, and conducted to Constantinople; where, by the imperial bounty, he was permitted to pass the remainder of his life in affluence and peace.[1]

Belisarius by the rapid conquest of Africa, encountered the envy of an intriguing Court, and the fears of a suspicious master. To refute the secret charge of an intention to seat himself on an independent throne in Africa, he abdicated the government of Carthage, and immediately returned to Constantinople; attended by his guards, and accompanied by the spoils and captives of the Vandalic war. His presence put to shame the accusations of his enemies and the apprehensions of his sovereign, and extorted the admiration of Justinian; and Belisarius deservedly obtained the honours of a Roman triumph, the first which the city of Constantine had ever witnessed, and the last which history can deign to record. The modesty or prudence of the conqueror declined the full measure of those honours of which he was equally worthy with the earlier heroes of Rome; and instead of mounting a triumphal car, Belisarius marched on foot in the procession at the head of his veterans.

The success of the African war had only served to inflame the

[1] Procopius, *De Bello Vandal.* lib. i. ii. *ad* c. 9.

ambition of Justinian with the thirst of further conquests; and in the year after the overthrow of the Vandalic monarchy, Belisarius was appointed to the command of a second expedition for the subjugation of the Gothic kingdom of Italy, and the recovery of the ancient seat of the empire. The origin, the events, and the issue of the GOTHIC WAR, must be sought in the Annals of Italy; which will supply the narrative of the continued achievements of Belisarius, and the completion of his labours by the more fortunate Narses, and the reduction of all Italy under the sceptre of Justinian.[1] His conduct to Belisarius after the conquest of a second kingdom, was a disgraceful aggravation of the unfounded jealousy which he had before displayed. A second time was the progress of the hero arrested in his glorious career, by the suspicions of the emperor; and a second time did his ready obedience to the mandate of recall disprove the insinuation that he aspired to the throne of a conquered province. The exigencies of a new Persian war were made the pretext for his removal from Italy; and soon after his arrival at Constantinople, he was depatched to the eastern frontiers of the empire.

A.D. 533. A.D. 539.

Tempted by the withdrawal of the imperial forces, or alarmed for his own ultimate security by the report of their western conquests, Chosroes, the Persian monarch, resolved to anticipate the probable aggressions of Justinian; and bursting into Syria with an immense army, he penetrated without resistance to its capital, and after consigning Antioch to the flames, extended his ravages throughout the province to the shores of the Mediterranean. His progress was checked only by the appearance of Belisarius; and the genius of the conqueror of Carthage and Rome never shone more conspicuously than when, with a feeble and disorderly army, which he dreaded to expose in an encounter, the skilful activity of his movements in two successive campaigns compelled the Persian sovereign to withdraw his host with precipitation and loss from the prosecution of his successes.[2] After these bloodless victories, the removal of Belisarius to his second command in the Gothic war, disclosed the value of his presence in both extremities of the empire; and Syria was again exposed, by the incapacity and weakness of the imperial commanders and armies, to the Persian ravages. But, without pursuing the vicissitudes of a long and indecisive warfare, it is sufficient that we record its termination in an inglorious treaty, by which the emperor of the East became the tributary of the Persian.[3]

A.D. 541.

[1] Procopius, *De Bello Gothico*, lib. i. iii.
[2] *Ibid. De Bello Persico*, lib. ii. c. 1-28.
[3] Agathias, lib. iv. c. 142.

The achievements of Belisarius fill the largest space, and supply the most interesting objects in the wars of Justinian; and the history of that emperor's reign may be concluded little to his honour in that of the man, whose accumulated offerings to its glory he repaid with an increasing measure of ingratitude. The domestic fortunes of Belisarius were not happy; and some fond weakness of spirit is discernible in the confiding husband of an imperious and abandoned woman, who tyrannised over his affections while she was faithless to his honour. A close intimacy and a bitter enmity which alternately prevailed between his wife Antonina and the empress Theodora, were equally injurious to his domestic peace and his political prosperity. His slow detection and lenient punishment of the infidelity of Antonina during the last Persian war, were followed by a strange scene of humiliation, in which, at the command of the empress, he was reconciled to his infamous wife, and submitted to the ignominy of a double slavery to both women. At the conclusion of the same war, upon an ambiguous charge of treason, in opposition to all the preceding and subsequent tenor of his life, his person was disgraced, and his treasures confiscated; and still, such was the confidence really reposed by the emperor in the patient integrity of the formidable subject whom he had so cruelly injured, that Justinian dared to intrust him with the retrievement of the Gothic war. But abandoned to the resources of his unassisted genius, without troops and without supplies, the former conqueror of Italy could only imperfectly sustain the weight of a neglected cause; and he was condemned to remain the mortified spectator of the Gothic successes, until his solicitations through Antonina obtained his recall. The imperial support which had been denied to him was afterwards freely rendered to the eunuch Narses; and Belisarius survived to learn that the fruits of his Italian services had been gathered by a rival, who was indeed no unworthy successor to his station. After his return to Constantinople, the appointment of Belisarius to the highest dignity in the imperial household marks a capricious tribute to his services; and while he thus reposed on his laurels, the last years of the aged hero were crowned with a victory which saved the emperor and the capital. A sudden and fierce invasion of the Bulgarians, a barbarous people of Sclavonic race, who carried their ravages from the Danube almost to the gates of Constantinople, struck terror into the heart of Justinian and his people. Their pusillanimous fears rested the sole hope of protection on the spirit of a feeble veteran; and the last exploit of Belisarius and a handful of his guards, justified the public dependence.[1] His defeat of the Bulgarians, and the acclamations which

[1] Agathias, lib. v. p. 155-174. Theophanes, p. 198.

attested the popular gratitude, revived the suspicions of Justinian; and while both the jealous despot and his injured champion were rapidly descending into their graves, the monarch inflicted the last unmerited blow upon his preserver. Upon an unfounded charge of his share in a conspiracy in which two officers of his household were implicated, his person was imprisoned, and his fortune again sequestered. His innocence was soon recognised, and his honours and wealth were restored; but his death was probably hastened by grief and resentment at this bitter aggravation of insult and injury, for he survived his release only a few months.[1]

The death of Belisarius was soon followed by that of his ungrateful master; and the retributive judgment of posterity has perpetuated the name of Justinian in reproachful association with the wrongs of his illustrious general. The memory of the emperor has thus deservedly incurred nothing but disgrace from the exploits of the hero, who achieved the chief glories of his reign. His treatment of Belisarius is altogether indefensible: but with this exception, his character appears in favourable opposition to the slothful and furious vices which deformed the lives of the Byzantine Cæsars. The blameless morality of his private life, his habits of industrious application to business and science, and the general clemency of his disposition, are admitted even by writers who have sought occasion for ridicule in his anxiety for the interests of religion, and his zealous observance of devotional exercise. The useful merit of his extraordinary activity in the civil administration of his empire, may have been depreciated by errors of judgment or conduct, but it was more probably defeated by the resistance of incurable abuses.[2] A. D. 565.

These successful enterprises, although the impulse of only a transient and fallacious rigour, have given an extraordinary interest to the reign of Justinian, and entitled the narration of its events to occupy a far greater space than any period of equal length in the inglorious series of the Byzantine annals. Beyond this epoch there is little temptation to linger over the worthless catalogue of despots, whose reigns were, with few exceptions,

[1] Theophanes, p. 204. Zonaras. lib. xiv. p. 69. The popular fiction that Belisarius was deprived of his eyes and reduced to beggary, has been clearly exposed by Gibbon, ch. xliii.

[2] The character of Justinian, of which a candid examination even of the evidence of Procopius, when cleansed from the palpable malevolence of the *Anecdotes*, leaves a favourable impression, has been too harshly treated by Gibbon, who could not forgive the attachment of the emperor to the cause of religion. The whole narrative of the reign of Justinian, otherwise among the most splendid efforts of that great historian's genius, is deformed by the unhappy mental obliquities which delighted in the insult both of piety and decency.

neither dignified by personal virtue, nor illustrated by memorable undertakings; and the fleeting vicissitudes of two centuries may, with propriety, be dismissed in fewer pages than have been devoted to the transactions of thirty-eight years. From the death of Justinian to the accession of Heraclius, an interval of nearly half a century is marked by the rapid decline of the empire; by the loss of Northern Italy through the Lombard conquests; by the ravages of the Persians in the Asiatic provinces; by the incursions of the Bulgarians and Avars from the banks of the Danube to the gates of Constantinople; and by the distractions of internal rebellion and revolution.

This period is filled by the reigns of four princes: Justin II., Tiberius II., Maurice, and Phocas. The feeble reign of Justin was disgraced by the establishment of the Lombards in Italy, the unresisted settlement of the Avars on the Danube, and the last conquests of the great Chosroes in Asia; and the only benefit which he conferred upon the empire was his adoption of the virtuous Tiberius, the commander of his guards, for his imperial colleague and successor.[1] The vigorous preparations of Tiberius provided for the successful defence of Syria against the Persians, and the repulse of Chosroes, was the principal event of a brief reign, which was closed by disease too soon for the happiness of his people.[2] On his death-bed he bestowed the hand of his daughter, and the diadem of the empire, on Maurice, a soldier of fortune, who continued on the throne to emulate the principles and example of his predecessor. During the reign of Maurice, A. D. 582. the civil wars of the Persians gave some respite from their assaults to his Asiatic provinces; and the restoration of the grandson and inheritor of the name of Chosroes, to the throne of the Sassanides, by the alliance and the auxiliary arms of the emperor, was followed by an advantageous peace in the East. This success enabled Maurice to recall his troops to the defence of his European provinces from the oppression of the Avars, a Tartar nation, who, in the reign of Justinian, had approached the frontiers of the empire in their flight before a still more formidable Scythian race, and first revealed to Europe the existence of their conquerors the Turks. The cruel inroads of the Avars, the annual scourge of the empire, were with difficulty repelled; but the licentious spirit of the imperial armies was more fatal to Maurice than the fury of the Barbarians. The vices of the age, and the disorders of the empire, were incapable of correction by the virtuous efforts of a

[1] Theophanes, *Chronograph*, p. 204-210. Zonaras, lib. xiv. p. 70-72. Evagrius, *Hist. Eccl.* lib. v. c. 1-11.

[2] Theophanes, p. 210-213. Zonaras, lib. xiv. p. 72. Evagrius, lib. v. c. 13.

single individual. The introduction of reforms was resisted by a meeting of the troops, and a sedition of the capital; Maurice was abandoned by his faithless guards, and after a vain effort to escape he was inhumanly murdered, with five of his sons, by the command of the rebel Phocas, who was raised by the troops from A. D. 602. the rank of a simple centurion to the throne of the empire.[1] The usurper proved himself a monster of cruelty; and his ignominious and tyrannical reign of eight years was closed by a well-merited fate. The green faction of the Hippodrome, who had powerfully favoured his elevation, was alienated by his ingratitude; the unanimous voice of the capital approved of the revolt of the exarch or governor of Africa; and the approach of an armament, which that officer despatched from Carthage against the tyrant, under his son Heraclius, was welcomed by the people of Constantinople. Phocas was seized and beheaded; and Heraclius was invested, by the united suffrages of the clergy, the senate, and the populace, with the imperial title.[2]

The reign of Heraclius, which was illustrated by the last triumph of the Roman arms over the Persians, and disgraced by the first successes of the Saracens, is a memorable era in the annals of the Eastern Empire. The character of Heraclius himself is among the strongest contradictions in history. During the first twelve years after his accession, the promise of an enterprising spirit which had been given in his adventurous attempt against the tyrant Phocas, was belied by the slothful dissipation of his life, and an apparent insensibility both to his own honour, and the glory and the safety of the empire. Under the fair, and perhaps sincere, plea A. D. 610. of avenging the cruel fate of his benefactor, Maurice, the second Chosroes had indignantly refused the alliance of his assassin, declared war against him, and wrested the greater part of Syria from his dominion. But when Heraclius announced the fall of the common enemy, Phocas, and proposed a renewal of friendship between the two empires, the ambition of the Persian monarch had been too eagerly excited by his success, to be restrained by the feeble appeal to his consistency and justice. Abandoning without shame the original motive of hostilities, he pursued his career of conquest; and Syria, Palestine, Egypt, and Asia Minor were successively overrun by his armies, and fell an easy prey to his assaults. His want of a navy alone saved the European provinces, and prevented the total destruction of the empire; but his cavalry

[1] Theophanes, p. 213-244. Zonaras, lib. xiv. p. 73-80. Evagrius, lib. vi. c. 1-24.

[2] Theophanes, p. 242-250. Zonaras, lib. xiv. p. 80-82. Nicephorus, *Breviarum Historicum*, p. 1-8.

penetrated to the Asiatic shore of the Hellespont, and a Persian camp was maintained for above ten years in the sight of Constantinople itself. Meanwhile the ferocious Avars annually devastated the European provinces; and the remains of the Roman Empire were reduced to the walls of its capital, with the remnant of Greece and Italy, the Præfecture of Carthage, and a few cities on the Asiatic coasts.

In this extremity of dishonour and calamity, Heraclius, to the amazement both of his hopeless subjects and his insolent enemy, suddenly shook off the sloth of years, and arose a patriot and a hero. The narrative of his subsequent exploits might A. D. 622. seem to belong rather to the creations of romance than to the records of history; nor have the meagre though florid pages of the Byzantine chroniclers satisfactorily explained the causes of that alternation of supineness and vigour in the personal conduct of the emperor, of which they have supplied the authenticated results. In his first campaign, Heraclius, abandoning his capital to be defended by its own strength against the Avars, and unable to oppose a front to the Persian hosts which threatened its safety from the opposite shores of Asia Minor, landed far in their rear on the coast of Cilicia. His troops, few in numbers, and weaker in spirit, were reinforced from the maritime garrisons, and were gradually restored to discipline and confidence by his ability and example. A signal victory was the honourable reward of his exertions, and the Persian invaders of the empire began already to feel the weight of his presence in Asia, when he was recalled to Constantinople to repel a fresh menace of the Avars. His temporizing policy purchased a short respite from the assaults of those rapacious barbarians; and again embarking from the capital, he directed a new attack upon his Persian enemies from the opposite quarter to that in which he had last disquieted them. Disembarking at Trebizond on the Euxine, he at once boldly led a small but now well-disciplined and gallant army through the Armenian mountains into the heart of Persia, and obliged Chosroes to recall his armies from their pursuit of conquest to the protection of his own devastated territories. During five glorious campaigns, the course of Heraclius was frequently almost lost to the knowledge of his own subjects at Constantinople, until they had finally experienced the full effects of his victories in the retreat of the Persians from Asia Minor. The danger of the metropolis of the empire had meanwhile been imminent. In concert with the generals of Chosroes, an immense army of the Avars had advanced to its walls, and subjected the luxurious population to the horrors of a siege; while the Persians, though prevented from crossing the strait by the Grecian fleet,

destroyed the Asiatic suburbs, and aggravated the terror and conflagration which were spread by the barbarians on the opposite shore. But the Senate and the people were animated by the spirit of Heraclius; and assisted by a succour of twelve thousand regular troops which he sent by sea to their relief, the host of the Avars were finally compelled either by the courageous operations of the defence, or the want of provisions, to retreat from the walls. The last encounter of the Roman and Persian armies, which completed the deliverance of Constantinople, had for its scene the far distant plain of Nineveh. The host of Chosroes was totally defeated; and the flight of the Great King was followed by the ordinary spectacle of an Oriental revolution. He was murdered by his son; and the parricide hastened to conclude a peace with the conqueror. The original limits of the two empires were restored; and Heraclius returned crowned with glory to his capital.[1]

The trophies which he had won were among the most honourable that ever rewarded the arms of an absolute prince; yet his victories were almost equally fatal to his own subjects and to his enemies. The result of the long and desolating contest between the Byzantine and Persian monarchies left them in a common state of exhaustion, and prepared the easy triumph of the followers of Mohammed over both. Under no circumstances, perhaps, would the slaves of Heraclius or Chosroes have been capable of resisting the free and vigorous fanaticism of the Moslems: but the epoch at which Mohammed issued the tremendous precept of conquest and conversion, was singularly favourable to its success. The Persian power was disorganized by foreign defeats and intestine disorders; the Eastern Empire had only been rescued from destruction by an overwrought and unnatural effort of expiring strength, which subsided into the langour of a hopeless decay. The personal character of Heraclius aggravated the weakness and danger of his empire. After his return from the Persian war, he relapsed into the sluggish vices which had once before rendered him the passive spectator of the public calamities; the only efforts of his mind were uselessly excited in theological disputations; and when the progress of a new and more formidable enemy disturbed his indolent repose, he proved himself incapable of being a second time effectually roused by the sense of shame or the voice of duty. The laurels of his reign withered in the Syrian war against the Saracens; his

A. D. 632 to A. D. 640.

A. D. 641.

[1] Theophanes, p. 250-278. Nicephorus, p. 8-16. George Pisid. (*Acroas* and *Bell. Avaricum*) *passim*.

flight before their arms renewed the dishonour of his youth; and a meridian life of glory was sullied by an old age of sloth and ignominy.[1]

During the last years of Heraclius, and throughout the reigns of his feeble and vicious successors, even to the close of the period before us, the foreign affairs of the Eastern Empire are disgracefully involved. The domestic annals of the Byzantine Palace are little worthy of a separate notice; since their passive uniformity is relieved only by the alternation of voluptuous pleasure and atrocious crime. The progeny of Heraclius were seated on the throne of the East for seventy years after his death; and this period is occupied with the reigns of five princes, each of whom is almost equally destitute of ability or virtue. By his last testament, Heraclius declared his two sons, Constantine III. and Heracleonas, the equal heirs of the empire: but the elder survived this association only a few months; and it was believed that he had been poisoned by his step-mother Martina. His death was revenged by a popular tumult, in which Martina and her son, after suffering a horrible mutilation, were condemned to end their days in banishment; and Constans II., the youthful son of Constantine, was raised to the throne. As he advanced towards manhood, the character of the new emperor developed the most atrocious qualities; and the sacrifice of a brother's life to his inhuman jealousy may sufficiently characterise the spirit of his reign. He was driven into a voluntary exile, and was murdered by his domestics in a bath at Syracuse. His eldest son was immediately proclaimed as his successor by the Senate and people of Constantinople: but the character of Constantine IV. was little less flagitious than that of his father. It was equally stained with fraternal discord; and the pretensions of his two brothers to an effectual participation in the imperial dignity were cruelly punished by the emperor with mutilation and imprisonment. The commencement of the reign of Constantine IV. was indeed illustrated by the first Saracen siege of Constantinople and the repulse of the Moslems: but the emperor had no share in the honour of the defence; and his whole life was equally inglorious and worthless. With the name of his son and successor, Justinian II., we may impatiently close the enumeration of the Heraclian dynasty. His tyranny provoked an insurrection; the vicissitudes of his disposition, his exile, and his restoration, are equally uninteresting; and a second rebellion, which was aroused by his cruel revenge, and closed by his own murder,

[1] Theophanes, p. 278-283. Nicephorus, p. 16-18.

together with that of his son, extinguished at once the life of Justinian II. and the race of Heraclius.[1]

This catastrophe was followed by six years of anarchy, into which were crowded the troubled reigns of no less than three emperors, Philippicus, Anastasius II., and Theodosius III. Of these ephemeral princes, the first owed his elevation to his principal share in the revolt against Justinian, and was himself assassinated in a conspiracy of the palace. His secretary and successor, Anastasius, was innocently compelled by the conspirators to assume the purple, and by a mutiny in the fleet to resign its possession. Theodosius, from an obscure office in the customs, reluctantly ascended the vacant throne, and submitted in his turn to the superior fortunes and energy of a new pretender, the leader and choice of the Asiatic troops, who derived the most honourable claim to the diadem from the imminent danger of the empire, and justified his election by its deliverance from foreign assailants. This was Leo III., by birth an Isaurian, whose reign is illustrated by the foundation of a dynasty, the repulse of the Saracens in their second siege of Constantinople, and the origin of the great schism on image worship. The consequences of this emperor's religious zeal were disastrous for the interests of his temporal dominion; and the revolt and eventual loss of the Italian Exarchate have been traced to the same cause which produced the separation of the Latin and Greek churches. In other respects the administration of the 3d Leo, who is distinguished in his series by the surname of the Iconoclast, or Image Breaker, was equally virtuous, able, and fortunate; and after a reign of twenty-four years, he peacefully bequeathed his sceptre to his son Constantine V., who inherited both his zeal against idolatry, and his martial activity against foreign and domestic enemies. The personal character of Constantine has been fiercely assailed by the hatred of the votaries of images, both in his own and later ages: but the evidence for their accusations is suspicious; and the fact is certain that his long reign of thirty-four years was neither inglorious for the empire nor devoid of benefits to his subjects.[2]

A.D. 716.

Constantine V. was succeeded by his son Leo IV., a prince equally feeble in body and mind, whose marriage with an Athenian maid of private station, the fair but infamous Irene, produced a long tissue of crimes terminating in the restoration of image worship and the downfal of the Isaurian dynasty. The empress is accused of shortening, by poison, the life of her husband; and the proba-

[1] Theophanes, p. 283–321. Nicephorus, p. 18–32. Zonaras, lib. xv.
[2] Theophanes, p. 321–344. Zonaras, lib. xv.

bility of her guilt is strengthened by her subsequent crimes. By the testament of Leo IV. she was invested with the guardianship of their infant son Constantine VI. and the administration of the empire. During his minority, she ably and faithfully discharged the duties of a regent; but as soon as Constantine attained the age of manhood, and was instigated by the companions of his dissolute pleasures to remove her from the administration, she conspired against him, procured the seizure of his person, and deprived him of his eyes in the same apartment of the palace in which she had given him birth. For this horrible crime, to which it has been justly said that history may scarcely offer a parallel, the execration of all ages has deservedly pursued the memory of the unnatural mother; yet its perpetrator was suffered for five years to secure a reign of considerable splendour; and her fall was finally effected, not by the retributive vengeance of her subjects, but by the treason of domestics whom she had laden with benefits. By a conspiracy of the palace, her treasurer Nicephorus was elevated to the purple, and Irene was dismissed to drag on the miserable residue of her guilty life in exile and indigence.

Constantine VI. A.D. 780.

Irene.

A.D. 797. Fall of the Isaurian Dynasty.

Under the Isaurian dynasty the strength of Constantinople had resisted the last tremendous shock of the undivided Saracen power; and the subsequent disruption of the Khalifate, or rather the rapid decline of the fanatical energy, which in a single age had effected the conquest of one half of the empire, suspended the destruction of the remainder. After the failure of the Saracens in their second siege of Constantinople, the Eastern Empire enjoyed a cessation from their assaults of above sixty years; and during the sanguinary struggle of the Ommiaden and Abbassiden factions, the Greeks even found an opportunity, from the distraction of their enemies, to retaliate on them some of the calamities to which they had themselves been exposed by the corruption and disorders of their state. But when the descendants of Abbas were firmly seated on the Oriental Khalifate, the danger of the empire revived. Several of the early khalifs of the new dynasty were enterprising and warlike; and Mohadi, the third of the race, took advantage of the weakness of a female reign to invade Asia Minor with an immense army. After penetrating to the shores of the Bosphorus, this host in sight of Constantinople itself exacted from Irene the promise of an annual tribute; and as often as its payment was refused, the great Haroun al Raschid, the son of Mohadi, after his succession to the khalifate, renewed the devastation of Asia Minor, and compelled the disgraceful submission of the Byzantine Court. The superiority of the Greek navy in its inextinguishable fire alone

protected Constantinople and the European provinces from his arms; and the Eastern Empire still lingered through its feeble existence until the vigour of the Abbassiden dynasty was spent, and the khalifate of Bagdad fell into a decay, if possible, more corrupt and more fatally irretrievable than its own. Thus destined to survive the fall of the fierce power which had threatened its total destruction, the Eastern Empire, at the close of the eighth century, still embraced some of the fairest portions of the earth, and presented an extent of territory which, under a less vicious government, and with a less pusillanimous people, might have renewed the hope of glorious dominion. Syria, Egypt, and Western Africa were indeed totally lost; Northern and Central Italy—the kingdom of Lombardy, the Exarchate of Ravenna, and the venerable ruins of Rome—had been successively, and for ever, dissevered from the empire of Constantine and of Justinian. But the whole of ancient Thrace and Macedonia, or of modern Turkey, with the continent and islands of Greece, a part of Southern Italy under the title of the Duchy of Naples, all Sicily, Corsica, Sardinia, and Crete, and the fertile provinces of Asia Minor, were still possessed by the sovereigns of Constantinople.[1]

[1] Theophanes, p. 344-407. Zonaras, lib. xv. *ad.* p. 122 (vol. ii.) Gibbon, ch. xlviii. liii. &c.

CHAPTER II.

MOHAMMED—RISE OF THE SARACEN OR MOHAMMEDAN POWER.

FROM A. D. 569 TO A. D. 632.

FROM surveying the aspect of Europe at the settlement of the barbarian nations, and the gradual consolidation of those kingdoms of the West which have given form to the modern polity of Christendom, our attention is naturally directed to observe, in the opposite quarter of the East, the sudden rise and tremendous growth of that astonishing power, which, at the distance of twelve centuries, is still reflected in the civil and religious empire of Mohammedanism. For, the same controlling and permanent influence which has been impressed upon the history of Europe by the victorious immigrations of the Gothic races, and their conversion to the gospel of truth, has been exercised on the fortunes of Asia by the overwhelming progress of the Saracens, and the fanatical imposture which they propagated with the sword. The overthrow of the Roman Empire proved not a more important vicissitude in the West than did the appearance of the pseudo Prophet of the Moslems in the East; and since Christianity was already established before the fall of the empire, while Mohammedanism was entirely the birth and fruit of the occasion, the effects which were wrought on the universe by the proselytising conquests of the Saracens were a far more stupendous revolution in the moral and political state of mankind, than the mere transition of Europe from the Roman to the Gothic constitution of society. The one convulsion, so far from shaking, served only to strengthen the existing fabric of Christianity; the other swept equally before it the monuments and symbols both of revelation and idolatry, overthrew wherever it penetrated, every earlier institution of human worship, and changed the religious as well as the social features of half the countries of the known world. Nor is it the least singular circumstance in the spectacle of this mighty and enduring revolution, that it originated in the daring imposture of one man; hence the history of its crea-

tion and rise must be traced in the personal biography of MOHAMMED.[1]

The founder of that spurious faith which has extended its dominion over so many of the fairest portions of the globe, received his birth in an obscure region of Asia, in a dark age, and among a fierce and barbarous people. The condition of ARABIA, a country in several respects highly interesting by its association with the earliest scenes and events of Holy Writ, is for many centuries, before and after the Christian era, involved in the deepest obscurity. Of the annals of its people during the vast interval of historical silence, little more is known than may be inferred from the permanence of that wild character among the roving tribes of the desert, which was first dimly traced by the finger of prophecy, and is still stamped with the enduring impression of immemorial antiquity. In the VIth century of human redemption, the sterile face of the great Peninsula, which on its northern extremities is joined by Syria and Persia, and is bounded on other sides by the waters of the Euphrates, the Persian Gulf, the Indian Ocean, and the Red Sea,[2] was still, as in past and subsequent ages, thinly overspread by a pastoral people, dwelling by hordes and in tents, and restlessly wandering with their sheep, camels, and horses, in search of the scanty spots of herbage and water which relieve the arid expanse of the desert.

In every age this peculiar people have presented the same lineaments of freedom and barbarism, the same aspect of personal and national independence, the same contrast of generous hospitality with fierce spoliation; and, divested of certain romantic embellishments, the image of ancient character has been faithfully preserved in the modern Arab. The Bedoween (or man of the desert), like his forefathers through countless generations, is still brave and

[1] In professing to offer a history of Mohammed, it is right to caution the reader that the original materials for the life of the false Prophet are few and most unsatisfactory. The earliest of his Musulman biographers whose work is extant, and the most judicious, is Ishmael Abulfeda, a Saracen Emir of Syria; but he lived so late as the XIVth century, and he could do no more than collect those traditional particulars, which had been distorted and swollen by the superstitious exaggerations of seven hundred years. The work of Abulfeda has been rendered accessible to the European reader by the Latin version of Gagnier. Al Jannabi, a doctor of the Mosque (an author also translated by Gagnier), who lived still later, and has been too often implicitly quoted by our compilers, is the mere echo of fables, and totally unworthy of credit. Yet such are the principal sources from which the numerous modern lives of Mohammed are composed; but the best illustrations of the character of the impostor are to be gathered from the *Koran*, in the English version, and the invaluable introduction and notes of Sale. In the following pages, the conclusions of our latest historians, Gibbon and Mills, (*History of Mohammedanism*), have been carefully compared with their authorities, and freely used, though without being always adopted.

[2] D'Anville, *Géographie Ancienne*, vol. ii. p. 208-230.

imaginative, but vindictive and rapacious; proud of the dignity of manhood, and not perhaps incapable of elevated emotions, but a ferocious enemy and a habitual robber. His intellectual qualities are strongly reflected in his physiognomy and mien; his eye is full of fire and vivacity; his speech at once voluble and sententious; his countenance intelligent and penetrating; his deportment grave and manly; and his whole bearing expressive of that lofty spirit of freedom, which is the inheritance and generic attribute of his race. The form of government to which he submits is purely patriarchal. The parent is the chief of the family; and one family exercises the office of sovereignty over the whole tribe. The order of lineal succession may be frequently violated by motives of partiality or the claims of merit; but the mutual bond of allegiance and protection between the chieftain and his people is fixed and indissoluble.[1]

The tribes of Arabia, however, have not all been confined to the pastoral condition. The southern portion of the peninsula, or Land of Yemen, which from its comparative fertility was distinguished, even so early as the classical ages, by the epithet of the *Happy* Arabia, has always invited its inhabitants to a life of agriculture and commerce. Its climate and soil are peculiarly adapted to the cultivation of the coffee-tree; its situation on the shores of the Indian Ocean promoted the importation of the gold, spices, and frankincense of the remoter East; and the belief of antiquity ascribed to the *Arabia Felix*, the native production of precious commodities, which were only poured through her bosom from the realms of India into the lap of Europe. The fixed occupations of its people, and the opulence of its trade, filled the maritime province of the Happy Yemen with many more cities and towns than were found in other parts of the peninsula: but the coasts, neither of the *sandy* nor *stony* regions, which are comprised in its ancient triple division, were entirely destitute of permanent towns, which probably owed their origin to some temptation either of pasture or traffic; and in the midst of the Sandy Arabia, in particular, near the coast of the Red Sea, and at the distance from each other of about two hundred and fifty miles, arose the two principal cities of Mecca and Medina. Of these the former, which contained the CAABA, or most famous temple of the ancient Arabian superstition, had been held in especial reverence by the nation, from a period even antecedent to the Christian era, as the holiest seat of their idolatrous worship. While the position of Mecca on a sterile soil dis-

[1] Pocock, *Specimen Historiæ Arabum, passim.* Niebuhr, *Description de l'Arabie*, p. 328-344. Volney, *Voyage en Syrie et en Egypte*, p. 345-385, &c. Sale, *Preliminary Discourse*, sec. 1.

couraged the occupations of agriculture, it was advantageously situated for purposes of trade; and its inhabitants were naturally attracted to commercial pursuits from the convenience with which they were enabled to interchange the commodities of Africa and India, by the transport of caravans across the desert peninsula, from the neighbouring shore of the Red Sea to the coasts of the Persian Gulf. In like manner, their city intercepted, midway, the overland communication between the Indian Ocean and the provinces of the Greek Empire; and, avoiding the dangerous navigation of the Red Sea, it was through Mecca that the rich imports of Happy Arabia were exchanged at Damascus for the manufactures and produce of Syria.[1]

Religion of the ancient Arabs.

These advantages added commercial wealth to the respect which the sacred city of Mecca commanded in the eyes of an idolatrous people. The religion of the Arabs comprehended the adoration of the sun, moon, and fixed stars; but the Caaba was filled with idols; and the grosser worship of fantastic images and emblems disfigured this natural superstition of a race who, during their wanderings through vast deserts, in the deep stillness of night, and under the clear and lucid firmament, contemplated the mysterious splendour, and were guided in their course by the regular motion, of the heavenly bodies. Nor were an imaginative people without a gleam of that pure and more sublime principle of religion, which is involved in the existence of a future state; and some fancies of the Arabs about the transmigration of souls, as well as the custom of leaving a camel to perish on the grave of the master who might require his service in another world, attested their belief of a general resurrection.[2]

The political features of Arabia, since no records define the wildness of its internal barbarism, can only be inferred from their connection with the affairs of the more civilized countries which bordered on the peninsula. During the sixth century we find the tribes of the Desert, under the general name of *Saracens* (from some unknown etymology), engaged alternately in capricious alliance and desultory hostilities with the Eastern and Persian Empires. In the two great provinces of the Stony and Sandy Arabia they maintained the perpetual independence of their nation, which is equally secured by the fierce character of the roving people, and the insuperable difficulties of their country. The general extent of Arabia has, in fact, never been subjugated; and even the victories of Trajan, though exaggerated by his flatterers

[1] Abulfeda, *Descriptio Arabiæ*, p. 10-40. Pocock, *Specimen Hist. Arab.* p. 125-128. D'Herbelot, *Bibliothèque Orientale*, p. 361-381.

[2] Pocock, p. 90-136, &c. Sale, *Prelim. Discourse*, sec. 1.

into the boast of conquest, did not extend his empire beyond the most northern parts of the peninsula.

In the general anarchy and common independence of the Arabs, there are, however, traces of something like a recognized superiority of Mecca; and the petty chieftains and tribes, both of the cultivated country and the deserts, seem to have looked up to that city as the capital of their nation, as well as the chief seat of their religion. In its political aspect Mecca presented the rude shape of a republic, in which commerce had created an opulent and powerful aristocracy; while the simplicity of Arabian manners still retained the patriarchal gradations of government. The Koreish, a tribe who enjoyed the greatest estimation and honour among all the Arabian communities, had acquired, whether by force or fraud, the office of guarding the sacred temple of the Caaba; and with the religious they secured the temporal supremacy in the metropolis of Arabia.

As to the Koreish was tacitly resigned by the other tribes the spiritual and temporal dominion of Mecca, so in that tribe itself was obedience rendered to the sway of one family; and the house of Haschem had long supplied a hereditary line of pontiffs to the Caaba, and of merchant princes to the commonwealth. They claimed with their tribe a direct descent from Ishmael, the son of Abraham, the earlier links of which, the Arabs themselves confess, are involved in obscurity; but which, notwithstanding the scepticism of a certain class of historians, must be readily admitted by every believer in revelation, and is, indeed, incontrovertibly confirmed, among other proofs, by identity of peculiar habits, by the testimony of very early writers, and by unbroken tradition.

Descent and birth of Mohammed. A. D. 569.

It was from this princely stock of Arabia that the victorious author of the widely extended faith to which he has given his name, derived his parentage and birth. His grandfather Abdol-Motalleb held the guardianship of the Caaba, and exercised the temporal sovereignty of Mecca. The power or influence of the family, however, was probably weakened by a division of its patrimony among the numerous sons of Abdol-Motalleb; the share of Abdallah the youngest was small, and had remained unimproved by the usual pursuit of commerce; and the general circumstances of their house seemed to forebode a declension in the fortunes of the Haschemites. MOHAMMED, the only son of Abdallah, and Amina, a daughter of the noble tribe of the Zarites, was born at Mecca about the five hundred and sixty-ninth year of the Christian era.[1] He was early

[1] Abulfeda, c. 1. The research and calculation of the learned and laborious

deprived by death, first of both his parents, and then of his grandfather; his uncles were numerous, strong, and rapacious; and in the partition of their father's inheritance, five camels and a single female slave comprised all the possessions which they spared to the helplessness of the orphan. The guardianship of Mohammed, however, together with the supreme office of the religion and state, devolved on Abu-Taleb, the eldest and most respectable of his uncles, who reared him in his house with kindness and care, and instructed his youth in the national arts of warfare and trade. Mohammed was thus suffered to attend his uncle in his journies to the fairs of Syria, and fought by his side in the usual feuds of the Arabian tribes: but his early manhood was consumed without distinction, until, in his twenty-fifth year, he received the appointment of factor to Kadijah, the noble widow of a wealthy trader of Mecca, won her affections, and was shortly united to her in marriage.[1]

The practices in which, for fifteen years after his marriage, Mohammed is said to have been engaged, were such as may be ascribed indifferently to the dictates of a fervid enthusiasm, or a cool and calculating design of imposture. His deportment towards his fellow-citizens appeared to be regulated by a general spirit of courtesy and benevolence; his charities were extensive and bountiful; and his devotions to the idolatrous worship of the Caaba were performed with a regularity and strictness, which secured him the highest reputation for pious austerity. But at stated seasons he withdrew altogether from the world to fasting, meditation, and prayer, in the holy retreat of Mount Hara,[2] near Mecca; and these ascetic observances attracted the veneration of a rude and ignorant people, while they gradually sublimated his own mind into the exaltation of spiritual pride or of delusion.

He assumes the title of a Prophet. A. D. 609.

The qualifications which he possessed for the promulgation of his doctrines are best attested by the success of his audacious pretensions; and while we doubt the authenticity, we may admit the probable truth of the traditions,[3] which attribute to him a handsome and noble figure, a dignified and engaging address, a fluent and persuasive eloquence. These advantages, the spontaneous gifts of nature, were doubtless assisted by the accidents of birth

Benedictines (*L'Art de verifier les Dates*, p. 15) have imagined the correct date of Mohammed's birth to be a year later: but the hypothesis is without foundation; and we may echo the suspicion of Gibbon (c. 50) that "while we refine our chronology, it is possible that the illiterate prophet was ignorant of his own age."

[1] Abulfeda, c. 3-6. Gagnier, c. 4.

[2] Abulfeda, c. 7.

[3] See those collected in Gagnier, vol. ii. p. 266, &c.

and station; but it must greatly elevate the standard at which we are to estimate the prodigious force of his inherent genius, when we call to mind that he was totally unassisted by artificial culture; and we learn with astonishment, that this destined founder of a new, wide-spreading, and enduring system of religion, was an unlettered and ignorant barbarian: that he had not even been taught either to read or write,[1] was entirely destitute of the practical experience of civilized life, and had never remotely surveyed its aspect, save during the brief and busy commotion of a Syrian fair.[2]

It has been well observed, that the conquests of the impostor over his family were the most arduous which he ever effected: since he presented himself as a prophet to those who were most conversant with his infirmities as a man.[3] Yet there is the less reason to doubt the sincerity of their belief. His first converts were his wife Kadijah; his youthful cousin Ali, the son of his uncle Abu-Taleb; his friend Abu-Beker, a respectable and wealthy citizen of Mecca of mature age; and his slave Zeid. When Mohammed affirmed, that the angel Gabriel had appeared to him in a nocturnal vision, and pronounced him the Apostle of God, Kadijah was the first to credit the tale, and in the sacred office of the prophet to honour the beloved person of a husband; young Ali accepted the pretensions of his friend and relative with the fiery spirit of juvenile fanaticism; and Abu-Beker was strangely excited to employ the influence of a calm and temperate character, in increasing the number of proselytes to the cause which he had embraced. By his reasoning or persuasion, five of the principal men of Mecca were induced privately to abjure the national idolatry, and to declare their belief in the divine mission and doctrines of Mohammed; and their example was soon followed by the voluntary conversion of five other citizens.[4]

During three years, Mohammed was sufficiently occupied in the silent conversion, or satisfied with the homage of these fourteen disciples. But at the end of that period, either encouraged by his success or impatient at its narrow limits, he publicly asserted both the unity of God and his own heavenly office. The occasion chosen was a banquet, ac-

Preaches his new religion at Mecca. A. D. 612.

[1] Abulfeda, c. 7, whose appeal to tradition corresponds with the *Koran*, c. 7, wherein Mohammed calls himself, or is called, expressly, the "illiterate prophet." (Sale's version:) and again, c. 29, "Thou couldst not read any book," &c. Also Sale, *Prelim. Discourse*, sec. 2.

[2] Abulfeda, c. 7.

[3] Gibbon, c. 50, (vol. ix. p. 282, Ed. 1807.)

[4] Abulfeda, c. 8.

cording with the simple manners of the Arabs, to which all the males of the house of Haschem were invited; and there addressing his astonished kinsmen, about forty of whom were assembled, Mohammed informed them, that he, and he only, was empowered to dispense the most precious of gifts, the treasures both of this world and of the next. "God," he continued, "has commanded me to call you to his service. Who among you will share my burthen? who will be my companion, my fellow-labourer, my Vezir?" The appeal was received with silent astonishment, and perhaps with secret derision: until Ali, who had impatiently waited in expectation that some one of the elders of the house would have joyfully accepted the proposal, exclaimed in the frenzy of enthusiasm—"O Apostle of the one God, I am the man! whosoever shall rise up against thee, I will dash out his teeth, pluck forth his eyes, break his legs, and tear open his bowels! O Prophet of God, I will be thy Vezir." Mohammed embraced his young proselyte with transport, and blessed him as his brother, his friend, and the chosen assistant of his sacred office. It was in vain that Abu-Taleb prohibited the wild folly of his son, and endeavoured to dissuade his nephew from the prosecution of his fanatical design. Mohammed replied only by the asseveration, that though the sun should be set against his course on the right hand, and the moon on his left, he would still persevere; the son of Abu-Taleb was equally immovable in his fidelity; and the venerable chieftain, finding his influence unavailing to arrest the purpose of his relatives, exerted his power for their protection against the animosity which their departure from the idolatrous faith of their forefathers had provoked in their tribe.[1]

The *Koran.*

In the progress of his imposture, Mohammed was taught the necessity of inventing an express revelation of the Divine will, both to assert the direct authority of his mission, and to methodize the doctrinal and moral code of his system. For these purposes he delivered to his proselytes from time to time such portions of the pretended Word of God as the enthusiasm, or passion, or policy of the moment suggested; and these accumulated dictations supplied the substance or groundwork for the volume which, under the Arabic term of AL-KORAN, or the book fit to be read, or that which ought to be read,[2] defines and preserves the faith and ordinances of Islam. As these fragments were orally promulgated by the illiterate Prophet, they were eagerly committed to writing by his fanatic auditory, if we may credit the vulgar traditions, on the leaves of the palm-tree, and the shoulder-

[1] Abulfeda, c. 8.
[2] Sale, *Preliminary Discourse*, sec.

bones of mutton, or more probably on the skins of animals. It has been traditionally asserted, that the original promulgation, though evidently delivered at intervals, to suit the convenience and obey the varying circumstances of the imposture, was systematic and careful; that the pseudo Prophet was assisted in its composition by a heretic monk, or at least by some apostate Christian or Jew;[1] and that the appearance of the collected volume is coeval with the lifetime of Mohammed himself. Still more to perplex the question, modern writers have variously imagined internal evidence equally positive, that the uniformity of the work denotes the hand of a single artist,[2] and that the *Koran* is indebted to several hands for its present contents.[3]

But whatever doubt may be raised on the entire authenticity of the *Koran*, as wholly the work of the pretended prophet himself, there can be none on the sources from which its contents were derived. By whomever composed, it is, in the better portions of its thoughts and diction, a palpable imitation of the Holy Scriptures; though its system is but the base counterfeit of even the corrupted Christianity of the Eastern churches; still further adulterated by admixture with the fictions of rabbinical tradition, the dreams of the Persian Magi, and the gross idolatry of the ancient Arabians. In the fourth century, Arabia had afforded a common refuge to various heretical sects of Christians, to the Jews, and to the disciples of Zoroaster. The *Koran* was heterogeneously compounded of the sacred truths, the false legends, and the wild fables, which were to be gathered from the incongruous doctrines and opinions of all these people. The assertion of the unity of God, and the inculcation of His worship, in the purity of which the followers of the *Koran* make their chief boast, and in which, indeed, the real superiority of the Musulman over other false creeds mainly consists, are obviously derived from the Pentateuch; and whatever just conceptions of the attributes of the one Almighty Creator, as a Being of infinite power, wisdom, and goodness, are found in the *Koran*, may, in like manner, be traced to the divine original of the Christian Scriptures.

Its sources.

I. A corruption of the Holy Scriptures.

While these circumstantial falsifications of sacred history betray also the degree in which the compounders of the *Koran* were indebted to the Old and New Testaments for the juster and more elevated views of the divine attributes which are infused into their

[1] Sale, note to *Koran*, c. 16, in which the impostor himself has recorded the general suspicions of his unbelieving countrymen.

[2] Sale, Gibbon, (vol. ix. p. 259,) &c.

[3] See particularly an article in the *Retrospective Review* (vol. iii. p. 1-22) on the Koran.

system; it is equally easy to trace the lower and grosser portions of the scheme to a very different original. Rejecting the rewards offered by the Gospel in an eternal state, of such blissful purity as sanctified souls may be expected to enjoy, it was from the imaginings of the Persian Magi that Mohammed borrowed his fanciful conceptions of the spiritual world, his puerile machinery of angels, genii, and devils, the local habitation of his hell, and the voluptuous enjoyments of his paradise. The demonology of Mohammed is but a copy of that of Zoroaster or his followers; the Eblis, or Satan of the Musulmans, is precisely the Ahriman, or Arimanius, of the Magi; the hair-breadth bridge, *Al Sirat*, which spans the gulf of torments to the threshold of the seventh heaven, is evidently of Persian creation; and the Houris, or black-eyed virgins of Paradise, who are to minister to the delights of the virtuous believer, are but the *Hourani Behest*, with whom the Magians had peopled their region of beatitude.[1]

III. The fables of the Persian Magi.

Amidst its distortions of Holy Scripture, and its spoliations from the Magian system, the *Koran*, lastly, exhibits the traces of the old Arabian superstition; and notwithstanding its boasted denunciations against idolatry, the positive injunction of the pilgrimage to Mecca identifies the religion of Islam with the Pagan worship, which Mohammed declared it was one of the objects of his mission to extirpate. The inexplicable sanctity of the Caaba, and the adoration of its black stone, are revered and practised as senselessly by the devout Musulman as by the ancient idolater; and the preservation of these unmeaning rites is a proof of the degree in which Mohammed, either actuated by his own early prejudices, or unable to overcome the influence of venerated customs in his followers, infused the gross paganism of his own country, as well as the more spiritual system of Zoroaster, into his pretended reformation of the true faith.[2]

And IV. The old Arabian idolatry.

The *Koran* is written in the idiom which was used at Mecca by the tribe of Koreish, confessedly the purest and most refined among the ancient dialects of Arabia; and from every motive of religion and taste, the text of the sacred volume has naturally, therefore, been received by the Arabs as the general standard of their language. But the modern variations of the Arabic are as numerous as the countries of Islam in which it is still used; and time, with its usual corruptions, has so changed the vulgar speech in the peninsula itself, that the Arabic of the *Koran* is now taught even

[1] Hyde, *Hist. Religionis Veterum Persarum*, p. 244-402, *passim*.
[2] Sale, *Prel. Dis.* sec. 4, *ad fin.*

at Mecca as a dead language. All competent opinions are agreed that the style and diction of the volume in the original, though with many irregularities, are magnificent, harmonious, and elegant;[1] and its composition is esteemed by the learned devotees of the mosque to be both inimitable and miraculous. It is not improbable, indeed, that its harmony of expression had a great effect in captivating the untutored Asiatic mind, which is very susceptible of the music of sounds, and easily wrought by them to ecstacy.

Moral and Juridical-system of the *Koran*.

The *Koran* is the basis of the moral and juridical system, as well as of the theology of the Moslem world;[2] and the necessary union of the highest judicial with the sacerdotal offices in every Mohammedan country, explains the direct application of the religious and moral code of Islam, to the business of criminal and civil jurisprudence. Mohammed constituted himself a legislator as well as a prophet; legal enactments are loosely interspersed throughout his work among ethical doctrines and moral precepts; and his pretended revelation provides, though without any methodical arrangement, or apparent uniformity of design, for all the social exigencies of a rude and simple constitution of society. The four primary obligations of prayer and ablution, fasting, alms-giving, and the pilgrimage to Mecca, are enforced by the hopes and the fears of reward and punishment in eternity. The prohibition of gaming, usury, wine, and interdicted meats, is accompanied with the same threatenings of divine wrath; such vices as are least cognizable by spiritual laws, covetousness, prodigality, falsehood, slander, perjury, are more specially declared to be held in abhorrence by God; and general exhortations to the virtues of mutual charity, benevolence, justice, forgiveness of injuries, gratitude to benefactors, and reverence for parents and superiors, are strengthened with the promises of everlasting felicity. The ordinances of marriage and polygamy, of divorce, dowry, and inheritance, the relations of debtor and creditor, are specially defined; and the crimes of murder, adultery, theft, and personal injury, are severally visited with the gradations of judicial punish-

[1] Sale, sec. 3. Mills, p. 280.

[2] The *Sonna*, however, or traditionary law, is also venerated and recognised by the Moslem world as an authority second only to the *Koran* itself. Under this term (which signifies custom or ordinances) are comprised all the records of the sayings and actions of the Prophet, which are supposed to have been derived from the oral testimony of his wives and contemporary disciples. Of these collections there are several highly esteemed by the orthodox Sonnites or Musulman traditionists: but the most famous of all is the *Sahiah* (or Genuine Book) of Al Bochari, which was compiled about two hundred years after the death of Mohammed. D'Herbelot, *Bib. Orient.* Arts. *Sahiah* and *Bochari*. And see also a note of Gagnier to the nineteenth chapter of *Abulfeda*.

ment. But a minute analysis of the religious doctrines, the moral precepts, and the social ordinances of the *Koran*, is beyond the scope of our present subject; and it will be sufficient for the purpose if the general sketch which we have given of the evident sources and the principal characteristics of Islamism, shall illustrate the life of its extraordinary author, and the history of the spiritual and temporal empire which he founded.[1]

The progress of his religion, even after he had formally assumed the prophetic office at Mecca, was for ten years extremely laborious and slow. But he persevered through every discouragement and difficulty: dictating at intervals to his disciples in private the fragments of the *Koran;* preaching incessantly in public at the Caaba the doctrines and promises of his pretended revelations; exhorting his fellow-citizens and the pilgrim strangers to quit their gross idolatry for the pure worship of the one God; summoning them to repentance, prayer, and good works; and endeavouring to allure their faith by glowing pictures, the most captivating to a people so prone to the indulgence of imagination and the senses, of a paradise of eternal voluptuousness. But the inhabitants of Mecca were made obstinate either by prejudice or incredulity; the Koreish, especially, were indignant or alarmed at doctrines which denounced the established superstition, and endangered their own supremacy, together with that of the idolatrous worship; and even the uncles of Mohammed, as well as the other elders of the city and tribe, united in denouncing the presumption of the reformer. When he dwelt, in his orations at the Caaba, on the sublime attributes of the Divine Unity, he was interrupted by the clamours of his own tribe and relations, the privileged guardians of the Temple and its idols, who exhorted the people and pilgrims to "hearken not to the deceiver or his impious innovations, to stand fast in the worship of Al Lât and Al Uzza;" when he appealed to the inimitable beauties of the *Koran*, to attest the truth of his divine mission, his oppo-

[1] For a more elaborate view of the *Koran*, the inquisitive reader may be referred to several sources of information. The *Preliminary Discourse* and notes of Sale's translation form an admirable commentary on the text of the work; the remarks of Gibbon (c. 50) display as usual his extent of research and his malevolence against Christianity; the paper in the *Retrospective Review* already quoted, though perhaps expressed in somewhat confident terms, is well written, and evinces considerable acquaintance with its subject; and the fifth chapter of Mills' *History of Muhammedanism*, presents an able digest. All these materials have been consulted and occasionally used. The historical nature of our present rapid sketch has forbidden us from considering Mr Forster's bold and most ingenious hypothesis in his *Mahometanism Unveiled*—a work which has, perhaps, concentrated more information respecting the doctrine of the Prophet than any other which can be named.

sers taunted him to produce visible signs from heaven; and the people loudly echoed the demand for miracles. He could only reply through the *Koran* that, if they would not already believe in God's word as there promulgated, "though a revelation were given by which mountains should be removed, or the earth cleaved in sunder, or the dead be caused to speak, it would be in vain;"[1] and that "nothing had hindered God from sending him (like former prophets) with miracles, except that the former nations had charged them with imposture."[2]

Of the proximate circumstances which, notwithstanding the hostility of the Koreish, enabled him to triumph over these obstacles, few authentic particulars are preserved. It is probable that persecution wrought its ordinary effects in strengthening the numbers and energy of the converts to the new faith: it is certain that, though Abu-Taleb violently condemned the new doctrines of his nephew, he exerted his temporal authority to protect the person of a relative whom he loved, against the assaults of his enemies; and the whole family of the Haschemites, when the rest of the Koreish began actually to menace one of their members, were naturally united to repel an assault, which originated as much in the jealousy felt by the rest of the tribe at the long preponderance of their house, as in religious indignation against the individual reformer.

The Koreish, finding that Mohammed was still supported by his family, solemnly engaged themselves to renounce all intercourse with the children of Haschem, and to hold them at deadly feud, until they should deliver up the impostor to condign punishment for his blasphemy against the gods. At this juncture, the death of Abu-Taleb increased the imminent peril of Mohammed; and the loose administration of the state passing, on this event, through some unexplained revolution, from the house of Haschem to the rival family of Ommia, the Prophet was left destitute of the only support which had hitherto protected him at Mecca. The loss at the same time of his faithful partner Kadijah completed the measure of his political and domestic calamities; his life was solemnly devoted by a secret conspiracy of the Koreish; and the discovery of the plot gave him the only alternative of death or immediate flight.[3]

Against this extremity, a refuge not only of safety but of triumph was already prepared for him. About the twelfth year of his ministry, during a pilgrimage to the Caaba, several of the most eminent men of Medina had been converted by his preaching; and on their return home, these noble proselytes had zealously diffused a know-

[1] *Koran*, c. 13. [2] *Ibid*, c. 17.
[3] Abulfeda, c. 18-23. Gagnier, lib. ii. *ad* c. 14.

ledge of his religion among their fellow-citizens. An embassy of twelve persons, from the two rival tribes which divided the sovereignty of Medina, was deputed to offer the profession of their faith to the Prophet of God; and secretly meeting him by night on a hill near Mecca, they engaged themselves by a solemn oath, in the name of their families and absent brethren, to renounce idolatry, and to obey him in all things reasonable.

When the increasing danger of the Prophet's position at Mecca suggested the necessity of temporal aid, this religious covenant was enlarged into a political association; and a second mission from Medina, consisting of seventy-three men and two women, who had embraced the faith of Islam, arrived at Mecca, to establish the relations of mutual dependence and fidelity between them, their apostle, his kindred, and his native disciples. On the same spot, and with the same secrecy as before, Mohammed, attended by some of his family and followers, joined the converts of Medina in a second nocturnal conference; and in the result of this interview has been traced the first germ of the mighty empire of the Saracens.[1] The religious and political confederates pledged themselves, their property, and their lives, to each other in the common cause of Islam. In the name of the people of Medina, the new proselytes offered their city for an asylum to their apostle, if he should be banished from Mecca; proposed to receive him as their leader; and vowed to obey and defend *him* in all things to the uttermost extremity. On his part, they required only that, if he should be recalled by his own city, he should not abandon them: he answered with consummate art, that henceforth all things would, equally by the ties of honour and interest, be in common between them. They anxiously desired to know their reward if they should be slain in his service: "Paradise," was the emphatic reply of the audacious impostor. The people of Medina ratified the engagement, and their unanimous profession of Islam was the immediate and sufficient symbol of their sincerity.[2]

The traditions of the Musulmans have preserved some interesting particulars of their Prophet's memorable escape from the assassins of the Koreish.[3] Mohammed remained at Mecca with only Abu-Beker and Ali for companions, when he discovered a plot for his murder. It was in the dead of night that Mohammed silently quitted his house; while the heroic Ali, folding himself in the green mantle, and reclining on the couch of the Prophet, personated

[1] Gibbon, vol. ix. p. 290.
[2] Abulfeda, *ubi suprà*. Gagnier, lib. i. c. 16.
[3] Abulfeda, *ibid.* See also D'Herbelot, *Bib. Orient.* p. 445. Sale, *Prel. Dis.* sect. 3, &c.

his figure, and calmly awaited the death which was intended for his friend. The murderers, who watched through the night to prevent the escape of the Prophet, and believed that it was he whom, through the crevice of the door, they discerned still sleeping, were not undeceived until they saw Ali arise from the bed in the morning. They forbore to punish the generous devotion of the youthful fanatic; but commenced an earnest pursuit of Mohammed, who, with his remaining friend, Abu-Beker, had already effected his escape from the city.

His flight from Mecca.

For three days the fugitives lurked among the recesses of a cavern in the vicinity of Mecca; and the orthodox Musulmans believe that they were indebted to a series of miracles for their preservation: that the emissaries of the Koreish were suddenly stricken with blindness;[1] that pigeons built their nests at the mouth of the cave of retreat after the Prophet went in, so that it should seem to the pursuers not to have been entered; and that spiders wove their webs across the inlet for the same providential design.[2] In this perilous crisis, the pious confidence of the fanatic, or the inflexible courage of the impostor, did not desert him. The dread of discovery in the cave, and of an unequal contest with their numerous pursuers, drew a remark from the despairing Abu-Beker, that there were but two of them. "There is yet a third," was the rebuke, or the consolatory rejoinder of his companion: "there is yet a third, even God himself."[3] As soon as the ardour of pursuit had subsided, Mohammed and Abu-Beker, emerging from the cavern, effected their escape to Medina; and the HEGIRA,[4] or flight of the Prophet, is the epoch from which the nations of Islam still calculate the revolutions of their lunar years.

Epoch of the HEGIRA. A. D. 622.

It was on the morning of the seventeenth day after his departure from Mecca, that Mohammed reached the gates of the city of refuge. Five hundred of its noblest inhabitants had advanced to meet him; a turban was unfurled before him for a standard; and mounted on a camel, under the shade of an umbrella of palm-leaves, the pseudo Prophet made his triumphal entry into Medina, amidst the enthusiastic acclamations of a devoted multitude. Mohammed

[1] *Koran*, c. 36, with Sale's fifth note.

[2] D'Herbelot, *ubi suprà*.

[3] *Koran*, c. 9.

[4] On the precise date of the Hegira, the opinions of chronologers have been divided. But the most common and probable conclusion has fixed it on the 16th of July, A. D. 622. This solemn commemoration of the great religious and political epoch of Islam, was instituted by the Khaliff Omar, in imitation of the era of the persecution of Dioclesian, from which the Christians were accustomed to reckon their time. About thirty-two of our solar years correspond to thirty-three of the Hegira. D'Herbelot, (Art. *Hegira*, p. 144,) and Mills, p. 21.

had no sooner established himself at Medina than he assumed the twofold office of a prince and a prophet. By the people of that city his authority as a sovereign was zealously accepted, and profoundly venerated; his disciples of Mecca, who had been dispersed by the persecution, gathered round his person, and swelled the number of his subjects; and the success with which he prevented the growth of discord and jealousy between his old and new proselytes, and united them in mutual love and common devotion to his cause, displays the extent of his power, and the wonderful ability with which it was exercised. A rude mosque, which he built at Medina, together with a residence equally rude for himself, were the simple seats of his court; and leaning against the trunk of a palm-tree, or supported in a rough pulpit of timber, he regularly prayed and preached and poured forth his inspiration to the assembly of the faithful.[1]

But the language which he breathed was no longer that of forbearance and peace. Until his reception at Medina, he had constantly declared that he was commissioned only to preach and admonish, and he had disclaimed any authority from God to enforce the profession of Islam: but he had no sooner acquired the power of facing his enemies, than he changed his strain into a tone of fierce and sanguinary intolerance, which shews that his earlier moderation was the effect of weakness alone. He now proclaimed that the season of God's indulgence to infidels was past, and announced the divine commission to overthrow the emblems of idolatry, to propagate the true faith by the sword, and to fight against unbelievers to the death, until they should accept the alternative of conversion or tribute. The portions of the *Koran* which were first delivered at Medina enjoin the Prophet to stir up his followers to war with unbelievers as a positive duty,[2] and hold out the most exquisite joys of paradise to such of the faithful as shall expend their blood and lives in the cause. Nor did Mohammed neglect to offer more immediate rewards of earthly possessions to the cupidity of his proselytes. One-fifth of the booty was reserved to the Prophet for pious and charitable uses, and the remainder was to be equitably shared among the victorious warriors, and the widows and orphans of the slain; the female prisoners were declared a lawful prey to their captors; and the indulgence of avarice and lust was thus made both the temporal and eternal promise of religion! The doctrine of predestination, which was strongly inculcated in the *Koran*, and has always continued so remarkable an article of

[1] Abulfeda, c. 24-44. Gagnier, l. iii. c. 1, &c.
[2] *Koran*, c. 8, 9, &c.

the Musulman's creed, added its incentive of reckless confidence to a courageous race, whose susceptible imaginations were already enchanted, and whose devout enthusiasm was kindled, by the visions of paradise and the fancied commands of the Almighty.[1]

With their native intrepidity doubly steeled by this mixture of enthusiasm and stoicism, we need feel no wonder that the fanatical proselytes of Mohammed were rapidly victorious over the rest of their countrymen who wanted the same stimulus of passion. But the first warlike enterprises of the new sectaries savoured more of the usual Arabian characteristics of robbery and feud than of religious hostility. The position of Medina, in the direct route between Damascus and Mecca, seems to have tempted Mohammed and his followers to revenge the persecution which they had suffered, by intercepting and plundering the Syrian caravans of the Koreish. The indignation of that powerful tribe was roused by the insult against their fugitive rebel, his followers and supporters; in order to protect their trade, they invaded the territory of Medina with the whole military force of Mecca; and the first regular war which the author of the religion of the *Koran* was compelled to support, was one of defence against his native tribe and city. The numbers of the Koreish were one hundred horse and eight hundred and fifty foot; the force with which the new ruler of Medina could oppose them amounted only in all to three hundred and thirteen, exiles and auxiliaries, of whom seventy were mounted on camels.

Battle of Beder. A. D. 623.

Notwithstanding this disparity, Mohammed boldly awaited the attack of his persecutors in the vale of Beder, about thirty miles from Medina; and the circumstances of the encounter strikingly exhibit the influence either of his enthusiasm or his artifice. As the array of the Koreish descended from the hills, he exclaimed aloud, "Oh God, if these thy servants be destroyed, by whom wilt thou be worshipped on earth? Courage, my children, close your ranks, shoot your arrows together, and the victory is unto you." Then, at the first onset, he retired apart and in safety from the javelins of the enemy, with his friend Abu-Beker, to a throne or pulpit of wood, and prayed to God for the succour of Gabriel and a legion of angels. But he no sooner perceived that the impetuous assault of the Koreish was bearing down the courage of his followers, than he sprang from his retreat, mounted his horse, and advancing at a gallop, threw a handful of sand into the air, and cried with a loud voice, "let their faces be covered with confusion." The Koreish, struck by this

[1] *Koran*, c. 3, 4, 17, &c.

invocation, and believing that the powers of heaven were arrayed against them, were suddenly panic-stricken; they wavered and fled, and were totally defeated.[1]

Victory of Mohammed.

The battle of Beder, while it extended the renown of Mohammed, also inflamed the revengeful hatred of his enemies and the presumptuous confidence of his proselytes. Abu Sofiân, the Ommiaden ruler of Mecca, stimulated to increased efforts, took the field again at the head of a far more formidable force than before of the Koreish and their allies. To his array of three thousand men, well appointed with armour, and mounted on a train of as many camels and horses, Mohammed could still oppose only nine hundred and fifty soldiers. The disparity of numbers was not greater than at Beder; but on the field of Oḥud, near Medina, the overweening rashness and disobedience of his disciples exposed the pseudo apostle to a signal defeat. He himself was wounded in the face, and seventy of his disciples were slain: but he retrieved a disaster which threatened to impair his prophetical credit, by his admirable conduct in the field, and afterwards accounted for it as a punishment for the sins of his people.[2]

His subsequent defeat at Ohud. A. D. 624.

In the following year a confederate array of ten thousand men from the idolatrous tribes of Arabia, Abu Sofiân, and the Koreish, ventured to lay siege to Medina. But its Musulman defenders, only three thousand in number, were secured by an entrenchment; and this war of the *Ditch*, as it was thence called, or of the *Nations*, from the various tribes who were engaged in it, ended without any decisive engagement, in the gradual dispersion of the confederates.[3]

Indecisive war of the Ditch, or of the Nations. A. D. 625.

After the impostor had once secured his temporal and spiritual throne at Medina, there is little to interest us in the continual detail of his predatory warfare against his countrymen. If his power had not survived him, and his disciples had not extended his conquests beyond the limits of their own peninsula, his warlike achievements would not have much more claim to notice than those of any other Arab chief; and the reader may be spared the details of the twenty-seven expeditions and the nine battles, in which he personally engaged against the Infidels. It is more important to confine our attention to a rapid survey of the course by which he finally effected his restoration to his native city, and completed the conquest of all Arabia.

By every motive of passion and interest he was urged to attempt

[1] *Koran*, c. 3, 8, with Sale's notes. Abulfeda, c. 27. Gagnier, *Vie de Mahomet*, vol. ii. p. 30-33.

[2] *Koran*, c. 3.

[3] Abulfeda, c. 28-42. Gagnier, vol. ii. p. 34-138, *passim*.

the conquest of Mecca, the place of his birth, and the throne of his persecutors,—the metropolis of Arabia, and the seat of its holiest temple. Two years after the failure of the Koreish and their confederates in their attack upon Medina, the Prophet of Islam, with a rashness, the disgrace of which was only redeemed by his subsequent address, announced the divine assurance of protection in a pilgrimage or expedition to the city of the Caaba. He set out with a force of fourteen hundred men; but the Koreish opposed his march with superior numbers; the strength and firmness of their attitude rendered the issue of an encounter very doubtful; and the impostor, in prudent oblivion of the heavenly promise which he had proclaimed, condescended to treat with the Koreish only as a temporal chieftain. He thus obtained by a truce with that tribe, though at the expense of some credit as a prophet, the ostensible purpose of his expedition, the license of visiting the Caaba with his friends, but only as brief sojourners and pilgrims; and by this temperate stipulation he probably also prepared the means of success for his ultimate designs. The Koreish withdrew by treaty to the hills, while the Prophet and his disciples made their peaceful entry into Mecca, and performed their devotions at the Caaba; the people were awed by the spectacle of his piety, and of the veneration with which he was regarded by his proselytes; and it may be inferred that, during the four days in which, by his agreement, he was suffered to remain in Mecca, Mohammed, by the arts of intrigue, had gained over a large party of his former opponents, both among the chieftains and the people of his birth-place.

Rash expedition to Mecca. A. D. 627.

From that moment his power, which had just before been inadequate to break through the Koreish, appears completely in the ascendant. Amrou and Kaled, two of his fiercest and most formidable enemies, and the future Musulman conquerors of Egypt and Syria, suddenly became his proselytes; various tribes successively declared their conversion to the creed of Islam; and when he retired from Mecca, it was only to anticipate a second entry and a more triumphant inauguration.

In less than two years Mohammed found a pretence for a renewal of hostilities with the Koreish. Abu Sofiân, the haughty ruler of Mecca, in vain endeavoured to deprecate the vengeance of the exiled prophet by himself undertaking a mission to his throne. Mohammed refused even to admit the suppliant to an audience; and his preparations for war were as secret and rapid as his purpose was inexorable. Before the Koreish were aware of his approach, they were surprised by his sudden appearance at the gates of Mecca with ten thousand men. His fallen enemies, totally un-

prepared for resistance, were compelled to surrender themselves to his mercy; and Abu Sofiân delivered the keys of the city to the humble preacher whom he had driven into banishment. It deserves to be recorded to the honour of the successful impostor, that, in the intoxication of that hour of victory, he restrained his passions, and did not abuse his triumph; for though twenty-eight persons were murdered by a party under the ferocious Kaled, the Prophet arrested the further effusion of blood, and calmly demanded of the chiefs of the Koreish, as they knelt before him, "What mercy they were entitled to claim from the man whom they had so wronged?" They answered, "That they confided in the magnanimity of their kinsman." "Nor shall ye confide in vain," was the generous reply: "begone, ye are safe, ye are free!" Abu Sofiân and his party saved their lives by embracing the profession of Islam: the inhabitants of Mecca were also compelled to subscribe to the same creed; and four or five persons only, who after a former conversion had committed the inexpiable crime of apostacy, were finally exempted from the general amnesty, and put to death by the command of the Prophet. But the idols of the Caaba, and in the vicinity of the Holy City, were overthrown and utterly destroyed; their worship was proscribed under pain of death; and religious uniformity in the doctrines of the *Koran* was sternly enforced.[1]

Triumphant return to Mecca. A. D. 629.

The success of Mohammed at Mecca, and the moderation or policy with which he used it, were quickly rewarded by the submission of all Arabia to his spiritual and temporal dominion; for though the Hawazanites and the people of Tayêf, a city sixty miles from Mecca, at first refused to renounce their idols, and sustained an obstinate struggle for their independence, they also were finally reduced to acknowledge the religion and sceptre of Mohammed.[2] The details of this singular revolution which, in the course of three years, and for the first and last time in the history of the world, seemingly converted all Arabia into one kingdom, have not descended to us with authentic particularity; but together with the law of the *Koran*, the regal and apostolical authority of Mohammed was acknowledged by the people, and administered by his officers from the Euphrates and the Persian Gulf to the Red Sea, and from the Indian Ocean to the confines of Syria.

Mohammed now turned his attention to the Jews of Arabia, whom he treated with cruel intolerance. Their rejection of his divine mission was the only crime of that unhappy people; but his ambition, or vanity, or fanaticism, made even this an unpardonable

[1] Abulfeda, c. 43-52, &c. Gagnier, vol. ii. *ad fin.* and iii. *ad* p. 58.
[2] *Ibid. ad* c. 56. Gagnier, vol. iii. *ad* p. 110.

offence. His authority was no sooner recognised in Medina than he peremptorily offered the Jewish tribe of Kainoka, whom he found settled in that city under the protection of the state, the sharp alternative of conversion or war. It was in vain that they pleaded their attachment to the rites of their forefathers, confessed their weakness, and implored their oppressor not to drive them to the extremity of resistance. Their supplication and their unequal struggle against his power were alike unsuccessful; and though he unwillingly spared their lives at the intercession of his allies, he divided all their wealth among his followers, and drove the remnant of the tribe, seven hundred men, with their women and infants, destitute and miserable, into exile beyond the Syrian frontiers.

The Jews of Koraidha and Chaibar successively attempted a more obstinate defence and provoked a more bloody revenge. Their towns and castles were captured and sacked; their chiefs were mercilessly tortured in the presence of Mohammed himself to extort a confession of their hidden treasure; and the pretended apostle of God inhumanly glutted his vengeance by the wholesale butchery of a race which he detested.[1] Against the Jewish tribes of Kainoka, Chaibar, and Koraidha, he perpetrated cruelties, which, it should in justice be acknowledged, were foreign to the usual tenor of his disposition or policy. Of the last people, he consigned hundreds to a cold-blooded massacre and a common grave; and even this exception to his general conduct proves that his nature, when stimulated by fanaticism or revenge, was capable of the blackest atrocities. Against the boasted humanity of Mohammed's temper, which is said to have been frequently displayed in his social relations, this remorseless persecution of the Jews must be weighed heavily in the balance of his moral qualities; and it deeply aggravates upon his memory the reproach of his religious imposture. In the same year with his re-establishment at Mecca, the murder of one of his envoys by an Arabian or Syrian chieftain, tributary to Heraclius, offered him a plausible pretext[2] for invading the Greek province of Syria: and at the command of their Prophet, a mere handful of the disciples of Islam rushed upon that encounter with the power of the Eastern Empire, which, unequal as it might in the outset appear, was to terminate, at the distance of eight centuries, in not less than the triumphant establishment of their faith within the city of Constantine. The army with which the Moslems commenced this memorable struggle, consisted of no more than three thousand men; and the inadequacy of such a

Expeditions against the Eastern Empire.

First invasion of Syria. A.D. 629.

[1] Abulfeda and Gagnier, *ubi suprà*.

[2] Abulfeda, c. 48.

force for the invasion of a great empire attests the enthusiastic confidence of success with which Mohammed had already inspired his fanatical followers. The holy banner of the apostle and the chief command were intrusted to the hands of Zeid; and this appointment, it has been well observed,[1] is a curious proof how perfect was the discipline, and how ardent the enthusiasm of the new sect, when the noblest and haughtiest chiefs of Arabia were contented to serve under the manumitted slave of their Prophet. It was near the village of Mutah, southward from Damascus, that the Musulmans made the first essay of their native courage and recent fanaticism against a foreign enemy. The regular troops and auxiliaries of the Eastern Empire, who were collected for the defence of Syria, amounted, if we might credit the exaggerations of the Arabian chroniclers, to one hundred thousand men;[2] it is at least natural to believe that they far outnumbered the handful of invaders; and notwithstanding the fierce onset of the Moslems, the disparity of force long held the event of battle in suspense. Zeid and two other chiefs, Jauffer and Abdallah, who, in the event of his death, had been named by the Prophet in succession for the command, all fell heroically in the thickest of the fight; but the fierce Kaled, one of the latest converts of Mecca, caught the sinking standard of the Prophet from their dying hands, and, at the moment when the Musulmans were giving way before the overwhelming numbers of the Imperialists, his example animated his companions and restored the fortune of the battle; and it was not until day had closed upon the combatants, that the Saracens retired without dishonour from a sanguinary field. During the night, Kaled was raised by the suffrages of his brother-soldiers to the chief command, which he had so well merited by his intrepidity and conduct; and these qualities were still more conspicuously displayed on the morrow. The skilful movements of the little band of Saracens under his directions threw the imperial army into disorder, which was soon followed by a general panic; and in that state they were attacked and routed with merciless slaughter. A profusion of rich spoils fell into the hands of the Musulmans, who returned to Medina with all the honours, and some of the fruits of victory; and their Prophet, in his exultation at this earnest of future conquest, crowned the glory of Kaled with the fanatical title of the *Sword of God*.[3]

Battle of Mutah.

Rout of the Greeks.

Mohammed soon displayed his resolution to follow up this de-

[1] Gibbon, vol. ix. p. 313. [2] Sale, *ubi suprà*.
[3] Abulfeda, c. 48, 49, with Gagnier's notes.

sultory enterprise with the whole force of his temporal and spiritual power. The wealthy and fertile province of Syria tempted his cupidity, and the extension of his empire and doctrines was equally the grand object of his ambition. The collection at Medina of an army of ten thousand horse and twenty thousand foot, with a train of twelve thousand camels, enables us to estimate the gigantic strides with which the power of the preacher of Mecca had rapidly increased; and when Mohammed took the field at the head of this host, formidable alike by their numbers, their valour, and their fanaticism, his march exhibited the state of a mighty monarch. The Prophet, mounted on his white mule, and distinguished by his vesture of green, commanded in person; Abu-Beker claimed the honour of bearing his sacred standard; and the fiery Kaled assumed his appropriate station at the head of the vanguard.

Second invasion of Syria. A. D. 630.

The spirit of his followers, sustained by a frantic enthusiasm, and which seemed capable of surmounting all human opposition, sank under a struggle with the difficulties of nature. The summer heats of the Arabian desert are unsupportable even by a native army; the scorching winds raised the moving sand, and destroyed whole squadrons of the Musulmans; the springs were dried up and refused their usual refreshment; and the rage of thirst drove the soldiery to rip open the bellies of their camels[1] for the sake of obtaining a scanty supply of water, from the store with which those animals have the singular capacity of sustaining the droughts of a march through the desert. The constancy and even the faith of the exhausted Moslems sank under these dreadful privations; the tremendous threat of their Prophet that hell-fire would prove hotter than the sun of the desert,[2] was less alarming to their senses than the prospect immediately before them; and notwithstanding his indignant reproaches, they shrank from the sufferings of the holy war, and deserted his standard in great numbers. Mohammed, himself inflexible in courage and patience, with difficulty sustained the fainting spirits of his remaining followers; and when the weary army reached the confines of Syria and reposed at the fountain and grove of Tabuc, he acknowledged that the strength of his faithful bands was unequal to the farther prosecution of the war, confessed that it had been undertaken without the advice of his guardian

[1] Burckhardt, in his *Notes on the Bedouins*, expresses his disbelief that such a process is ever resorted to. He states that after two days' drought no sufficient supply would be afforded by a camel's stomach, and that in the extremity of thirst, the main object of the sufferer would be to preserve the animal upon whose existence depends his own sole chance of escape.

[2] *Koran*, c. 9.

angel Gabriel, and consented to its abandonment. He retraced his march with the main body of his forces to Medina: but the indefatigable Kaled, with the most active squadrons of the Musulmans, still persevered in a desultory warfare, and extended the terror of his master's name beyond the frontiers of Arabia, from the banks of the Euphrates to the shores of the Mediterranean.[1]

This expedition against the Syrian territory of the Eastern Empire was the last military enterprise of Mohammed; and he survived its conclusion only about two years. The short residue of his life was spent in consolidating the establishment of his religion and empire in Arabia itself. The close of his domestic reign was not wholly undisturbed; for rival imposture threatened the interests of the new religion with the evils of schism and dissent even during the life of its founder; and Mohammed vainly issued his denunciations against the false revelations of Moseilama, a powerful chieftain of the province of Yemanah, (between Mecca and the Persian Gulf,) who had proclaimed himself also a prophet from heaven, and whose pretensions were subsequently suppressed only in the khalifate of Abu-Beker.

Death of Mohammed.

It was in the sixty-third year of his age and the twenty-third of his pretended mission, that Mohammed, whose health had long been visibly declining,[2] was seized with a bilious fever, which carried him in fourteen days to his grave, A. D. 632. The story of his death-bed has of course descended to us only in the traditions preserved by his disciples. But if to these the slightest credit may be given, the impostor displayed at the slow approach, and in the awful moment itself, of dissolution, all the undismayed confidence of sincere faith, or rather of unaffected delusion. His last public acts, when he was sensible of his extremity, were those of pious resignation, of humility, and of justice. From the pulpit, he invited the accusations, and offered the atonement, and implored the forgiveness of any offences which he might have inflicted upon his brethren and subjects. "Is there any Musulman whom I have unjustly scourged? I submit my own back to his retaliation. Is there any one whom I have slandered? Let him

[1] *Koran*, c. 9. with Sale's notes. Abulfeda, c. 56. Gagnier, vol. iii. p. 147-162.

[2] The idle story that Mohammed was afflicted with epileptic fits, which appears to have been an invention of the Byzantine writers, has long been exploded. See Sale's second note to c. 73 of the *Koran*. But the Mohammedan writers believe that his health had suffered from poison, administered to him in revenge by a Jewish woman. Gagnier (note to Abulfeda, p. 9, and *Life of Mahomet*, vol. ii. p. 287.)

proclaim my shame before the congregation. Have I despoiled or defrauded any man? Of the little that I possess let him take principal and interest for the injury." A voice from the crowd charged him with a debt of three silver drachms: he paid the demand with interest, and thanked his creditor that he had accused him in this world rather than hereafter before the judgment-seat of God. According to the custom of the chieftains of his country, he enfranchised all his slaves; and bestowing his solemn benediction on his weeping friends, he endeavoured to moderate their grief, and exhorted them to be steadfast and constant in their moral and religious duties. Until the last three days of his life, he continued regularly to perform the offices of public prayer in the mosque; and even when his weakness compelled him to resign the pulpit to his friend Abu-Beker, he still repaired to the place of worship, supporting his feeble steps on the arms of his attendants.

From A. D. 569 to A. D. 632.

During the last paroxysms of his mortal disorder, which deprived him at intervals of reason, it is acknowledged that he wished to have dictated a new revelation: but the more discreet or bigoted among his disciples loudly protested against his being suffered to supersede the divine authority of the *Koran;* and the ears of their dying Prophet were disturbed by the clamour with which the question was disputed in his chamber. He rebuked the indecent heat of the wranglers; commanded them to withdraw from his presence; and tranquilly awaited his end. To his family he repeated the conversations with which the angel Gabriel continued to favour him; and having once asserted his possession of a peculiar prerogative from heaven that Azrael, the minister of death, could not take his soul without asking his permission, he now declared that the request had been made and granted. Shortly after, he fell into the strong convulsions of death; and stretched upon a carpet which had been laid for him on the floor of his house, his head reclining on the lap of his favourite wife, he at first fainted from excess of pain; but recovering for an instant, he raised his eyes intently towards the roof, ejaculated in faltering but articulate accents, "Oh God, pardon my sins! Ah, my companion, I attend thee to the realms above!" and calmly expired.[1] He was buried at Medina on the spot where he breathed his last; the city which contains his ashes rivals Mecca itself in sanctity; and the pilgrimage to the simple tomb of the Prophet is still numbered among the most meritorious duties of the devout Musulman.[2]

[1] Abulfeda, c. 61–64. Gagnier, vol. iii. p. 221–271.
[2] Abulfeda, c. 61–64, Gagnier, vol. iii. p. 221–271. Gibbon, c. 50.

Estimate of his character.

From the mass of apocryphal tradition and discordant absurdity[1] of which even our earliest materials for the life of Mohammed are composed, it is no easy task to deduce and reconcile any satisfactory relation: it is still more difficult, in the uncertainty which envelopes not only the motives, but many of the actions themselves of this extraordinary man, to discern and estimate the real merits of his character. If we would discriminate accurately between these opposite conclusions, it is perhaps necessary that we should contemplate the visionary enthusiast, the crafty impostor, and the ambitious conqueror, under the various circumstances of fortune, which lent their shifting hues to his moral and intellectual qualities. That his religious practices, his periodical retirements to solitude, his self-inflicted austerities, and his devotional fervour, commenced in sincerity, we need feel little difficulty in believing: that these observances should end in imposture, is the ordinary course of fanaticism. It is evident from all the recorded tenor of his life between his marriage and his assumption of the prophetic office, that religious enthusiasm was the original master-spring of his actions.[2] His reason gradually became obscured by the clouds of mystical devotion; and the chimeras of his fancy might be mistaken, even by his own mind, for the inspiration of heaven. But there seems to be a period in the career of every successful fanatic, in which the subsiding fervour of enthusiasm is replenished and kept alive by the involuntary growth of a hypocritical excitement; and the mind may need first to employ the same stimulus of delusion upon itself, which is afterwards exercised in intentional fraud and craftiness upon others.

Among those who have been disposed to regard the character of Mohammed with the greatest indulgence,[3] it is a favourite hypothesis that he was actuated in the outset by a virtuous indignation at the prevailing superstition of both Jew and Christian, as well as the degrading idolatry of the heathen; and that his preaching was really founded upon the disinterested desire of inculcating a purer system both of morals and theology among his unenlightened countrymen. The means of imposture which cannot be denied, are palliated for the sake of the end to which it is imagined that they were directed; and we are required to believe that the worst motives of the impostor went no further than the harmless, and even

[1] For example, the work of Al Jannabi, which next to that of Abulfeda constitutes our principal Arabic authority for the biography of Mohammed, and has afforded the chief foundation for his life by Gagnier, is a mere farrago of wild legends.

[2] Mills, p. 86.

[3] *Retrospective Review*, vol. iii. p. 7.

laudable design, of creating an honourable name for himself by restoring the worship of the one God among the outcast children of Ishmael. But if we might admit that the founder of Islamism was animated by rational zeal for the purity of religion, and by a patriotic or philosophical desire for the moral improvement of his fellow-beings, we should immediately be met by the difficulty of reconciling the corruptions of his system with the piety and benevolence of his purpose. His conduct was consistent enough with the probable views of a fanatic or an impostor; it was utterly incompatible with the enlightened principles of an ethical moralist.

Guilt of his imposture.

Since the Jewish and Christian dispensations were the evident origin of all his knowledge of the divine unity, he was too well informed of the truth, however corrupted the sources from which he derived it, to be excusable for his preference of falsehood: since he erred not in total ignorance, even his earliest assumption of divine authority is obnoxious to the suspicion either of fanaticism or fraud; and whatever praise is bestowed on the soundness of his intellect, and the moral excellence of his design, serves in fact but to deepen the premeditated guilt of his imposture.

If Mohammed had regulated his own life by the doctrines which he preached, the errors of his personal conduct ought in candour to be measured by the standard of morality among his countrymen, and the practice of the age and clime in which he was born. Thus, his general permission of polygamy was no more than a natural compliance with the previous manners of Arabia; and since he restricted a privilege, which was before unlimited, by commanding every man to confine himself to the society of four women,[1] he cannot be justly accused of having encouraged incontinence among his followers. But when he forged a special revelation from heaven to exempt himself from the restraints which he enforced on his disciples, he must have been consciously guilty of immoral indulgence; to gratify the licentiousness of his appetites, he both violated the precepts of his own law, and audaciously betrayed the extent of his reliance on the credulity of his disciples. The *Koran* expressly declares,[2] that the Prophet is allowed to take as many women as he pleases: and his appropriation to himself of the wife of his freedman,[3] as well as many other circumstances of his domestic life,[4] betrays the fact, that the pretended reformer of

[1] *Koran*, c. 4.

[2] *Ibid.* c. 33, 64.

[3] *Ibid.* c. 33, with Sale's notes.

[4] For one of these, see especially Sale's first note to c. 66 of the *Koran*. Throughout his prurient description of the private life of Mohammed, Gibbon riots in the indulgence of a depraved imagination.

religion and morals was himself an example of unbounded sensuality.

Yet it has been admitted, in contrast to his vices, that Mohammed was endowed with many virtuous and endearing qualities, which attracted among his friends and followers as much affection for the man, as veneration for the prophet. It is the remark of one of his historians,[1] that we may best imagine the general nature of his character from the fact, that the traditions of the Musulmans have assigned to him not so much the *exalted* as the *amiable* attributes of humanity. They delight[2] to eulogize his courtesy to the noble, his affability to the humble, and his dignified deportment to the presumptuous. They dwell on his personal graces of form, countenance, and intellect: on the majesty and mildness which were tempered in his address, his expressive and benignant features, his persuasive and powerful eloquence. They record the simplicity of his habits, his contempt for the idle pomp and state of royalty, and the kind and generous feelings which overflowed in his breast towards his family, his servants, and his friends. Even while he was lord of Arabia he disdained not to perform the most menial offices of his family: he continued to kindle his own fire, to sweep the floor with his own hands, to milk his ewes, and to mend his own shoes and coarse woollen garments. He set the example of religiously observing the interdiction from wine. Without the affectation of austerity, he was contented with the abstemious fare of an Arab and a warrior: honey and milk were the articles of food in which he most delighted; but his ordinary diet was restricted to dates, barley-bread, and water. Nevertheless his hospitality was generous; his charities were bounded only by his possessions; and, at his death, the sincerity of his exhortations to benevolence was proved by the emptiness of his coffers.

As a friend and a parent he exhibited the softest feelings of our nature. After the death of Zeid, he was surprised weeping in his chamber over the daughter of his faithful servant and convert. "What do I see?" exclaimed the intruder, astonished that the apostle of God should be accessible to the weakness of human sorrow. "You see," replied Mohammed, "but one who is deploring the loss of a beloved and devoted friend." His affection for Fatima, his daughter by Kadijah, and the only one of the progeny of a numerous harem who survived him, was of unbounded tenderness; and when he followed his other children to their untimely

[1] Mills, p. 38.

[2] For the following details, see Abulfeda, with the traditions collected in Gagnier, *passim;* and, indeed, repeated by Gibbon and all the modern biographers of Mohammed.

graves,—that severest visitation of Providence which seems to reverse the order of our being,—he wept in all the agony which can rend the fond heart of a parent.[1] Before successful fanaticism had corrupted his virtue, his respectful constancy to the faded matron who was the author of his fortunes, is a beautiful trait in his character. While Kadijah lived she was never insulted by a rival; and his gratitude to her memory survived her to his latest hour. The tenderness of his recollection roused the reproachful and insolent jealousy of Ayesha, the most youthful and blooming of the wives who had replaced her: "Was she not old, and has not heaven given you a better in her place?" "No, before God," cried Mohammed, in a burst of generous emotion, "there never can be a better or a kinder: she believed in me when men despised and mocked me; she relieved my wants when I was poor, and lowly, and persecuted by the world."[2]

Conclusions on his natural disposition.

These facts and anecdotes, which are as well authenticated as any other circumstances in the life and character of the arch-impostor of Arabia, may in same degree serve to moderate the detestation for his name, with which the results of his first delusion, the atrocities, frauds, and cruelties, the licentiousness and tyranny of his latter years, must justly inspire every Christian and moral mind. The conjectural study of his character might form a curious chapter in the history of the human mind, not without its parallel in a modern age and a Christian actor; and, however widely different in effect upon the great cause of religion, the example of either Mohammed or of Cromwell may almost equally demonstrate the danger and the guilt of that self-delusion, which commences in fanaticism only to terminate in ambition and imposture.

[1] Abulfeda, c. 67.

[2] *Ibid.* p. 12, &c.

CHAPTER III.

PROGRESS OF THE SARACEN OR MOHAMMEDAN POWER. THE SINGLE KHALIFATE.

FROM A. D. 632 TO A. D. 755.

It might have been imagined that, on the death of the Prophet, the fanatical attachment of his companions and disciples to his person would have descended upon his family. But all the male offspring of Mohammed had perished in infancy: and the claims of his beloved and only surviving daughter Fatima, who was married to her cousin Ali, were set aside by political animosity and domestic intrigue. The children of Fatima were the natural heirs of Mohammed; and he had often exhibited his two infant grandsons to the people as the pride of his house, and the future hope of Islam, while the birth, and the personal merits of the father Ali, marked him for the destined successor of the Prophet. He was the chief of the house of Haschem, the cousin and the son-in-law of Mohammed, and the earliest and most devoted champion of his mission; he had been declared his brother in affection and his chosen vezir, and he was at once the most noble, heroic and accomplished of his proselytes. But he had incurred the hatred of Ayesha, the favourite wife of Mohammed and daughter of Abu-Beker, by exposing to her husband (as it is said by the Arabian writers) some act of her infidelity; and natural views for her father's aggrandizement might probably be superadded to motives of revenge.

The hereditary and personal title of Ali, thus left without recognition by the silence of his dying father-in-law, was more decidedly rejected by the Koreish, who abhorred the proud supremacy of the house of Haschem. The exclusive right of that aristocracy itself to nominate the Sovereign of Arabia, was fiercely opposed by the other tribes; the pretensions of Mecca rekindled the ancient rivalry between that capital and Medina; and, so soon as a public assembly was convened for the election of a successor to the Prophet, the most illustrious among his original disciples—the Ansars or *Auxiliaries* of the latter city, and the Mohagerians, or *Fugitives* of his birth-place—urged their contending claims to the honour of

appointing the spiritual and temporal chief of Islam, with all the vehemence of Arabian eloquence and passion. The schism became so violent, that to prevent an appeal to arms, the pacific Abu-Beker would imprudently have adopted the rash suggestion of nominating two persons with equal power, as representatives of the Prophet. He accordingly proposed Omar and Abu-Obeidah for this divided sovereignty; and, if the proposal had been accepted, the same hour might have dissolved the rising empire of the Saracens, and prevented the extension of their arms and religion.

Abu-Beker, the first Khalif.

At this crisis, the modest or patriotic self-denial of Omar saved the fortunes of the Mohammedan cause. Declaring his own unfitness to share so weighty a charge, he proposed that the venerable Abu-Beker should himself be appointed to the sole guidance of the faithful; and stretching forth his hand as the accustomed pledge of fealty, he proclaimed himself the subject of the first KHALIF, vicar, or successor of the Prophet. The involuntary acclamations of the assembly recognised the wisdom of this choice; and Abu-Beker was immediately saluted as the supreme Lord and Judge of Islam. The authority of Abu-Beker was at once recognised in Mecca and Medina, and throughout the provinces of Arabia. The adherents of the house of Haschem alone continued to maintain the superior title of Ali, and refused to yield their allegiance to the Khalif; but their resistance to the public voice was rather indirectly countenanced by the haughty silence of their hereditary chief, than encourged by any open assertion of his rights. The threats of the fierce Omar that he would burn the house of Ali to the ground, excited only the contempt of the indignant hero: but his spirit was after a time more subdued by the death of Fatima, by the visible decline of his party, and by the mild expostulations of Abu-Beker, and his submission finally restored unity to the religious and political government of Islam.[1]

His reign. A. D. 632. to A. D. 634.

The great body of the Arabian nation, however, was still far from being animated by the same religious enthusiasm and sincerity, and the same fiery zeal for propagating the doctrines of the *Koran*, which were entertained by the immediate proselytes of Mohammed. The barbarous tribes in general had either been overawed by the arms of the impostor, or dazzled by the splendour of his success; they had received the new faith with indifference; and after the death of its founder, they were quickly relapsing into their ancient idolatry. The incon-

1 Abulfeda, *Annales Moslemici, (Latinè apud* Reiske,) *ad init.* Ockley, *Hist. of the Saracens*, vol. i. p. 1–11. D'Herbelot, *Bib. Orient. ad v. Ali, Aboubecre.* Gibbon, c. 50. Mills, c. 2, &c.

stancy even of the Koreish was only checked by the stern and seasonable rebuke of Abu-Beker. "Ye men of Mecca, will ye be the last to embrace, and the first to abandon, the religion of Islam?" but the sharper argument of the sword was necessary to arrest the infidelity which was contaminating the inhabitants of the Desert; and at the head of a congenial band of fanatics, the sanguinary Kaled attacked the apostates with irresistible fury, defeated them with merciless slaughter, and, by the terror of this example, reclaimed the fickle and disunited tribes to the belief or the profession of Islam.

The pretensions of Moseilima, which had disturbed the last years of the prophet of Islam, were now openly asserted in arms; and the progress of his doctrines and power excited alarm in the Khalif, and indignation in the disciples of the *Koran*. With an army of forty thousand men, Kaled was again appointed by Abu-Beker to conduct the sacred war; in the first action, Moseilima was strong enough to inflict a severe defeat on the Moslems; and it was not until their enthusiasm had risen with the danger of their faith, that the skill and energy of their leader triumphed over the rash confidence of their adversaries. In a general engagement, Moseilima was opportunely slain by the thrust of a lance; his followers, dismayed by his fall, were instantly routed and put to flight; and the previous losses of the Musulmans were revenged by the slaughter of ten thousand of their enemies. The restless and rebellious tribes of the Peninsula, left without a leader or a common motive of resistance, were rapidly compressed within the strong bonds of religious enthusiam and discipline; and the whole of Arabia was more securely subjected than before, and firmly converted to the religion of Mohammed and the authority of his successors.

Invasion of Syria by the Saracens

The effectual establishment of the new monarchy and faith, immediately kindled the ardour of proselytism and conquest, which was inculcated by the creed and adapted to the temperament of a fierce and enthusiastic people; and the Khalif was not slow to animate the martial and fanatical fervour of his subjects by urging the commands of their Prophet for the propagation of their faith. His circular letter to the Arabian tribes describes more forcibly than any narrative the spirit of his nation and his faith, and the causes of their common success: "I praise the most high God, and I pray for his prophet Mohammed: This is to acquaint you that I purpose to send the true believers into Syria to take it out of the hands of the infidels. And I would have you to know that fighting for religion is an act of obedience to God." The riches of Syria were familiar to the Arabs, and the summons of the Khalif was answered by a formidable host from the desert;

and Yezid Ebu Abi Sofiân was appointed by Abu-Beker to the chief command of the numerous army which assembled around Medina for the Syrian invasion. The Khalif accompanied the first day's march on foot: but at the close of evening, the host were solemnly dismissed with his blessing on their way to the holy war; and his parting exhortations to his lieutenant, which exhibited a strange mixture of ferocity and mercy, of violence and justice, may be said to have embodied the future precepts of Musulman war. After bidding Yezid remember that he was ever in the presence of God, that the certainty of impending death and judgment, and the hopes of paradise, were alike set before him, he added "be sure that you shun injustice and oppression towards your own people; lay not needless burdens upon them, comfort, cherish, and consult them; but see that you neither do evil yourself, nor suffer its commission in others. When you fight the battles of heaven, turn not your backs on the foe, but acquit yourselves as men; in your victory slay neither infancy, nor age, nor woman. Neither destroy cattle needlessly, nor cut down the fruit-trees, nor burn the fields of corn. When you make any covenant, depart not from your word. When you meet with religious persons who dwell apart in monasteries, harm them not, neither injure their habitations; but you shall find another set of people, who are of the synagogue of Satan, who shave their crowns; fail not to cleave their skulls, nor at least shew them mercy unless they become Musulmans or render tribute."[1]

In these brief and pithy injunctions, we discover the prelude to that irresistible career of martial fanaticism, which bore its votaries from the sands of Arabia to the waters of the Indus, the Caspian, the Bosphorus, and the Garonne; and the whole history of the Saracen conquests forms but a long practical commentary on the precepts of the first Khalif. The Eastern Empire was, at the period before us, in the lowest stage of imbecility and disorder. Heraclius, the reigning Emperor, whose youth had been crowned with the last glories of the Persian war, had sunk into an old age of degeneracy and impotence, which but too faithfully typified the weakness and vices of his empire. A feeble and slothful government, and an enervated and pusillanimous people, were utterly incapable of effectual resistance to the valiant enthusiasm and martial devotion of the Saracen bands; and the total conquest of Syria, though defended by numerous armies and fortresses, was the successive work of only seven campaigns. The war at the outset proceeded not with the rapidity required by Abu-Beker, and Yezid was superseded by Abu-Obeidah:

[1] Ockley, *History of Saracens*, vol. i. p. 21–28.

yet even then the result did not equal the expectations of the Khalif, and the impetuosity of Kaled was added to stimulate the energies of the general and of his troops. The first exploit of the Moslem army was the reduction of Bosra, on the confines of Syria and Arabia, whose position had rendered it an opulent mart for the caravans of the desert, and whose importance and strength were denoted by its title, the *Tower of Safety*. In an encounter before its walls, four thousand of the Saracen vanguard, under the guidance of the aged Serjabil, who had dared to attack the imperial army, were repulsed and overpowered by the immense superiority of their numbers: but the seasonable arrival of Kaled with a reinforcement of only fifteen hundred horse, sufficed to restore the battle. The Saracens returned to the charge with shouts of *Allah Ackbar!* (God is mighty!) *Alhamlah! Alhamlah! Aljannah! Aljannah!* (Fight, fight, paradise, paradise!) The panic-stricken Syrians wavered and fled; and the refuge of their fortress alone saved them from destruction. The work of treason completed the consequences of their pusillanimous flight. The governor of Bosra had been justly punished for his cowardice by deposition from his command; and he was prompted by revenge to betray the place to the assailants. Capture of Bosra. He secretly introduced a chosen band of Saracens into the city through a subterraneous passage, who secured an easy admission to the whole army; and the inhabitants were compelled to purchace their lives and the exercise of their religion by a heavy tribute.

A march of four days conducted the Saracen army from Bosra to the gates of the ancient capital of Syria. The strength of Damascus resisted the assaults of a people who were unused to the tedious operations of a siege. For the relief of the city an army of seventy thousand men, the flower of the Syrian province, was collected by the imperial generals. But this host was boldly encountered and totally defeated by forty-five thousand Musulmans under Abu-Obeidah, Kaled, and Amrou, in a great battle on the plain of Aiznadin. The spoil of the conquerors was immense; and, what they valued above the jewels and treasure of the Greeks, they acquired, by the capture of innumerable arms and warlike equipments, the ready means and incentives of fresh victories. Their success increased the emulation of their countrymen in Arabia; and the deserts of the Peninsula poured forth new hordes to share in the glories and spoils of a sacred and profitable warfare.

Battle of Aiznadin. A. D. 633.

After the battle of Aiznadin, the Saracen army resumed the siege or blockade of Damascus. Their close investment of the city and the consequent want of provisions soon com-

Seige of Damascus.

pelled the Christians to attempt several sallies; and under the guidance of Thomas, a brave and noble Greek, they for some time made a defence not unworthy of the better days of the Empire. But all their assaults on the besiegers were repulsed; their spirit was subdued by time and hunger; and they had already begun to treat for a surrender with the humane and venerable Abu-Obeidah, when, from an opposite quarter of the city, the impetuous Kaled burst by surprise through the defences of the place. The merciless slaughter which that sanguinary chief had commenced, was with difficulty arrested by the mild but firm resolution of Abu-Obeidah; the capitulation was completed; and such of the Christians, with Thomas their heroic leader, as preferred exile to tribute, were permitted an interval of three days to retire from the city. On the morning of the fourth, the truce expired; the wretched band of fugitives were pursued by Kaled and his cavalry; and already exhausted by grief, fatigue, and suffering, they were finally overtaken and put to the sword.[1]

Its capture. A. D. 634.

The fall of Damascus may be declared with sufficient accuracy to have achieved the subjugation of Syria; for the Greek power in that extensive and wealthy province never recovered the first shock of the Saracen invasion; and the decisive battle of Yermouk and the sieges of Heliopolis, Emesa, Aleppo, and Antioch, which occupied the next five years, were but a terrific repetition of the catastrophes of Aiznadin and Damascus. But the aged Abu-Beker, under whose reign the conquest of Syria had been successfully undertaken, did not live to triumph in its conclusion. He expired before intelligence of the capture of Damascus could reach his ears, having bequeathed the succession of the Prophet to the inflexible virtues of Omar. The modesty of his friend would have declined the choice, with the declaration that he had no occasion for the office. "But the office," was the unanswerable argument of Abu-Beker, "has occasion for you;" and the last prayer of the dying Khalif invoked the blessing of heaven on his election.[2]

Death of Abu-Beker.

The elevation of Omar was unopposed even by the claims of Ali, who, in a life of domestic retirement and religious austerity, now professed to revere the superior virtues of his rival, and was repaid by the most assiduous indications of his deference and esteem. Omar, except that he removed Kaled from the Syrian command, made no change in the administration of Abu-Beker. The courage and

Reign of Omar. A. D. 634, to A. D. 644.

[1] Ockley, vol. i. p. 28, *ad* p. 116. Abulfeda, *Annales Moslemici*, *ad* p. 66.

[2] The reign of Abu-Beker is contained in Abulfeda, (*Annales,*) p. 60-66. See also D'Herbelot, *Bib. Orient.* Art. *Aboubecre.*

martial enthusiasm of the new Khalif, as well as of his predecessor, had been exercised and displayed in their common exile and service under the standard of their Prophet: but Omar, like Abu-Beker, deemed the civil and religious functions of government the most befitting occupation for his declining years. In the third year of his reign, the decisive victory of Yermouk opened the cities of Palestine, as well as of Syria, to the assaults of the Saracen generals; and the Khalif directed their first efforts to the possession of Jerusalem, as a place which was to be held in reverence inferior only to Mecca and Medina. The Holy City was immediately invested by the Saracen army; and after an obstinate defence, and a severe winter siege of four months, the constancy of the inhabitants yielded to the perseverance of the assailants. In the name of his clergy and people, the Patriarch Sophronius offered to capitulate: but insisted that the articles of surrender should be ratified by the presence and personal subscription of the Khalif.

Seige of Jerusalem. A. D. 637.

In the mosque at Medina this strange proposition was solemnly debated, and Omar was persuaded to accede to the condition. His journey thither was a strange mixture of simplicity and fanaticism, of contempt for pomp and parade, even while pursuing the great objects of earthly ambition. When the Khalif—to borrow the simple but expressive narrative from the earliest of our English historians of the Saracens—had said his prayers in the mosque, and paid his respects to Mohammed's tomb, he substituted Ali in his place, and set forward with some attendants; the greatest part of whom, having kept him company a little way, returned to Medina. He rode upon a red camel with a couple of sacks, in one of which he carried that sort of provision which the Arabs call *sawik*, which is either barley, rice, or wheat, sodden and unhusked; the other was full of fruits. Before him he carried a great leathern bottle, (very necessary in those desert countries to put water in,) behind him a large wooden dish. Thus furnished and equipped, the Khalif travelled; and when he came to any place where he was to rest all night, he never went from it until he had said the morning prayer. After which, turning himself about to those who were with him, he said, "Praise be to God, who has strengthend us with the true religion, and given us his Prophet, and led us out of error, and united us in the confession of truth, and given us the victory over our enemies, and the possession of his country. O ye servants of God! praise Him for these abundant favours; for God gives increase to those that ask it and are desirous of those things that are with Him, and fulfils his grace upon them that are thankful." Then filling his platter with the *sawik*, he very liberally entertained his fellow-travellers, who did,

without any distinction, eat with him out of the same dish.[1] On this journey he exercised his temporal and spiritual authority by punishing an Arab for an incestuous marriage, chastising some of the stragglers of the Moslem army for their oppression of a Syrian tributary, and mortifying their luxury and pride by stripping from their backs the costly silks which they had won at Yermouk, and dragging them on their faces through the mire. When he drew within sight of Jerusalem, he exclaimed aloud, "*Allah Ackbar*, and God give us an easy victory;" and spreading his tent, which was of coarse hair, calmly reposed himself on the earth.

The terms of capitulation were readily adjusted and subscribed by the Khalif. The lives of the Christians and permission for the exercise of their faith were purchased by a heavy and perpetual tribute; and it was stipulated that many humiliating distinctions of dress, appellation, and customs, should for ever preserve a line of separation between the conquered and their masters. In company with the Patriarch, Omar visited the sacred places of the city, and courteously discussed its religious antiquities. With that strict and honourable observance of the faith of treaties, which certainly appears to have distinguished the primitive manners of the Moslems, he refused to perform his devotions in the Church of the Resurrection, lest his example should be used as a pretext by his followers for depriving the Christians of the edifice; but he directed that the site of the Temple of Solomon should be cleared for the foundation of a mosque, which soon became the most splendid seat of the Moslem worship in the East. Having regulated the administration of the city, he retraced his steps in a few days into Arabia to occupy again his simple residence at the tomb of his Prophet; and Jerusalem sank under that grievous bondage to an infidel yoke, in which, with the exception of an interval of less than a century during the Crusades, it has remained to the present hour.[2]

Fall of Jerusalem.

During the continued successes of the Saracens, the Emperor Heraclius had hitherto remained in Antioch; only to discourage his subjects by witholding his person from the dangers and the toils of war; but at length terrified by the rapid progress of the Saracen arms, he bade an eternal farewell to Syria, and embarking for Constantinople, finally abandoned the richest province of his empire to the Musulman conquerors. His pusillanimous flight, and that of his son Constantine, led to the universal submission of Syria and Palestine; the rovers of the Arabian Deserts were left in possession of one of the fairest regions of the East; and the settlement in the conquered provinces, pre-

I. Subjugation of Syria completed. A. D. 639.

[1] Ockley, vol. i. p. 250.

[2] Ockley, p. 258.

pared Damascus to become, in the next generation, the chosen seat of the Musulman Empire.[1]

Conquest of Persia.

The conquest of Syria had been bequeathed to Omar by the enterprise of his predecessor: but two acquisitions of not inferior splendour were the undivided glory of his own Khalifate. These were Persia and Egypt. In the same year, indeed,—the first of his reign—in which Abu-Beker despatched the Moslems into Syria, he had attempted the invasion of Persia; and the simultaneous assault of the mighty empires of both the Cæsars and of Chosroes was not too gigantic a project for the ambition of the citizen of Mecca. When the principal army of the Moslems crossed the Syrian frontier, a second force under Kaled was directed to the banks of the Euphrates; and the first tribute which enriched the treasury at Medina, as the fruit of foreign conquest, was extorted by his sword from some of the Christian subjects of the Persian monarchy. But the services of Kaled were soon diverted to the Syrian war; the invasion of Persia was confided to less able commanders; and the repulse of the Moslems in the passage of the Euphrates suspended the designs of Abu-Beker in that quarter. In the third year of Omar's reign, when the successes of their brethren in Syria had attracted new myriads from the Arabian deserts, Omar devoted a formidable army to the renewal of the Persian invasion. The monarchy of the Sassanides was at that epoch in an equal state of degeneracy and disorder with the empire of Constantine; and the enthusiastic valour of thirty thousand Arab warriors was vainly opposed by a feeble multitude of one hundred and twenty thousand Persians. Yet it was not without an obstinate and doubtful conflict of four days on the plains of Cadesia, two journies from Cufa, that the Moslems finally triumphed. The general of the Persians was slain; the great standard of their monarchy was captured; and the remains of their routed host were pursued across the Tigris. The whole province of Irak or Assyria submitted to the sceptre of the Khalif; and the sack of Ctesiphon loaded the Moslems with incredible wealth.

Battle of Cadesia. A. D. 636.

The last of the descendants of Chosroes, in his flight to the hills of Media, gathered around him a new host of his subjects, and turned to face his pursuers, only to encounter a second and more disastrous defeat; and, after he had sought a miserable refuge for his remaining days among the Scythian shepherds, his people, though abandoned by their ruler, hazarded a third encounter for

[1] For the close of the Syrian war see Abulfeda, p. 68. Ockley, vol. i. p. 314.

the independence of their monarchy, and the preservation of their religion; and the crowning carnage of the battle of Nevahend, styled by the Arabs "the victory of victories," finally subjected them to the empire of the Khalifs. The ancient government and institutions of Persia were overthrown; the religion of Zoroaster was proscribed; the alternative of death or conversion was offered to an idolatrous people; and the body of the nation, under the scimitars of their conquerors, embraced the profession of Islam. The empire of Persia was reduced to the rank of a Saracen province; and Omar, transferring the seat of its government to the western bank of the Euphrates, and founding a new capital at Cufa,[1] there established his lieutenant and a numerous colony of the victorious Arabs.

Battle of Nevahend. A. D. 640.

After the conquest of Syria, Amrou, one of the most illustrious commanders of that war, extracted a dubious permission from the Khalif to attempt the invasion of Egypt; and, at the head of only four thousand men, the intrepid lieutenant anticipated the irresolution of his master by a rapid advance to the frontier. In at first sanctioning the bold design of Amrou, Omar had consulted only the kindred impulse of his own magnanimous spirit: but worked upon either by the more timid opinions or the interested intrigues of his counsellors, he began to weigh the magnitude of the enterprise against the scanty force of his Syrian army, and to repent the hasty approbation into which he had been surprised. A messenger was despatched after the army with a letter of instructions, which betrayed the indecision of the Khalif's mind. "If this epistle reaches you," he wrote to Amrou, "while you are yet in Syria, return: but if you have already entered Egypt, advance with confidence, rely upon the succour of your brethren, and may the blessing of God be upon you." The messenger of the Khalif overtook the army ere it had cleared the Syrian confines: but Amrou, whether he suspected the malice of his enemies, or, as is more probable, was indebted to his friends for some secret intelligence of the contents of the letter, pursued his march across the frontier, and would not admit the messenger until the audience could clearly be given on the Egyptian soil. The letter was then opened; and the pursuit of the expedition became an act of obedience to its contents.

Conquest of Egypt.

This singular, though often repeated anecdote, was the prelude to the easy conquest of Egypt, and the long Musulman dominion of twelve centuries. The approach of the Saracen invaders was welcomed by the Coptic heretics, or native Christian inhabitants of the country, who had long groaned under the civil tyranny and re-

[1] D'Herbelot, *Bib. Orient.* Art. *Coufah.*

ligious persecution of the eastern emperors. They received the fierce disciples of the *Koran* with thoughtless joy as the deliverers of their national church; their ready submission and secret aid favoured the progress of the Musulman arms; and, by a voluntary treaty, a Christian people purchased toleration for their religion at the price of perpetual allegiance and tribute to the successors of Mohammed. The fortress of Pelusium, the key of Egypt from the east, and its Greek garrison, were easily reduced; and Memphis, after a more obstinate siege of seven months, shared a similar fate. The Greek rulers and colonists of Egypt, who formed not a tenth part of the population, fled from the provinces down the Nile; the zeal of the Egyptians cut off the escape of distant garrisons, supplied the wants of the Saracens with provisions, and assisted their pursuit with all the facilities of transport; and the remains of the Greek power in Egypt were soon confined to the walls of Alexandria.

Siege of Alexandria. A. D. 639.

Favoured by its maritime position and wealth, and the strength of its fortifications, that city—the second of the eastern empire in political importance, and the first commercial emporium of the world—might easily have resisted the arms of the Saracens, if the Emperor Heraclius had not been insensible alike to the sufferings and interests of his subjects and the safety and honour of his throne. Though the sea was possessed by the Greek navy, and the port of Alexandria was uninterruptedly open for the introduction of reinforcements and provisions, the inhabitants were abandoned by the imperial neglect to the unassisted efforts of their own despair. Their defence was, notwithstanding, resolute and protracted; and in the annals of Saracen conquest, the siege of Alexandria has been marked as the most important and arduous of its enterprises. The efforts of the Khalif were adequate to the necessity and the magnitude of the occasion; and they were enthusiastically answered by the zeal of his people. Roused by his appeal, and tempted by the splendour of the prize, both the veterans of the Syrian war, and new hordes from the tribes of the Desert, crowded to the camp of Amrou; fresh numbers supplied the waste of fourteen months of perpetual combats under the walls of the besieged city; and after a loss of twenty-three thousand Moslems, the banner of the Prophet was at length planted on the ramparts of Alexandria.

In the conquest of Syria, Persia, and Egypt, the fresh and vigorous enthusiasm of the personal companions and proselytes of Mohammed was exercised and expended; and the generation of warriors, whose simple fanaticism had been inflamed by the preaching of the pseudo Prophet, was in a great measure consumed in the sanguinary combats and perpetual toils of ten arduous campaigns.

In one season alone, at the close of the Syrian war, which is mournfully celebrated in their annals as "the year of destruction," no less than twenty-five thousand Moslems were swept away by pestilence. Among its victims were some of the most distinguished companions of the Prophet himself; and in particular Abu-Obeidah, Serjabil, and Yezid. Kaled, who, with the presumption of a true fanatic, believed that he had borne a charmed life through the dangers of a hundred battles, was spared from this visitation only to fall a prey, three years later, to the exhaustion of disease and the corroding passions of a wounded spirit. The injustice of Omar to the merits of this fiery champion of the Saracen cause, is the only stain upon the character of that great Khalif. He was prompted by some unexplained cause of hatred, to encourage a base charge of peculation against the hero of the Syrian war; and Kaled was treated with gross indignity, and sentenced to a heavy fine. He endured his injuries with exemplary forbearance; and the honourable proof of his poverty exposed the malice of his enemies. But he died broken-hearted; and the tears which the repentant Khalif shed over his tomb, were too late an atonement for the persecution which had bowed the hero to his grave.[1]

In the Moslem ranks, a new generation of their sons, countrymen, and proselytes, quickly replaced the first conquerors of Asia and Africa: but the national and religious character of the primitive converts of Mohammed was as rapidly modified in their descendants by the fruits of their success. The original disciples of the *Koran* had been animated by the genuine spirit of fanaticism; and the simple self-denial and voluntary poverty which marked the lives of Abu-Beker and Omar, Abu-Obeidah and Kaled, are traits which they shared in common with the general body of their devout and abstemious brethren. Though the duty of extending their religion by the sword had a ready incentive in the spirit of predatory warfare which they brought from their deserts, their ambition and rapacity were passions, artfully encouraged indeed by the doctrines of their faith, but still subordinate to the all-absorbing enthusiasm with which they were inspired. They fought for dominion and wealth: but they were equally ready to exchange sublunary objects for the crown of martyrdom and the rewards of

[1] These touching circumstances relative to the wrongs which broke the stern heart of the fiercest champion of the *Koran*, remained undiscovered either by Ockley or Gibbon, and they have been interwoven into the thread of Saracen story by Mr Mills, (p. 72,) from the researches of Price. The estimated value of his wealth, calculating by the amount of the fines imposed upon him, is only about L.3,667 sterling, a very inconsiderable sum to have excited the envy of his companions, and the anger of the Khalif; and at his death his whole property was found to consist in his horse, sword, and stave. Price, i. 90.

paradise. The new luxuries and riches of the imperial provinces, the voluptuous pleasures of opulent cities, the possession of fertile lands, and the enjoyments of a delicious climate, wrought their natural effects upon the rude and hungry wanderers of the Arabian sands: and the thirst of wealth, which was inspired by the wants of increasing luxury, corrupted the sincerity and single-minded devotion of their religious and patriotic profession. Among the Saracen conquerors of Damascus, Ctesiphon, and Alexandria, there abounded examples of the most fiery valour, coupled with the most heroic sacrifice of fortune, person, and life, to the fancied will of heaven: among the leaders of the Moslem armies but a generation later, in place of this stern rivalry of fanatical but generous virtue, there are visible only the darkest and most grovelling passions which are engendered in the perfidious intrigues and slothful despotism of oriental courts. Domestic treason and intestine discord, the dagger of the assassin and the sword of civil war, alternately decided the fortunes of the Moslem world. The religious and political unity of the disciples of Islam, was most strikingly preserved in the inviolable sanctity with which the office of the Prophet and his first two successors was regarded; but the charm was for ever broken from the hour in which the venerated Omar fell, in the tenth year of his reign, by the stroke of an assassin. The motive of the murderer could scarcely be either religious or political: his crime was the first act of treason which defiled the Khalifate; but it was the signal and the precedent for a thousand bloody tragedies, of regicide and tyrann conspiracy and massacre. It is the event which offers a marked termination to the first epoch of the Saracen fortunes, the epoch of pure fanaticism, or the heroic age of Saracen virtue and achievement; it introduced the first germ of anarchy into the annals of the Khalifate; and it is the point from which we shall begin to move with accelerated rapidity through the disorderly reigns and the troubled series of the commanders of the Faithful.[1]

Assassination of Omar. A. D. 644.

On his death-bed, Omar refused to charge his soul with the

[1] The authorities for the Khalifate of Omar are, Abulfeda, (*Annales Moslemici,*) p. 67–75. Ockley, *Hist. of the Saracens*, vol. i. p. 117, *ad fin.* &c. D'Herbelot, *Bib. Orientale*, Art. *Omar.* Gibbon, c. 51. Mills, c. 2. Omar was stabbed in the Mosque at Medina, by Feyrouz, a slave whom he had offended by refusing to listen to a complaint made by him against his master. His subsequent fate is uncertain. According to the Soonees, he committed suicide on the spot by cutting his throat; but according to the Sheahs, or adherents of Ali, he escaped in the confusion consequent upon the act, and died peaceably years afterwards in the city of Kashan, in Persian Irak. *Vide* Price, i. 140.

responsibility of selecting a successor. With equal impartiality he rejected the names of Ali and of his own son; and committed the election of a new Khalif to six of the most respected of his counsellors. Ali was of the number; and he might easily have secured the suffrages of the other five, if his proud spirit could have submitted to the restrictions which they desired to impose. These, indeed, it is probable, were more nominal than real; since it seems only to have been required that he should swear to govern according to the *Koran*, tradition, and the example of his two predecessors. Under these limitations, the ambitious and less scrupulous Othman, the secretary of Mohammed, accepted the office of Commander of the Faithful: and his accession ushered in a reign distinguished by the successful prosecution of foreign conquest, and the ominous growth of domestic anarchy.

Reign of Othman. A. D. 644. to A. D. 655.

The personal character of the new Khalif encouraged the increasing licentiousness of faction: his old age was feeble and imprudent; his temper was confiding and lavish; and his administration was at once rash and imbecile, irresolute and partial. His doating fondness for his family was disgracefully contrasted with the self-denial of his predecessors; and one of the first acts of his reign exhibited a mixture of injustice and favouritism, which had nearly entailed the loss of Egypt, and was sufficient to alienate the affection of the Musulmans. He recalled the victorious Amrou from the government of a country, in which his politic talents, his firm justice, and his generous clemency, had won the love of the people, without forfeiting the attachment of his soldiery. After his departure, the Byzantine Court was roused to attempt the recovery of Egypt; a Grecian fleet and army made a descent at Alexandria, and occupied the harbour and fortifications; and the Egyptians, dreading to fall again under the yoke and vengeance of their former oppressors, implored the Khalif to restore Amrou to his command. Othman was compelled to sacrifice his wishes to the public necessity; and Amrou drove the Greeks a second time into the sea. Another descent of the imperial forces summoned the heroic Saracen from the prosecution of his conquests in Western Africa; and the obstinate resistance, which he encountered in a third siege of Alexandria, provoked him to swear, that if God again permitted him to expel the Greek infidels from a post, which it had been so easy for them to re-occupy and defend, he would make the city as accessible on all sides as the house of a courtezan. On the last successful assault, he redeemed his pledge by demolishing the walls: but he arrested the indiscriminate slaughter of Greeks and Egyptians; and the foundation of the *Mosque of Mercy* marked

to future ages the spot on which the Saracen conqueror stayed the avenging fury of his troops.

While Amrou was consolidating the dominion of his weak and ungrateful master in Egypt, the generals of Othman in the east were widely enlarging the bounds of the Khalifate. On the one side, repassing the Tigris at the bridge of Mosul, and turning westward, the Moslem armies severed large tracts of Armenia and Mesopotamia from the Greek Empire, and connected their conquests with the great Saracen province of Syria. On the opposite frontier of Persia, at the extreme east, the successful invasion of Khorasan carried the Saracen arms into the region of Independent Tartary, and a short and triumphant war extended the frontiers of their empire to the banks of the Oxus.

The secure establishment of the Musulman dominion in Egypt, opened the road for the conquest of Western Africa; and twenty thousand warriors marched from their native deserts to reinforce the Musulman army in Egypt for the expedition. Its command was bestowed by the Khalif upon his foster-brother Abdallah, who had supplanted Amrou; and the new lieutenant led an army of forty thousand men to the siege of Tripoli. The prefect Gregory, who governed the vast African provinces as the representative of the Eastern Emperor, collected an army of a hundred and twenty thousand Greeks and Moorish auxiliaries to oppose the invaders; and a furious and sanguinary battle of several days' continuance terminated as usual in the triumph of the Saracen valour and fanaticism. The Prefect Gregory was slain by the hand of Zobeir[1]—the new Kaled of this war—whose impetuous courage and skilful conduct supplied the deficiences of Abdallah, and mainly achieved the victory. The booty was so immense that, in the division, each foot soldier received one thousand, and each horseman two thousand pieces of gold: but no permanent establishment in the ravaged province was for the present attempted; and during nearly twenty years afterwards, the African conquests were suspended by the intestine disorders into which the Khalifate was now plunged.

A. D. 647.

In the appropriation of the African spoil, the Khalif, under the colour of a nominal sale, granted the fifth, which belonged to the state, to a rapacious favourite; and this act of fraudulent prodigality completed the measure of public discontent, which had been already

[1] The romantic tale of the prowess and beauty of the daughter of Gregory, and the fate of the Amazon, whose hand was the promised prize of valour to both armies, has been implicitly copied, and may be read in all the more voluminous narratives of this African war:—but it is too long, unless it had been more important, for our present purpose.

provoked by his partiality for his own family. The presumption of the dotard in occuping the highest seat of his Prophet's pulpit, though his two predecessors had displayed their humility in never ascending above the first or second step, had shocked the prejudices of the fanatics of Medina; and the cry of religious indignation was raised to exasperate the passions of the multitude. On all sides, from Egypt and Persia and Syria, as well as from the tribes of the Arabian Deserts, the disaffected Musulmans gathered in arms; and approaching Medina, the rebels sent an insolent message to their sovereign, either to execute justice or to descend from his throne. The feeble Othman, appalled at the extent of the revolt, endeavoured by a prompt acknowledgement of his errors to appease the resentment of the insurgents and persuade their separation. By the machinations of Ayesha, the widow of Mohammed, and the perfidy of the Khalif's own secretary, a forged order for the assassination of the lieutenant whom Othman had been compelled to name for the command in Egypt, was secretly thrown into the hands of the delegates from the insurgent army of that province. This artifice succeeded in exciting the rebels to the highest degree of fury; and they besieged the Khalif even in the sanctuary of his palace. Othman, together with the respect and reverence of the Moslems, had lost the only defence of his person—the succour of the favourites who had preyed on his facile disposition—and he was abandoned by their desertion to the popular vengeance which they had provoked against him. For some time, though his food and water were intercepted, the religious scruples of the rebels recoiled from the last act of violence against the sacred person of a legitimate successor of the Prophet. But at length the arts of his mortal enemies prevailed; and after a generous but ineffectual effort on the part of Hassan and Hossein, the sons of Ali, to protect him, the gates of the palace were burst open, the principal conspirators entered the chamber where the aged Khalif sat patiently expecting the signal of death, and with the *Koran* in his lap, Othman fell, pierced by innumerable wounds.[1]

A. D. 655.

The murder of Othman was followed at Medina by an anarchy of five days, terminated by the elevation of Ali to the throne of the Prophet. The proud chief of the house of Haschem is declared to have acceded with reluctance to the irregular voices of a tumultuary assembly; but his positive refusal to comply with the wish of the conspirators from Egypt would have provoked a general massacre; and Ali, while he indignantly protested against the presumptuous

[1] Abulfeda, p. 75–82. D'Herbelot, Art. *Othman*. Ockley, Gibbon, Mills, *ut supra*.

interference of strangers, consented to receive the throne from the formal suffrages of the legitimate electors—the chieftains of the Arabian tribes. Their proffered allegiance appeared to confirm the proposal of the insurgents; but anticipating the calumnious misrepresentations of Ayesha, his personal and deadly enemy, and of the family of Ommia, the hereditary rivals of his house, the new Khalif declined to receive the homage of the chiefs in private; and proceeding to the mosque in the ordinary simplicity of his attire—in his coarse turban and cotton gown—bearing his slippers in one hand and his bow, which served for a staff, in the other, he there accepted the right hand of each chieftain as the public token of his fealty.

But the same deficiency in the arts of worldly policy, which had probably so long retarded the elevation of Ali to the throne of Mohammed, involved his reign in disquiet and calamity. He provoked the vindictive enmity of Zobeir and Telha, two of the most powerful of the Saracen commanders, by refusing them the government of Cufa and Bassora; and he suffered them to escape from Medina, accompanied by Ayesha, for the purpose of raising the standard of rebellion. Most of the lieutenants in the provinces were disaffected to the person of the new Khalif; and his indiscreet violence in recalling them to Medina, provoked their resistance. The hereditary influence of Moawiyah, the representative of the family of Ommia, who commanded in Syria, rendered him the most dangerous of the malecontents; Amrou, the conqueror of Egypt, was his zealous confederate; and under the pretence of requiring justice for the murder of the late Khalif, the Syrian army was seduced from its allegiance to his successor. The sons of Ali had endeavoured to save the life of Othman, while Ayesha and her party had instigated his assassination: yet that abandoned woman, who hated the new Khalif even more than she had done his feeble predecessor, declared herself, in concert with Moawiyah, the avenger of the blood which she had assisted in shedding, and pretended to identify the cause of Ali with that of the murderers. The bloody shirt of Othman was suspended over the pulpit of Damascus; and, inflamed by the spectacle, eighty thousand Moslems in Syria were persuaded by the example of Amrou to swear vengeance against Ali, and to proclaim Moawiyah as the legitimate Khalif in his stead.

First Civil War of the Moslems.

The first storm of civil war, however, gathered on the confines of Persia, whither Ayesha had fled with Zobier and Telha. These confederates soon assembled in arms; and though it shocked the reverential feelings of the more scrupulous among the Moslems, that the widow of the Prophet should expose her person in the indecent publicity of a

camp, yet her presence was esteemed by the popular superstition as a proof of the sancity of the cause, and an infallible earnest of its success. The ranks of her party were rapidly swollen into a formidable army; and by the surprise and defeat of his lieutenant, the Khalif was admonished of the necessity of his personal appearance in the field. Age had not chilled the martial activity of Ali; and passing from Medina into Persia at the head of twenty thousand loyal Arabs, who were reinforced by ten thousand of the men of Cufa, he encountered and totally defeated the insurgents under the walls of Bassora. Both Telha and Zobeir were slain in the conflict; and the widow of Mohammed was led a captive into the presence of Ali. She had fearlessly assumed her station, to animate her followers, in the thickest of the fight; above threescore men who successively led her camel by the bridle were killed or disabled; and her very litter had been pierced by countless showers of arrows. Around her person, her followers continually rallied; and it was not until the animal on which she was mounted had been slain, that the victory—which is hence known in Arabian History as the *Day of the Camel*—was decided. She was received by the conqueror with the respect which was still due to the widow of the Prophet and the mother of the Faithful: but Ali firmly, though gently, constrained an immediate return to her becoming retirement at the Tomb of Mohammed; and she was escorted by his own sons to her former residence at Medina.

Battle of Bassora, or "Day of the Camel."

After this success, the Khalif advanced to encounter a more formidable antagonist in the person of Moawiyah; and on the great plain of Siffin, near the Euphrates, on the confines of Persia and Syria, the contending forces of Islam drew out to decide, in civil warfare, the first among a thousand contests for the throne of their Prophet. The event was held in suspense during a desultory but sanguinary field of above a hundred days; but in every skirmish the cause of the legitimate Khalif promised to triumph; in every charge the tremendous prowess of his youth revived with the occasion, and scattered death and dismay through the ranks of the rebels. To prevent the effusion of Musulman blood, he nobly proposed to his rival to decide their title by the issue of a single combat. "How long," was the indignant message of the hero, "how long shall the people waste their lives in our controversy? I challenge thee to appeal to the decison of God and the sword between us." But Moawiyah declined this fearful trial of his merits against the proverbial valour of the Khalif; and the increasing slaughter of his followers prepared him for the alternative of flight. Of his army the immense number of forty-

five thousand had already fallen, while Ali had sustained an inferior loss of twenty-five thousand; and after a last nocturnal encounter, the victory of the Khalif seemed no longer doubtful: when its fruits were suddenly lost to him by an artful stratagem of Amrou. That Chieftain caused his troops to hoist the *Koran* on the points of their lances; his cry that the sacred volume ought to decide all differences was caught up by the enthusiasm of both armies; and Ali, after vainly representing to his Arabs the insidiousness of the appeal, was compelled to yield to a hollow truce and a disgraceful compromise. He drew off his army in sorrow and indignation to Cufa; his partisans were discouraged; his authority declined from day to day; and an open revolt rapidly spread through every province of the Khalifate. By the intrigues of his crafty rival, not only Syria, but Egypt and Arabia, were already completely seduced from their allegiance, when the stroke of fanaticism anticipated the last triumph of rebellion. In the temple of Mecca, three devotees agreed that the peace of religion could only be secured by the common death of Moawiyah, of his friend Amrou, again the Viceroy of Egypt, and of Ali. Each fanatic chose his victim and poisoned his dagger: but the only atal blow reached the heart of Ali. The first assassin, mistaking the person of Amrou, stabbed a secretary in his place; the second, at Damascus, inflicted only a dangerous wound on Moawiyah; but, in the Mosque of Cufa, the third, with an unerring aim, plunged his dagger into the breast of the Khalif, who expired, mercifully exhorting his children not to prolong the death of his murderer by needless torture.[1]

The death of Ali left the Mohammedan Empire to the undisputed grasp of his rival. Moawiyah was already recognised as Khalif in Arabia, Syria, and Egypt; and though the people of Cufa saluted Hassan, the eldest son of Ali, as commander of the Faithful, the unambitious grandson of Mohammed, in the consciousness of weakness, soon withdrew to a life of retirement and devotion at Medina. But he could not escape the jealousy of the family of Ommia; and Yezid, the son of Moawiyah, is accused, by professing a passion for the wife of Hassan, of having induced her to administer poison to her husband. The fate of the other son of Ali was still more unhappy. On the death of Moawiyah, Hossein was invited from Medina by the Cufians to assert his pretensions to the Khalifate: he imprudently listened to the overture, was betrayed by the perfidy of the same race whose inconstancy had deserted his father,

[1] Abulfeda, *Annales Moslemici*, p. 83–102. D'Herbelot, *Bib. Orientale*, Art. *Ali*. Ockley, Gibbon, Mills, *ut suprà*.

and was surrounded and slain by his enemies, under circumstances of the most touching interest.[1] But the lives of his captive family were spared by the generosity or the piety of the second Ommiaden Khalif; they were restored to liberty, and allotted a residence in the sacred seat of Medina; and from this source the descendants of Mohammed and Ali have overspread the Musulman world.

By a singular fortune, the political dispute between the family of Ali and their enemies has been perpetuated into a religious and national schism; and the distinction between the orthodox Musulmans and the votaries of Ali is preserved in the inveterate hatred of the Turks and Persians. The former, who certainly follow the religion of Mohammed in its original purity—if the term may with propriety be lent to an imposture—are entitled to the appellation, which they claim, of *Sonnites*, or orthodox traditionists; and the latter, who they stigmatize with the epithet of *Shiites*, or sectaries, have corrupted the faith of Islam with the heresy, that as Mohammed was the *apostle*, so Ali was the *vicar* of God. The origin of the schism may obviously be ascribed to the political quarrel between the houses of Haschem and Ommia; but its religious progress is more difficult to be traced: though, as the partizans of Ali were originally most numerous in Cufa and the Persian provinces, it is probable that the sect of Shiites arose in the same regions from the local perpetuation of a reverence for his memory.[2]

Dynasty of the Ommiades. A. D. 660 to A. D. 750.

The death of Ali consummated the grandeur of the house of Ommia; and that event ensured its establishment on the throne of the Prophet for nearly one hundred years. The conflict between Ali and Moawiyah is to be regarded only as the continuance of a feud, which had commenced before, or at least during the life of Mohammed himself. The rival families of Haschem and Ommia were the most illustrious of the Koreish; and the alternate preponderance of their influence in their own tribe had gradually been extended to the sovereignty of Mecca, of Arabia, and of the whole Moslem world. The elevation of Abu Sofiân, the chieftain of the Ommiaden family, had been the signal for the proscription of Mohammed: the religious

[1] Ockley's well-known and pathetic relation of the death of Hossein (vol. ii. p. 170–231,) which all succeeding writers have copied, is too long to be compressed into our rapid survey; and the beautiful and affecting simplicity of its details, which no narrative has ever surpassed, would be lost in an abridgment. Nor can we refuse to assent to Mr Hallam's shrewd objection, that the very minuteness of Ockley's circumstantial tale, in which its pathos chiefly consists, is far from tending to render it *historically* the more deserving of confidence.

[2] The conjecture here hazarded has not been proposed, that we are aware, by any former writer: but in the obscurity of an inquiry—in itself of little moment perhaps—the presumption is natural.

and political victory of the impostor had restored the government of Mecca to the race of Haschem. The submission of Abu Sofiân had been followed by the conversion, whether real or feigned, of his whole house; and his son, Moawiyah, the representative of the line, had been entrusted by successive khalifs with the most important commands, and had served with distinction in the wars of Islam. According to every rule of hereditary right, the injured descendants of Mohammed and Ali had the first title to the throne; and, if the law of primogeniture were extended through the tribe of Koreish, even the children of Abbas, the uncle of the Prophet, had the prior claim of the house of Haschem.

Moawiyah, the first Ommiaden Khalif, A. D. 660 to A. D. 680.

After the fall of Ali, Moawiyah was recognised throughout the Moslem world as commander of the faithful. The politic qualities of the new Khalif enabled him to achieve the difficult enterprise of perpetuating the sovereignty in his family, and of converting an elective into a hereditary monarchy. Moawiyah, by fixing his residence at Damascus, and thus transferring the seat of the Khalifate from the Arabian to the Syrian capital, prepared the way for a still more important innovation; and, notwithstanding some feeble opposition from the patriots or fanatics of Arabia, he succeeded in peaceably transmitting the sceptre of Islam to his son Yezid, and in establishing his own dynasty, by their questionable title of lineal descent, on the undisputed throne of the Khalifate.[1]

A. D. 665 to A. D. 675.

The able and vigorous administration of Moawiyah quelled or diverted the violence of Saracen faction; and during his reign the course of the Musulman conquests was again progressive. The provincials of western Africa, oppressed by the tyranny and extortion of the Byzantine government, themselves besought a new invasion of the Saracens, and tempted the ready ambition of the Khalif; and the glory of carrying the Saracen arms across the whole breadth of Africa, even to the shores of the Atlantic, was reserved for Akbah, the second commander to whom Moawiyah intrusted the prosecution of the war. Penetrating through the wilderness in which his countrymen afterwards erected the magnificent cities of Fez and Morocco, his career was arrested only by the waters of the western ocean; and spurring his horse into the waves, he exclaimed, as he raised his eyes to heaven in a transport of fanaticism, "Great God! if my

[1] For the reign of Moawiyah, see Abulfeda, *Annales Moslemici*, p. 101–111. D'Herbelot, *Bib. Orientale*, Art. *Moawiyah*, and the continuation of the modern writers before cited.

course were not stopped by this sea, I would still go on to the unknown regions of the west, preaching the unity of Thy holy name, and putting to the sword the rebellious nations who worship any other gods than Thee!"

Notwithstanding this aspiration, the triumphal ardour of Akbah was checked in the sequel by the mere ordinary obstacles of human resistance; and he was finally overpowered and slain in a universal defection of the African Greeks and barbarians. It required the painful exertions of successive generals and armies to consolidate the Saracen dominion over the restless province of Africa; and the struggle was continued with various success during a desultory warfare of twenty years after the death of Akbah, before the sea-coast and some interior parts of the country, from the Nile to the shores of the Atlantic, were finally reduced under the empire of the Khalifs. The civilized but inconstant population of the maritime provinces, inclined alternately to the cause of their Greek masters or their Saracen invaders; but the fall of Carthage, the capital of the Byzantine province, to the arms of Hassan, the general of Abdalmalek, the fourth Ommiaden Khalif, was followed by the submission or reduction of all the Greek settlements on the coast; and before the close of the seventh century, the forces of the Byzantine Empire were finally expelled from their last possession in Africa.[1]

A. D. 692 to A. D. 698.

The task of subjugating the inhabitants of the deserts of Africa was somewhat longer retarded, but was as effectually completed by their conversion to the faith of the *Koran*. This race were the wild Moors, or native people of Mauritania, who had been branded by the imperial provincials with the reproach of barbarism, and whose corrupted appellation of *Barbars* or *Berebbers*, was naturally transferred to their country, and has become justly indigenous to the whole northern coast of Africa or *Barbary*. Between the Bedoweens of Arabia, and the wandering Moors or Berebbers of Africa, there was a striking resemblance in the accidents of climate and condition, and the consequent peculiarities of customs and character. The African rovers as readily adopted the language and name, as the religion of their conquerors; by the dispersion of fifty thousand Saracen fanatics of genuine descent through the Moorish deserts, the blood of both races was rapidly commingled: and, from the Euphrates to the Atlantic, the same

A. D. 709.

[1] For the details of the Saracen conquest of Africa, besides the text of Abulfeda and Ockley (vol. ii.) see Cardonne, *Histoire de l'Afrique et de l'Espagne sous la Domination des Arabes*, vol. i. p. 30–55.

nation might seem to be diffused over the sandy plains of Asia and Africa. When, after the change of but a single generation, the Saracen invaders crossed over the Straits of Gibraltar into Europe, the distinction of their origin was already in some manner confounded under their common appellations; and the Musulman conquerors of Spain have been in all subsequent ages indifferently termed either Arabians or Moors.[1]

First Siege of Constantinople by the Saracens. A. D. 668 to A. D. 675.

The African war had only partially engaged the attention of Moawiyah; and the most splendid and gigantic effort of his reign—though, contrary to the usual fortune of the Saracen arms it failed of success—was directed against the capital itself of the Eastern Empire. Only thirty-six years after the death of Mohammed, his countrymen and disciples, already masters of Arabia, Syria, Persia, Egypt, and parts of the further Africa, landed for the first time[2] on the shores of Europe to undertake the siege of Constantinople. The preparations of Moawiyah, by sea and land, were commensurate with the grandeur of an enterprise, to which the warlike votaries of the *Koran* were inflamed by the strongest excitement of avarice and fanaticism. The guidance of the holy expedition was committed to Sofiân, a veteran commander in the wars of Islam; and the presence of Yezid, the son of Moawiyah, and the acknowledged heir of the Khalifate, was a pledge of the importance and hopes of its success. The immense naval armament of the Saracens, which had been collected in the ports of Syria and Egypt, entered the Hellespont without opposition from the forces of the emperor, Constantine V., the feeble grandson of Heraclius; and the fleet casting anchor in the strait, the troops were disembarked under the walls of the capital.

But in the ardour of their enthusiasm, the Saracen leaders had miscalculated their own strength and the difficulties of the expedition. In the extremity of danger which threatened their property, their empire, and their faith, the people of Constantinople were roused to desperation. Some sparks of the Roman spirit were rekindled in the degenerate race who still arrogated the Roman name; and their defence of the capital was not unworthy of the best days of the empire. Guarded by numbers, courage, and discipline, the strength of its massive and lofty ramparts mocked every

[1] The probable origin of the Moors is satisfactorily traced in the 1st volume of the industrious Chenier, *Recherches sur les Maures, &c.*

[2] Yet Gibbon, by a strange error of forgetfulness in a writer, for the most part so exact (vol. x. p. 10), declares that, at the *second* siege of Constantinople, "the Mahometan arms were transported, *for the first time*, from Asia to Europe!"

assault of the Saracens; the approach of their naval armament was destructively repelled by the tremendous effects of that unknown chemical compound, so celebrated under the name of the Greek fire;[1] and the astonished and ignorant Moslems were dismayed and panic-stricken by the success of an invention, which appears to have been tried for the first time upon this memorable occasion. After vainly expending their fury against the walls of the capital, the Saracen leaders were compelled to divert their arms to the ravage of the adjacent coasts; but, during the following six years, they each summer persisted in renewing their operation with diminished hopes but enduring obstinacy. Nor did they, after encountering every vicissitude of bloodshed, conflagration, shipwreck, and pestilence, abandon their enterprise, until thirty thousand of their number had perished in the contest.

A. D. 677 to A. D. 684.

After the repulse of the Saracens from Constantinople, the ambassadors of the Greek Emperor appeared at the court of Damascus as the representatives of a victorious potentate; and Moawiyah accepted a peace which was burdened with the ignominious condition, that he should render an annual tribute of money, horses, and slaves, to the throne of the Cæsars. The solution of this disgraceful submission must be sought in the domestic state of the Khalifate during the same period. The hostilities which the Maronite subjects or confederates of the empire had carried to the gates of Damascus disturbed the last years of Moawiyah. While his name was dreaded in the distant and opposite regions of Asia and Africa, the incursions of these bands threatened his security in the very precincts of his palace: and in the natural desire of ending his days in repose, the Khalif was contented to sacrifice the ambition and glory of his reign. The internal distractions of the Khalifate completed the temporary depression of its foreign power; and during a domestic revolt of some of the provinces from the house of Ommia, the Byzantine emperors were allowed to increase their exaction of tribute.[2]

A. D. 684.

Under Abdalmalec, the fourth Khalif of the Ommiaden dynasty, peace and union were restored in the provinces of Islam; and his arms and policy had no sooner triumphed over

[1] It has been conjectured, rather than ascertained, that the principal ingredients of this dreadful composition were sulphur, naphtha, (or liquid bitumen,) and the pitch of the evergreen fir. See Du Cange, *Gloss. sub voc. Ignis Græcus.* Gibbon (vol. x. p. 14-18) has, with his usual industry, collected all the evidence extant on the subject. The most terrible and destructive peculiarity of the Greek fire was the real or alleged fact, that water, instead of extinguishing, only fed its fury.

[2] Theophanis *Chronographia*, p. 295-300. Ockley, vol. ii. p. 254-368.

internal rebellion than he indignantly renounced the condition of foreign tribute. Pursuing his designs, his son Walid—whose reign of personal inactivity was rendered illustrious through the total subjugation of Africa and Spain by his lieutenants—meditated the completion of its glories by the conquest of the Greek Empire. The enterprise was suspended by his death; but it was renewed by his brother Soliman, the sixth Khalif of his house: who, with a more martial spirit, announced his intention of personally leading his subjects to the siege of Constantinople; and summoned the Moslem world to the standard of their Prophet for this sacred expedition. The solemn call was enthusiastically obeyed; and the advanced guard of the Musulman host, which alone is said to have amounted to above one hundred thousand men of Persia and Arabia, mounted for the greater part on camels and horses, traversed Asia Minor under Moslemah, the brother of the Khalif, and having, after the reduction of the intervening cities, effected the passage of the Hellespont at Abydos, appeared before the walls of Constantinople. Their operations were supported by the approach of the navy of Egypt and Syria, an immense armada of eighteen hundred vessels of various size; and the Khalif himself, from his camp in Syria, hastened to conduct the remaining forces of his eastern dominions to the same theatre of action.

Second siege of Constantinople. A. D. 716 to A. D. 718.

These gigantic preparations were frustrated by the death of Soliman himself, and by a repetition of the same disasters which had overwhelmed the armament of Moawiyah. When the Saracen navy crowded the entrance of the Bosphorus, the fire-ships of the Greeks were suddenly launched upon them from the harbour of Constantinople; the inextinguishable fury of the maritime fire spread through the vast moving forest; and the Saracen crews were destroyed in the same tremendous conflagration which consumed their vessels. The fate of the land-forces was scarcely less dreadful. The siege was obstinately protracted through the winter; and by the sword, by the extraordinary rigour of the season, by famine, and by disease, thousands perished before the walls of the city. The Khalif Omar II., the successor of Soliman, abstracted in fanatical devotion, either neglected their distresses, or passively left the continuance of the siege to the decision of heaven. On the return of spring he was roused to some efforts for the succour and reinforcement of his troops: but the renewal of the enterprise was attended only by an aggravation of the calamities which had befallen it in the preceding year. A new naval armament was again thrown into flames by the dreaded Greek fire; the army was harassed, and its detachments were cut to pieces by the Bulgarian hordes, which the gold

and promises of the Emperor Leo attracted from the Danube upon the rear of the Saracen camp; and after the enterprise had been prolonged during thirteen months of continual suffering and loss, the remains of the Moslem host were hopelessly withdrawn into the provinces of Asia.[1]

The second siege of Constantinople was undertaken and abandoned at the epoch when the empire of the Saracens, under the sceptre of the Ommiades, had acquired its greatest extension in Asia, in Africa, and in Europe. The standard of the *Koran* was planted on the walls of Toledo and Samarcand; the subjugation of Spain and Tartary reflected the glory of a simultaneous triumph on the reign of Walid; and the horsemen of Yemen were encamped in the same hour on the confines of France and of China. The countries of Arabia, Syria, Mesopotamia, Persia, and Tartary, the Isle of Cyprus, the whole of Egypt and the northern coasts of Africa, the peninsula of Spain, and part of southern France, were all embraced under the sceptre of the Khalifs and the law of the *Koran;* and, from the Indus to the Garonne, the precepts of Mohammed, and the mandates of his successors, were received and obeyed over an extent of above four thousand miles.[2]

Conquest of Spain and of Tartary. A. D. 710 to 713.

In the ardour of fanaticism and victory, Mousa, the conqueror of Spain, had projected the extension of his enterprise into the total subjugation of Europe. He proclaimed his design of reducing the whole of France, from the foot of the Pyrenees to the Rhine, under the dominion of his master, and of afterwards penetrating through Germany, Hungary, and the east of Europe, to Constantinople.[3] By the recall and disgrace of its author, who fell a victim to the intrigues of the ungrateful court of Damascus, this gigantic scheme of conquest was suspended for twenty years; and its revival was followed, and for ever terminated, by the total defeat of the Saracens at Tours. That event, succeeding the scarcely less disastrous result of the siege of Constantinople, at length effectually stemmed the impetuous torrent of Saracen invasion, which, for just one hundred years, had continued to sweep with irresistible violence over the fairest portion of the ancient world; and to this double repulse of the Saracens at the western and eastern extremities of Europe, the nations of Christendom were indebted for their preservation from the fate of Asia and Africa.

A. D. 732.

[1] Abulfeda, p. 126. Nicephori *Breviar.* p. 32-36. Theophanis *Chron.* p. 324-333. Ockley, Gibbon, &c.

[2] D'Herbelot, *Bibliothèque Orientale*, v. *Eslamiah.*

[3] See the Arabic authorities for this project collected in Cardonne, (*Hist. de l'Afrique et de l'Espagne sous la Domination des Arabes,*) vol. i. p. 95, &c.

The fortunes of the Moslem empire under the first four successors of Mohammed were variously influenced by the personal qualities of each Khalif; and a detailed narrative of their reigns has been necessary to illustrate the series of events which established the grandeur, and affected the internal condition, of the Arabian monarchy. But on the expiration of these four reigns—a period which is dignified by the Musulman chroniclers with the title of the *Perfect Khalifate*—there is little to excite our interest or deserve our attention in the individual lives and characters of their successors; and after the elevation of Moawiyah, his removal of the seat of empire to Damascus, and the submission of Islam to a hereditary line of princes, the domestic annals of the Khalifate reflect only the ordinary aspect of Oriental despotism. Of the eleven princes of his race who successively occupied the throne of Moawiyah, the greater number were destitute alike of the qualities of warriors, statesmen, or religious enthusiasts; and the progress of the Saracen conquests under their dynasty is ascribable rather to the warlike and fanatical spirit of their people, than to any example of energy or talents in themselves. Meanwhile, except in Syria, the house of Ommia had never succeeded in winning the popular love or veneration. By no inconsiderable portion of the Moslem world, including all the most rigid followers of the *Koran*, the race of Moawiyah had ever been abhorred as the murderers of the descendants of the Prophet, and the usurpers of the sacred inheritance. The early history of the family of Ommia was stained with the original guilt of obstinate idolatry, and of rancorous persecution against Mohammed and his disciples; the conversion of Abu Sofiân and his house had been the effect of fear or political interest; and their subsequent elevation to the throne had been purchased at the expense of the holiest and noblest blood of Islam.[1]

Rise of the Abbassides, or descendants of Abbas, the uncle of Mohammed.

The injured but spirit-broken progeny of Ali and Fatima wanted resolution or ability to assert their cause; but the descendants of Abbas, the uncle of Mohammed, had still preserved the memory of their prior title to the throne, which was occupied by the usurping race of the Ommiaden Khalifs; and through successive generations they had proudly, though secretly, cherished the loftiest hopes with equal ambition and prudence. At length, after a possession of ninety years might have appeared to confer the strong sanction of time on the pristine usurpation of the Ommiades, the race of Abbas had the fortune to discover, and the courage to use, some favourable occa-

[1] For the reigns of the Ommiaden dynasty, see Abulfeda, *Annales Moslemici*, *passim*, p. 101-141, and D'Herbelot, Art. *Ommiades*.

sion of raising thei standard. The Moslem annals have imperfectly revealed the secret springs of the revolt: for we do not gather from them any immediate cause of popular disaffection against the existing dynasty; and Marwan, the twelfth and last Khalif of his line, is acknowledged to have surpassed many of his predecessors in activity and martial virtue. The author of the revolution which precipitated his race from the throne was Abu Moslem, a man of mean extraction and obscure beginning, who had acquired sufficient power to seize the government of Khorasan. At his instigation, the people of that province offered their allegiance to Mohammed, the great grandson of Abbas, and after his death, to his son Ilderim. As *green* had been the symbol of the Fatimite party, and *white* of the Ommiaden adherents, the partizans of the House of Abbas naturally distinguished their cause by the use of the colour most opposite to that of their enemies, both in their garments and standards; and the *black* banner of the Abbassides, under its literal title of *Zel* or Shade, was metaphorically construed to offer protection and succour to the oppressed and rightful cause of the sacred family of Haschem.

The whole Moslem world was shortly convulsed by the struggle between the White and Black factions; but the shifting vicissitudes of the contest were marked only by the usual horrors of Asiatic war. At first the Abbassidan insurgents were defeated in every quarter; and Ilderim, the original competitor of Marwan, was surprised on his pilgrimage to Mecca by the cavalry of the Ommiaden, and perished in a dungeon; but his brother Saffah was proclaimed Khalif at Cufa; and the partizans of his house having rallied under his standard, prepared, with more religious or martial confidence than numerical strength, to commit their cause to the issue of a battle. Every advantage seemed to rest with their enemies: the force of long established authority, the military talents of Marwan, his recent successes in the field, and the immense superiority of his army, which, consisting of one hundred and twenty thousand men, outnumbered the Abbassidans by six to one, when an insignificant accident decided the fate of the empire. When the Moslem armies were about to engage, the horse of Marwan, who had dismounted for a moment, was suddenly startled, and rushed without his rider into the Ommiaden ranks. The panic-stricken troops, believing that their Sovereign had been slain, broke and fled in every direction; the Abbassidan cavalry charged at this moment of dismay; and the host of Marwan was irretrievably routed. The unfortunate Khalif himself sought refuge in Damascus; but the citizens of that

A.D. 746 to A.D. 750.

A.D. 750.

luxurious capital were the first to abandon a fugitive prince; Marwan found the fatal colours of his rival displayed from the walls of every Syrian fortress; and continuing his flight towards Egypt, he had only reached the banks of the Nile when he was overtaken by his pursuers, and the lance of an Arab terminated his existence.[1]

Dynasty of the Abbassides.

The title of Saffah was immediately recognized throughout the Moslem provinces; but he saw a dangerous rival in every member of the deposed dynasty; and his hatred or fear of the numerous House of Ommia suggested the atrocious project of exterminating their race. The poniards of his emissaries were dyed in the blood of thousands of the proscribed family; and on one occasion, during a banquet at Damascus, the laws of hospitality were violated with fiendlike treachery by the massacre of eighty of the Ommiades, who had accepted the proffered protection of their enemy. These dreadful precautions might secure the establishment of the House of Abbas on the Asiatic throne of the Khalifate; but they ultimately failed of their effects in the distant provinces of the empire—in Africa and in Spain. In the former, after some interval of submission to the Abbassides, nominal or real descendants of Ali and Fatima sprang up in quick succession, and finally established independent dynasties and thrones; but in Spain, the elevation of the Abbassides to the Khalifate was almost immediately the signal of revolt. Into that country Abdalrahman, a prince of Ommiaden race, escaping the general massacre of his house, after being hunted from the banks of the Euphrates to the deserts of Mauritania, was invited by the Emirs of the white faction, and welcomed by the acclamations of the people, who were excited by the pride of national independence to abjure their allegiance to the distant throne of Syria. Abdalrahman became the first Ommiaden Khalif of Spain, or the West; and from his success is usually and appropriately dated, although it preceded the final separation of Africa by near half a century, the commencement of the triple division of the Khalifate.[2]

Their secure establishment in Asia.

Revolt of Spain and Africa.

A. D. 755.

[1] Abulfeda, p. 135–146. D'Herbelot, Art. *Saffah, Ommiades, Abbassides*, &c.

[2] For the revolt of Spain, see Roderic, *Tol. Hist. Arabum*, c. 18, and Casiri, *Bib. Arabico Hisp.* vol. ii. p. 31–200, before cited. Also Cardonne, vol. i. p. 204 *ad* 322 *passim*, &c.

CHAPTER IV.

THE KHALIFATE FROM THE RISE OF THE ABBASSIDES TO THE END OF THE ELEVENTH CENTURY.

FROM A. D. 750 TO A. D. 1081.

SAFFAH, the first of the line of thirty-seven Abbassides who held the Khalifate during five hundred and twenty-four years,[1] owed his elevation to the exertions of his uncle Abdallah, and to the zeal and talents of Abou Moslem, who possessed one of those commanding intellects which appear to confer superiority on any cause which it may espouse. Originally the slave of Ibrahim, uncle to Saffah,[2] he had been commissioned to promote among the Khorassanites the cause of the Abbassides, both by preaching and by arms; and having levied a considerable body of that warlike race, he defeated the Ommiaden general, and escorting Saffah to Coufah, there proclaimed him Khalif. The battle of the Zab decided the contest between the rival families.[3] Merouan, the Ommiaden Khalif, was there defeated, and having loaded four thousand camels with his treasures at Haran, fled to Egypt. Thither he was hotly pursued, and when overtaken at Busir on the confines of Nubia, his head was cut off, and his tongue torn out and thrown in scorn to be devoured by a cat.[4] Saffah, although naturally humane, in the exultation of victory gave an instance of frightful cruelty. He caused seventy of the Ommiades to be slaughtered in his presence, and as they lay struggling in the pangs of death, he ordered carpets to be thrown over them, on which he and his followers took their seats and feasted, regardless of the groans of the wretches beneath.[5] The

Battle of the Zab.

[1] Till A. D. 1256, when Mostassem, the last Khalif, was put to death by the Mongol Holagu. D'Herbelot, *in v. Holagu.*

[2] *Fundgruben des Orients*, v. 28.

[3] D'Herbelot, *in* v. *Marvan.*

[4] *Fundgr.* v. 35.

[5] *Ibid.* v. 39.

victorious dynasty chose black as the distinguishing colour of their dresses and ensigns. Saffah died A. D. 754, and was succeeded by his brother Mansor.

The title of this Khalif was disputed by his uncle Abdallah, who, however, was defeated and made prisoner by Abou Moslem in a battle at Nisibis. Mansor confined him in a prison, the walls of which had been built on masses of rock-salt; and when this frail foundation was melted by water secretly directed against it, the captive was crushed beneath the ruins.[1] The unbending and haughty spirit of Abou Moslem was ill calculated to soothe the jealousy felt by the Khalif at the influence which he had acquired, and as he had now ceased to be necessary, Mansor, with the usual ingratitude of despots, caused him to be assassinated.[2]

A. D. 754.

This Khalif possessed in a high degree the qualities calculated to confirm and consolidate the power of a recent and unstable dynasty; he was active, resolute, penetrating, and frugal. His sagacity led him to consider Coufa, hitherto the capital, as too remote from the western provinces, and in 765, in a moment declared auspicious by astrologers, he laid the foundation of Bagdad, which he named Medinat al Salam, or Dar al Salam, the "Dwelling of Peace."[3] The future prosperity of this city avouched the judicious selection of the site, since, although the turbulent spirit of the citizens provoked many of the Khalifs to choose other places of residence. Mansor was habitually parsimonious, and, by a long course of penuriousness, he accumulated a treasure of above twenty-five millions sterling.[4] Nor was the aggrandisement of the Khalifate during his reign merely financial; by the conquest of Armenia, Cappadocia, and Cilicia, he restored it to a territorial extent equal to that which it possessed before the revolt of Spain.

Foundation of Bagdad, A. D. 765.

Mansor was succeeded by his son Mahadi, a prince of widely dissimilar character, whose wanton and extravagant luxury in a few years dissipated this enormous treasure. In the course of a pilgrimage to Mecca, he expended six million dinars,[5] and was attended by a long train of camels carrying snow,

A. D. 774.

[1] D'Herbelot, *in v. Abdalla.*

[2] *Ibid in v. Abou Moslem.*

[3] D'Herbelot *v. Bagdat.* Elmacin, 102. Eutych. *Annal.* ii. 399.

[4] L.18,750,000, in silver, and L.6,417,000 in gold. Price, *Chronological Retrospect of the Principal events in Mohammedan History*, ii 33. Gibbon, guessing from the translation of Elmacin (104) by Erpenius, sets down the amount at thirty millions sterling. x. 36.

[5] L.2,750,000, taking the dinar according to Malcolm, *History of Persia*, i. 161, 8vo. ed. at 9*s.* 2*d.*

a natural production which had never been seen in the holy city.[1] His reign was disturbed by one of those strange impostures which have often shaken the empires of the East. Its projector, Hakem, or Macanna, for he bears both these names, is supposed to have been by birth a Jew. By dint of valour he rose to a high command in the army of the Khalif, and having received a severe wound in the face, which deprived him of an eye, he wore a golden mask to conceal the defect, and hence obtained the surname of *Barcai*, or "the Masked."

Skilled beyond his age and country in scientific attainments,[2] he attempted to establish not only an independent government, but even a new religion. His pretensions were set forth in Khorassan, a province in which the restless and warlike disposition of the people, and their imperfect attachment to the tenets of Mohammedanism, made them ever ready to throw off allegiance to the Khalif. His followers were principally drawn from the Jews and Christians, by whom he was regarded as an incarnation of the divinity; but besieged in a fortress without hope of relief or resistance, he poisoned his followers, and then plunged into a vessel of some corrosive liquid which totally consumed his body. The votaries of the impostor long maintained that he had been miraculously translated to the regions of bliss, whence he would return to establish his glorious reign on earth.[3]

The life of Mahadi was terminated by an accident during a hunting party; while intent upon the chase, he spurred his horse through a ruined gateway, the low architrave of which gave him a fatal blow. As the spot was remote from any civilized habitation, no bier could be procured, and the body of the late master of the wealth of half Asia, was borne on a door to an humble grave dug at the foot of a tree, under the shade of which he had previously reposed.[4] He was succeeded by his eldest son, Hadi, a cruel prince, whose short and inglorious reign presents nothing remarkable, except the rebellion of the descendants of Ali, under

[1] Abulfed. ii. 41. D'Herbelot *v. Mahadi.* Gibbon, x. 36, transfers the passages without any sceptical comment, yet the account seems incredible, as the snow of Libanus, probably the nearest, is 500 miles distant from Mecca.

[2] One of the artifices practised by Mocanna was the elevation of a luminous body resembling the moon from a well near the city of Nekscheb. It rose to a great height, and shone with surprising brilliancy. Was the impostor acquainted with aerostatics? The story of Mocanna has been treated by Mr Thomas Moore in his Poem of *Lalla Rookh, or the Veiled Prophet of Khorassan.*

[3] D'Herbelot, *v. Hakem.* Abulfed. ii. 45–49. Abulpharaj, 146. Price, ii. 25.

[4] Elmacin, 107. Abulfed. ii. 53. Abulphar. 147. D'Herbelot, *v. Mahadi.*

the conduct of Houssain, the hereditary chief of the family who assumed the title of Khalif at Medina. The Alides were defeated, and all who could be seized were put to death. Among the remnant that escaped was Edris, who took refuge in Egypt, whence he pursued his course into Barbary, and soon after, assuming the dignity of Khalif, founded the dynasty of the Edrissites.[1]

A. D. 784. Hadi viewed with jealousy the superior talents and popularity of his brother Haroun, whom he treated with great indignity. His cruelty and violence of temper became intolerable to his family and ministers. He ordered Harthamah, one of his officers, to put Haroun to death, to massacre a number of the Alide party then in prison, and to burn the city of Coufa, which had zealously espoused their cause.[2] These furious mandates were disclosed to the mother of the Khalif, and as her parental affection was engrossed by Haroun, the more worthy object, she caused Hadi to be assassinated by her female attendants, who as he slept threw on him a great quantity of coverlets, and pressed them down until he was suffocated.[3]

Haroun Al Raschid Khalif. A. D. 786.

On the succession of Haroun Al Raschid, the dominions of the Khalifate stretched from the Atlantic to the Indus, and from the Straits of Babelmandel to the sea of Aral. The superficial extent was about three million of square miles, but much of this vast expanse was occupied by the sandy deserts of Arabia, of Persia, and of Caubul. The public income is estimated at £34,375,000, a sum double that drawn from nearly the same dominions[4] in the period previous to the conquest of Alexander.

But though the ardent fanaticism of the Arabs had given them energy sufficient to reverse the usual course of conquest, and to extend the dominion of the Southern Asiatics over the Northern and more warlike inhabitants of Khorassan and the adjacent countries; still, when the first fever of enthusiasm and ambition had passed away, the Khalifs found the government of those fierce and restless provincials, dangerous and difficult. The rapid alternation of Magian, Christian, and Mohammedan tenets in the nations bordering on the Caspian, produced an endless variety of sects, whose wild practices and struggles for superiority, accelerated the anarchy already beginning to overspread the northern dominions of the Khalifate. The Zendicians, by their numbers and

[1] Price, ii. 61. D'Herbelot, *v. cit.*

[2] Price, ii. 55.

[3] D'Herbelot, *v. Hadi.* Abulfed. ii. 59. Abulphar. 150.

[4] Gibbon, *Miscellaneous Works*, vol. v. p. 141, estimates the public revenue of the ancient Persian Empire at sixteen millions sterling.

singular tenets, especially claim the notice of the historian. Their belief appears to have been a medley formed from the doctrines of the Magians and Paulicians. They permitted the intermarriages of nearest relatives, and they are said to have denied the resurrection. Their enmity and contempt was particularly directed against the Moslems, whose procession round the Temple of Mecca they compared to the circuits made by oxen on the threshing-floor, and whose prostrations were especial objects of contemptuous merriment.[1] The Moslems avenged these taunts by massacre, and the Khalif Hadi on one occasion hanged a thousand of the detested infidels on as many gibbets ranged round the walls of Bagdad.[2] A large number eluded the exertions made by Haroun for their extirpation, and half a century later the subversion of the Khalifate was threatened by their leader Babek, who at various times gave up two hundred thousand Moslems to the executioner.[3]

The title of Haroun encountered a formidable disturber also in Jahia the Alide, who laid claim to the Khalifate, and raising the standard of revolt in Ghilan on the southern shore of the Caspian, by means of his emissaries extended his influence over the whole empire. Haroun, doubtful of the event of an appeal to arms, succeeded in inducing the Chief to surrender, by solemnly pledging his faith for his impunity; but this pledge did not secure the unfortunate prisoner from the treatment of a criminal.[4] The indulgence with which the Vizier Giafar received the captive, led to his own ruin and that of his family, the Barmecides, whose generosity and benevolence had given them a degree of popularity suspected by their sovereign and dangerous to themselves. When the devoted minister received an unexpected summons to execution, he observed to the messenger, without any appearance of surprise or terror, that the order had probably been given under the influence of wine, and advised him to return and ascertain whether the Khalif persisted in the fatal mandate. The messenger refused this indulgence until Giafar agreed to accompany him to the door of the Khalif's chamber. Haroun awaited the event with impatience, and as the executioner appeared, demanded whether he had brought the head of the Vizier. The officer accordingly retired to obey this reiterated command, and striking off the head of the disgraced favourite, brought it and laid it at the feet of the relentless sovereign. Haroun was too politic or too vindictive to leave the relatives of the executed

The Barmecides.

[1] Price ii. 61. Abulphar. 149.
[2] D'Herbelot, *v. Hadi.*
[3] Price, ii. 148.
[4] Elmacin, 114.

Vizier in a condition to avenge his fate. With few exceptions they were put to death, and their possessions confiscated, so that little remained of this once opulent and powerful family but their memory, preserved in the affectionate traditions of the people. The wealth of Giafar, amounting to three millions sterling, replenished the offers of the Caliph; his head and mangled limbs were placed on the most conspicuous parts of the city as objects of terror to the disaffected populace of Bagdad. At the same time the apprehension and disgust with which the Khalif viewed the insubordination of the citizens induced him to remove the seat of government to the neighbouring town of Raccah.[1]

Ibrahim the son of Aglab, had been appointed by Haroun governor of the province extending from Egypt to Tunis; and his successful revolt, in A.D. 800, established the dynasty of the Aglabites,[2] who governed that region until A.D. 928, when they were expelled by Abdallah, whose short-lived power sank before the arms of Moez the Fatimite.[3] The haughty Khalif, who had hitherto been baffled by insignificant Moslem powers, was now to vindicate his fame in a conflict with the Christian Empire. Nicephorus, not content with refusing to continue payment of the tribute, due according to the treaty signed by Irene, demanded restitution of the sums already disbursed on that account. The ambassadors, at the close of their address, threw down before the Khalif a number of swords, adding, "These in the event of your refusal, must be the arbiters of the dispute." Haroun, drawing his sabre *Samsamah*, shewed at once its temper and the wonderful strength of the arm which wielded it, by shattering at a blow the puny weapons of his enemies,[4] without injuring the edge of his own blade. The insulting defiance of Nicephorus was answered on the back of his letter in these terms: "In the name of the most merciful God, Haroun al Raschid, Commander of the Faithful, to Nicephorus, the Roman Dog. I have read thy letter, O thou son of an unbelieving mother, thou shalt not hear, thou shalt behold my reply." That reply (to borrow the spirited language of Gibbon) was written in letters of blood and fire on the plains of Phrygia. Nicephorus, who attempted to check the rapid and wide devastation inflicted by the Khalif, was defeated with the loss of forty thousand

A.D. 802.

[1] Price, ii. 68. Abulfed. ii. 89.

[2] D'Herbelot, *v. Giafar.* Elmacin, 116. Abulphar. 151. Abulfed. ii. 81. Price, ii. 75.

[3] Abulfed. ii. 79. Cardonne, ii. 1-59. De Guignes, i. 359-365. D'Herbelot, *v. Ibrahim ben Aglab.*

[4] D'Herbelot, *v. Haroun.* Gibbon, x. 54. Abulfed. ii. 87.

men.[1] In the next campaign, Haroun invested Heraclea with an army of one hundred and thirty thousand regular troops, and the clouds of irregular followers raised the whole amount to above three hundred thousand. The town was stormed after a month's siege, and sixteen thousand of its surviving inhabitants were led into slavery. At the same time, the isle of Cyprus[2] was again reduced under the dominion of the Khalifs. Alarmed by these great losses, Nicephorus implored peace, which was granted on condition that the tribute should be raised from seventy thousand to three hundred thousand pieces of gold,[3] and that the captured towns should remain in ruin as a lasting memorial of the vengeance of the Khalif.

The death of Haroun was accelerated by a superstition which has found a parallel in more than one sovereign, even professing a more enlightened faith. As he advanced towards Khorassan, to chastise a rebellious subject, he dreamed that a naked arm extended towards him a hand containing some red clay, whilst a voice exclaimed, "Such must be the earth of your tomb." Soon after he was attacked with illness at the town of Tus, and in his despondency he ordered Mesrour, his favourite eunuch, to bring him a handful of earth. The earth happened to be red, and as the messenger presented it, the sleeve of his robe fell back, and left his arm uncovered: "Such," exclaimed Haroun, "was the earth, and such the arm which I beheld in my dream;" and his disordered imagi-
His death. nation produced so violent an effect on his health, that
A. D. 809. in a few days he was deposited in the grave which he had caused to be dug by the side of his couch. The Khorassan rebel, against whom his expedition was directed, had been seized and brought into the presence of the dying Khalif, who exerted his sinking powers to order him to be cut to pieces, and in his last moments witnessed the execution of the barbarous sentence.[4] Some years before his death Haroun committed the baneful error of dividing the succession between his three sons. To Amin, the second, was allotted the Khalifate, with that portion of the empire south of the Caspian and west of the Gulf of Persia. The

[1] Elmacin, 119.

[2] Abulfed. ii. 91. Cedren. 477. Theophanes, 407. Of the other great islands of the Mediterranean, Sardinia had been wrested from the Byzantine Empire by the Saracens, A. D. 714; Price, i. 471; Sicily was conquered by them between the years 827-878; Crete, 823; Corsica was seized by Pope Leo IV. in 852, and a moiety assigned to the Genoese on the annual payment of a pound of gold. Baron. *Annal. ad* 852, v.

[3] Price, ii. 65. D'Herbelot, *v. Hagge.* Elmacin, 120.

[4] Abulfed. ii. 93. Abulphar. 152. D'Herbelot, *v. Haroun.* Price, ii. 84-87. Eutych. *Annal.* 412.

northern and eastern parts were given to his eldest but illegitimate son, Mamoun, who was admonished to acknowledge the supremacy of his brother. Armenia and the north of Mesopotamia formed an apanage for his third son, Mutaman.[1] In relating this arrangement, Elmacin observes, "Some said Raschid has given stability to his empire: but others said nay, but he has sown discord amongst them, and the event will be terrible."

A. D. 809. Amin, the successor of Haroun Al Raschid, was a dissolute and imbecile prince, vigorous only in the unjust attempt which he made to deprive his brother Mamoun of his dominions. An army of sixty thousand men, despatched for this purpose under the command of Ali, was encountered by Mamoun's general, Taher, who, near Rei, defeated this numerous host with an insignificant number of the valiant soldiers of Khorassan. This victory encouraged Mamoun to assume the title of Khalif, and the successes of his generals soon enabled them to besiege Bagdad, where the infatuated Amin, relinquishing to his courtiers the management of his affairs, sought to exclude care by an incessant round of trifling amusements and debauchery. The citizens, afflicted by oppression within the walls and by the operations of the besiegers without, rose in tumultuary insurrection, and gave up the town to the troops of Mamoun. The Khalif, seized in flight, was immediately put to death by the order of Taher, and his head was despatched to Mamoun, who awaited the event in the remote city of Merou.[2]

A. D. 813. The humane disposition of Mamoun was so shocked by the melancholy fate of his brother, that he never saw Taher without shedding tears; and that Chief, from the impulse either of resentment or of alarm, retired to Khorassan, a province which had been assigned, in nearly full sovereignty, as the reward of his services. With this successful soldier commenced the dynasty of the Taherites, who ruled the north of Persia for four generations;[3] and the establishment of that power is the next step in the dismemberment of the Khalifate after the loss of Spain and Africa. At the accession of Mamoun, the state had attained its greatest financial prosperity, and his revenue, it is probable, considerably exceeded thirty millions sterling.[4] His

[1] Elmacin, 115. D'Herbelot, *v. Haroun.* Price, ii. 65.

[2] Elmacin, 124–129. Abulfed. ii. 105. Abulfar. 157. D'Herbelot, v. Amin.

[3] Abulfed. ii. 139. Malcolm, *History of Persia*, i. 146, 147, 8vo. D'Herbelot, vv. *Mamoun, Thaher.*

[4] 279,970,714 derhems. Von Hammer (*Fundgruben des Orients*, vi. 364.) considers the derhem equal to the piastre forte, 2*s.* 2*d.* Mamoun, besides, received very great payments in kind, according to the natural productions of the respective provinces. *Fundgr. ibid.*

liberality kept pace with, or even outstripped his opulence. On one occasion, as he returned on horseback to the palace, the Syrian payments, amounting to three millions sterling, were displayed before him, and observing that his courtiers wistfully eyed the glittering hoards, he told them that they should not crave in vain while he possessed means for their gratification, and distributed four-fifths of the treasure before he drew foot from the stirrup.[1] On his marriage, a thousand pearls of uncommon size and lustre, showered on the head of the bride, became the property of those who could gather them, and lottery tickets thrown among the spectators, (after the manner of some of the imperial despots of Rome,) entitled the fortunate holders to rich possessions in lands and houses.[2] Mamoun was also a munificent patron of letters, and expended three hundred thousand pieces of gold in translations of the most eminent Christian writers.[3] During an expedition against the Greeks, he died in consequence of a surfeit of dates, rendered more deleterious by excessive draughts of the chill water of the Bezizon, or Cydnus,[4] a river once before nearly fatal to a far more illustrious sovereign.

His death. A. D. 833.

Mamoun was succeeded by his brother Motassem, whose short-sighted policy accelerated the dissolution of the empire of the Khalifs. Intent on surrounding himself with a strong body-guard, upon whose fidelity he might implicitly rely, he purchased a great number of Turkish youths, and after they had been disciplined, stationed them in his palace. The insolent rapacity of those rude foreigners led to frequent quarrels with the citizens of Bagdad, and Motassem, retiring in disgust from his capital, laid the foundation of the town of Samara. By a whimsical display of power, he commanded each soldier in his cavalry, said to amount to a hundred and thirty thousand men, to fill with earth the little sack, or (as it is familiarly called in English) the nosebag, used in feeding his charger, and all of these being emptied at an appointed spot formed an eminence on which was raised the palace of the Khalif.[5] The transfusion of Turkish hardihood into the military force of the Khalifate gave it some transient vigour, and the reiterated invasions of Syria by the Emperor Theophilus afforded occasion and scope for its exertion. In his fifth expedition, Theophilus besieged the

Turkish Guards.

A. D. 836.

[1] Price, ii. 163.
[2] *Ibid.* ii. 140. Abulfed. ii. 147.
[3] *Ibid.* ii. 142.
[4] Elmacin, 138. Abulfed. ii. 123. Price, ii. 142. D'Herbelot, *v. Mamon.*
[5] D'Herbelot, *v. Motassem.* Price, ii. 143. The eminence was called by the people, *Tel almekhali*, "the hill of satchels."

town of Sozopetra, the birthplace of Motassem, who, engaged in tranquilizing some disturbances in Persia, sent an embassy to intercede in its favour. The Emperor eagerly seized the opportunity of mortifying the Khalif's pride, and having taken and razed Sozopetra, he treated the captives with ignominious cruelty. In the subsequent invasion by which Motassem revenged this insult, Theophilus was defeated, and fled precipitately from the field on which thirty thousand of his soldiers had fallen. The victorious Khalif then in retaliation, laid siege to Amorium, the birth-place of Theophilus, who in vain sued that it might be spared. The strength of the fortifications, and the desperation of the garrison protracted the seige for two months, and the gratification of Motassem's vengeance cost the lives of about seventy thousand Moslems.[1] But the city was at length destroyed, the inhabitants suffered death in its most cruel forms, and after a profuse expenditure of life and treasure, the Khalif evacuated the country which his troops had overrun, and led them back to Samara. Motassem, like most of the Abbasside Khalifs, was generous. Having been separated on one occasion from his attendants, he saw an old man who fruitlessly attempted to extricate himself and his ass from a deep slough. The Khalif alighted, and plunging into the mud, with which he was thoroughly bemired, drew out the old man and his beast, and when rejoined by his courtiers, bestowed on him an alms of four thousand pieces of silver.[2]

The deep anguish which Theophilus felt in consequence of his defeat and the destruction of Amorium preyed upon his health, and irritated into cruelty his temper naturally severe. A woman complained to him that a powerful nobleman, the brother of the Empress, had raised his palace to so great a height as to exclude light and air from her humble dwelling. Not content with adjudging to her the palace and ground, Theophilus ordered the unhappy patrician to be stripped and scourged in presence of the people. In a similar spirit of rigour, officers, recommended by the length and importance of their services, were banished, mutilated, or burnt alive for venial acts of carelessness or negligence. The emperor's former zealous persecution of the image-worshippers also was at this time rendered more active from the exposure of a fraudulent attempt to raise a popular commotion, by means of a contrivance which caused milk to exude from the breasts of a statute of the Virgin.[3] His suspicions and cruelty increased as his

[1] Eutych ii. 439. D'Herbelot. Zonar. ii. 150–152. Cedren. 529–532.
[2] D'Herbelot, v. *Motassem.* Abulphar. 166.
[3] Elmacin, 152.

strength decayed, and since his son Michael was but five years old, he feared lest his succession might be prejudiced by the eminent qualities of Theophobus, a prince of Persian extraction, but allied to the reigning family of Constantinople by marriage. Theophilus issued his mandate for the death of his unsuspecting kinsman, whose great services and tried loyalty merited a different recompense. His head was brought to relieve the apprehensions of the dying despot, who, recognising the features, said in a faltering voice, "Thou art no longer Theophobus, and I soon shall be no more Theophilus." Then instructing his empress Theodora with the guardianship of Michael, and the powers of government during his minority, he spent his expiring breath in exhorting her to persist in the exclusion of images.[1]

With the death of Motassem (A. D. 841) had departed the glory of the Khalifate,[2] and that prince himself must be regarded the principal agent in its degradation. A standing army is ever a dangerous instrument to the power which wields it, and that which Motassem formed of foreign and barbarous mercenaries, was of all others the most likely to prove mutinous and faithless. Their insolence was fostered during the weak reign of his son Wathek, whose debaucheries and deviations from orthodox Islamism have qualified him to serve as hero in a singular romance, which renders his name familiar to readers of the present day. He was succeeded by his brother Motavakel, a weak and dissolute prince, whose only energy was displayed in the persecution of both Jews and Christians. His son, Montasser, one of the objects of many wanton and degrading cruelties perpetrated by this tyrant, avenged himself fearfully in his father's blood, and the parricide succeeded to the throne, which he retained only for six months, distracted by the agonies of remorse. Elmacin relates that the horrors of the penitent were aggravated by a remarkable incident. He happened to be present at the unrolling of a piece of antique tapestry, which represented a horseman bearing a diadem, round which was a scroll inscribed with Persian characters. Montasser, ignorant of the

A. D. 842.

A. D. 847.

[1] Zonar. ii. 152. Cedren. 533.

[2] Motassem has been called the octonary Khalif from the following curious coincidences:—He was the *eighth* in descent from Abbas; he gained *eight* important victories; *eight* sons of sovereign princes were enrolled in his service; he had *eight* thousand male, and *eight* thousand female slaves; *eight* sons and *eight* daughters; and *eighty* thousand horses; he left in his coffers *eight* millions of dinars in gold (L.3,666,666), and *eighteen* millions of dirhems in silver (L.412,500); and lastly, he lived to the age of forty-*eight*, and was *eight* lunar years, *eight* months, and *eight* days Khalif. Price, ii. 146.

language, demanded the meaning of the inscription from an interpreter. The pale looks of the person to whom he applied, expressed his terror, while he answered in a faltering tone, that it was merely a trifling legend; but the peremptory mandate of the Khalif compelled him to declare the real meaning of the words, which ran as follows: "I am Siroes, the son of Chosroes, I murdered my father, and retained the royal dignity but six months." This fearful omen of the retribution awaiting his crime, gave a fatal shock to Montasser, who died soon afterwards, either a victim to the terrors of a wounded conscience, or as other accounts represent, to poison.

A.D. 861.

We hasten over the short reign of Mostain. In that of his successor Motaz, a severe blow was inflicted on the Khalifate by the loss of Egypt.

A.D. 862.

Ahmed, the son of Toulun, was of Turkish descent, and by birth an Arab. Invested with the government of Egypt and part of Syria, he, by his activity, talents, and popular qualities, rapidly acquired power sufficient to enable him, after a few years' possession, to found an independent dynasty. The accounts given by the Arabian historians of the opulence and splendour of Ahmed, startle the most accommodating credulity. His revenue, we are informed, amounting to three hundred million pieces of gold, was distributed in the relief of misery, or the reward of merit. On one occasion, a million two hundred thousand pieces were sent to Bagdad, and divided amongst the learned and devout. Three hundred thousand pieces were bestowed each month on the indigent. A thousand pieces were daily expended in the purchase of bread, beeves, and goats, which, prepared in the kitchens of Ahmed, were spread forth on the pavement of the great court of his palace. The gates were then thrown open, and a crier proclaimed, "Let all who will, enter and dine;" whilst the Toulunide prince, seated above at a window, feasted his benevolent disposition with the sight, and returned thanks to God who provided for the wants of his people.[1] We read with more confidence, that he adorned Fostat (as Cairo was at that time named) with magnificent mosques; replenished its cisterns by means of a deep well and a costly aqueduct; provided for its defence by the construction of fortifications; built alms-houses and hospitals; raised the Pharos of Alexandria to the height of five hundred feet; and guarded the navigation of the Nile with a hundred ships of war; that his zeal and talents enabled him to retain, *verbatim*, all the passages of the *Koran;* that his justice or his vengeance, gave

Toulunide Dynasty of Egypt.

1 Roorda, Abul. Abbas. *vit.* 175. Elmacin, 160. 172.

eighteen thousand individuals to the hands of the executioner. His death, occasioned by a surfeit of buffalo's milk, presents a vestige of the pastoral manners of his ancestors. Feeling his last moments approach, he ordered the Christians and Jews to join the Moslems in prayers for his eternal welfare, and besought God's mercy for a wretch who knew not the extent of his own power.[1] He left a treasure of ten million pieces of gold. His posterity ruled Egypt until A. D. 905, when it was reunited to the Khalifate, to be again severed by the Turkish adventurer, Ikschid.

Motaz, like his predecessor Mostain and his successor Mothadi, was put to death by the Turkish Guards. In the reign of Mothamed which followed, the Khalifate was deprived of Persia by the revolt of Yacoub Ben Leis, the founder of the powerful but short-lived dynasty of the Soffarides. From the trade of a brazier, the employment of his youth, Yacoub, by his dislike of industry and love of adventure, was converted into a robber, and his valour, talents, and good fortune soon placed him at the head of an army with which he conquered Persia. He put an end to the dynasty of the Taherites, which since the reign of Mamum had ruled Khorassan; and thus encouraged, he advanced to the seige of Bagdad. The natural death of the invader at a critical moment probably averted the fall of the Khalifate.[2] His brother Amer received from Mothamed the investiture of those provinces which he already held by the sword. In the pride of power, he ordered each commander of a thousand horse to appear, bearing a golden mace, and the number of those officers was found to amount to one hundred. This display of splendour and power was dissipated by the storm of a Turkish invasion. Ismail Samanee, the leader of a powerful tribe of that race, at the instigation of the Khalif, led twenty thousand horsemen over the Oxus, and encountered the cavalry of Amer, four times more numerous. Amer, defeated and made prisoner, was sent in chains to the Khalif, by whom he was put to death. His dominions were bestowed on Ismail, the founder of the Samanides, who ruled the north of Persia until the close of the tenth century, when their power yielded to the ascendency of Mahmood of Ghizni.

A. D. 869.

A. D. 870. Soffarides.

But the severest blow of all was inflicted on the Khalifate by a spirit of fanaticism resembling that to which it owed its rise. The origin and name of the Carmathians is generally attributed to Carmath, who in the beginning of the ninth

Carmathians.

[1] De Guignes, i. 237. ii. 131. D'Herbelot, *v. Tholun.* Roorda. *passim.*
[2] Elmacin, 169. Abulfed. ii. 253–257. Price, ii. 164. Malcolm, i. 147–152.

century was tempted by remembrance of the success of Mohammed, to commence a somewhat similar career of imposture. His less bold and less inventive mind was content, however, with modifying or enlarging the tenets of the Koran. He increased the prescribed number of prayers from five to fifty, but allowed a relaxation from the rigid precepts which forbode wine and the flesh of various animals. One of his leading doctrines inculcated absolute submission to the Imam, or chief of the sect, to whom the faithful were bound to render a fifth of their income. The formidable schism, although successfully restrained by the Khalifate during its vigour, contributed largely to accelerate its decline. The Carmathians, defeated for a while by the valour and conduct of Muaffick, the brother and general of the Khalif Mothamed, awaited in their deserts an opportunity for successful vengeance.

This season occurred in the succeeding reign of Mothaded. The Carmathians appeared in arms to the number of a hundred thousand, and under the command of their Imam Taher, overspread Bahrein, Syria, and Mesopotamia. The great and rich cities, Cufa, Bassora, Racca, and Baalbec were stormed, pillaged, and depopulated. Taher, naturally adventurous, and rendered confident by uninterrupted success, crossed the Tigris, and at the head of five hundred horsemen made an inroad to the very gates of Bagdad. As the bridges were broken, and the bold invaders surrounded by the Khalif's army, the capture of Taher seemed inevitable, unless he adopted the expedient suggested by the respect or fear of the hostile general that he should save himself by secret flight. "Your master," said he to the messenger, "may number thirty thousand followers, but among them are not to be found three men such as these of mine." At the command which followed this boast, one of his soldiers plunged into the current of the Tigris; another pierced his own bosom with a dagger; a third leaped from a height and was dashed to pieces. "I will spare your life" (Taher proceeded to say to the envoy) "that you may soon behold a still more wondrous sight, your general chained among my dogs."[1] In the following night the Khalif's troops, panic-stricken by the desperate onset of the Carmathians, deserted their general, who was taken prisoner and bound among the dogs of Taher, according to this menace. The storm then passed away to the south. Mecca was sacked, thirty thousand of the Moslems were slaughtered, and the Caaba was polluted. The fall of this sect was as obscure as its rise, but the deep wounds which it in-

A. D. 892. to A. D. 902.

[1] For the Carmathians, see Elmacin, 174. &c. Abulfed ii. 267. &c. De Guignes, ii. 142, 143. D'Herbelot, *v. Garmath.* Price, ii. 167–171.

flicted may be regarded among the chief causes of the dissolution of the Khalifate. Yet still although helpless and humbled, the Khalifs, by their external splendour, continued to excite the amazement and admiration of strangers. In the nominal reign of Moctader, during which the public prayers and the inscriptions on the coins exhibited his name and attested his sovereignty, the government was virtually in the hands of the Turkish guards and female minions, whose influence prevailed to so great an extent, that a woman presided in the courts of justice. The Turks twice deposed and twice restored Moctadar; but their pride or policy exhibited him to the nations of the West in the utmost magnificence of an oriental court. When he gave audience to the ambassador of Constantine VII., "the Khalif's whole army, both horse and foot, was under arms, which together made a body of one hundred and sixty thousand men. His state officers, the favourite slaves, stood near him in splendid apparel, their belts glittering with gold and gems. Near them were seven thousand eunuchs, four thousand of them white, the remainder black. The door-keepers were in number seven hundred. Barges and boats, with the most superb decorations, were seen swimming upon the Tigris; nor was the palace itself less splendid, in which were hung up thirty-eight thousand pieces of tapestry, twelve thousand five hundred of which were of silk embroidered with gold; the carpets on the floor were twenty-two thousand. A hundred lions were brought out, with a keeper to each lion. Among other spectacles of rare and stupendous luxury was a tree of gold and silver, spreading into eighteen large branches, on which, and on the lesser boughs, sat a variety of birds made of the same precious metals, as well as the leaves of the tree. While the machinery effected spontaneous motions, the several birds warbled their natural harmony."[1]

A. D. 902.

A. D. 908.

Kaher, the successor of Moctader, after a reign of two years, was deposed by the Turkish guards, and deprived of sight. A striking and pitiable spectacle of fallen greatness, for the rest of his life he begged his bread; stationed every Friday at the door of the great mosque, in which he had formerly recited public prayers, and repeating, "Remember him who, once your Khalif, now implores your alms."[2] With his successor Radhi terminated the temporal power of the Khalifs, who, after his death, were regarded merely as the chief pontiffs of Islam, holding a powerless title at the mercy of the military rulers of Bagdad. The Bowide

[1] Gibbon, x. 38. from Abulfed. ii. 329. See also D'Herbelot *v. Moctader.*
[2] Elmacin, 200. D'Herbelot, *v. Caher.*

sovereigns of Persia had destroyed the power of the Turkish Guards to replace it by their own more systematic and steady tyranny. The Hamadanite dynasty severved Mesopotamia from even the nominal dominion of the Khalifs, which was now restricted to Bagdad and its vicinity; and their names until their final ruin by the Tartars merit notice no farther than as they regulate the canon of oriental chronology. Elmacin[1] describes the state of this once great dominion with the simplicity of truth. "The world was in the hands of rulers who had intruded into the government, and every one who could seize a province or a city, assumed the title of king, and waged war against his neighbours." Thus the unstable and contracted kingdom of the Hamadanites was left almost singly to oppose the vigorous and well-directed invasions of the Byzantine emperors.

A. D. 934.

Nicephorus II., the conqueror of Crete, who was raised to the imperial dignity by a tumultuary election of the army at this time, occupied the throne of Constantinople.[2] The recollection of his former successes allured him to a fresh career of conquest. He subdued the open country of Cilicia, stormed Mopsuestia, where two hundred thousand Moslems were slaughtered or enslaved, and acquired possession of Tarsus by capitulation. The Hamadanite princes of Syria, too weak to resist the army of Nicephorus, amounting according to the oriental writers to above two hundred thousand men, had sought the aid of the more powerful Ikschidites of Egypt; a fleet of numerous and well-appointed auxiliaries arrived from that country to witness the delivery of Tarsus to the Christians. A furious storm assailed their armament, and a well-timed attack by the fleet of Nicephorus effected its total destruction. This success was followed by the conquest of Cyprus, and the dominion of the emperors was extended anew over the islands of the western part of the Mediterranean.[3] In a rapid expedition, which more resembled a predatory inroad than any steady effort of conquest, Nicephorus widely ravaged Mesopotamia, where a large detachment of his army had been cut off in the defiles of Curdistan. Antioch was invested on his return; and as he held his march homeward he was surprised by the welcome intelligence that the bold enterprise of a subaltern officer had made him master of that great and opulent capital. Less happy fortune attended an expedition despatched for the invasion of Sicily; where

A. D. 963.

[1] 205.
[2] Cedren. 647, 648. Zonar. ii. 200.
[3] Abulfed. *Annal. Moslem.* ii. 483. Elmacin, 224. Zonar. ii. 200, 201. Cedren. 654, 655.

the Saracens, encouraged by a prophecy which declared that their subjugation was reserved for the Franks, defeated the Greeks with the loss of above twenty thousand men.[1] The death of Nicephorus adds another murder to the long list of crimes which shock and disgust us in the Byzantine annals. Although his personal valour and military skill had extended the boundaries and exalted the glory of the empire, his severity rendered him unpopular in the capital, and his moroseness and repulsive appearance excited no other feeling than aversion in the abandoned empress Theophano. For a while she endured her ill-sorted union with extreme impatience; and in the end turned her affections towards John Zimisces, (*the little*, as this word of Armenian origin is supposed to mean,) an officer who in a small but finely proportioned body, possessed in a high degree the spirit and talents of a statesman and a warrior. Nicephorus, apprehensive of treason, immured himself in a fortress built with the most jealous precaution; but the windows were accessible by ropes, and by their assistance Theophano admitted assassins who despatched her husband.

A. D. 969.

The necessities of the state early summoned Zimisces to the field. The late emperor Nicephorus, repeating the error which in the fourth century led to the dissolution of the Roman empire, had invited and assisted the Russians to pass the Danube,[2] and those formidable barbarians quickly made themselves masters of Bulgaria.[3] The union of the subjugated Bulgarians with the Russians, and their confederates the Patzinacæ,[4] swelled the barbarian host to three hundred thousand men. A traitorous Greek, who hoped to ascend the imperial throne by the assistance of the invaders, conducted them through the intricacies of Mount Hæmus to the walls of Adrianople. There, the Russian prince Svatoslaf gave audience to the ambassador of Zimisces, who ordered him to repass the Danube, and threatened an immediate attack in case of refusal. The haughty barbarian replied, "that the emperor need take no

[1] Pag. *crit. ad* Baron. A. D. 963, xii. Cedren. 653. Zonar. ii. 200. St Mark, *Abreg. Chron.* ii. 882.

[2] "The military fame of the Byzantine emperor, who was unquestionably the ablest general of his time, the greatness of the Russian nation whose power now overshadows Europe, the scene of the contest, destined in our day to be again the battle-field of Russian armies, and the political interest which attaches to the first attempt of a Russian prince to march by land to Constantinople, all combine to give a practical as well as a romantic interest to this war."—Finlay, *Byzantine Empire*, p. 402.

[3] Karamsin, i. p. 215, 216. Cedren.

[4] This powerful tribe, the Πατζινάκαι of the Byzantine historians, the Petchenegues of Karamsin, issuing from central Siberia, extended their dominion in the tenth century from the Caspian Sea to the lower part of the Danube. Karamsin, i. 179–182.

trouble in seeking him out, as he was on his march to Constantinople to drive the Greeks into Asia." That capital, so often assailed by less formidable and determined enemies, was now rendered inaccessible by the unwonted energy and valour of its defenders. The protection of Adrianople was intrusted to Bardas Sclerus, who chased the barbarians over the Hæmus into Bulgaria.[1] That desolated country was still held by Svatoslaf at the head of above a hundred thousand men, against whom Zimisces advanced leading an army of thirteen thousand cavalry and ten thousand infantry, formidable by their discipline and equipments; while a fleet of Greek vessels entered the Danube and cut off the communication of the Russians with its northern bank. Their vanguard was surprised by the Greeks, who cut in pieces eight thousand men, and pursuing their success stormed Pereyeslavetz the capital, where the garrison perished either by the sword or flames. Svatoslaf, entrenched with sixty thousand men on the southern bank of the Danube, was attacked at once by the army and fleet of Zimisces, and after a series of desperate engagements was compelled to surrender on condition of an unmolested retreat. As he in his return ascended the Dnieper, the Petchenegues, tempted by the rich plunder borne off by the Russians, fell upon them; Svatoslaf was slain, and his skull formed into a drinking cup.[2] The feebleness of the Khalifate, the example of his predecessor, and his own successes, encouraged Zimisces to form the bold project of once again extending the empire to its ancient boundaries in the East. He crossed the Euphrates, ravaged Mesopotamia, stormed Samosata, Edessa, and Nisibis, and in hope already grasped the wealth of Bagdad.[3] But intelligence that those treasures had been already dissipated by the domestic rapine of the Turkish guards, checked his eagerness to attack a populous and strongly fortified city, against which he must advance through an arid desert occupied by the brave and active cavalry of Persia and Turkestan. Leaving a country which he had strength to devastate but not to retain, he retreated to Syria, where he extended his conquests southward, until arrested by the impregnable fortress of Tripolis on the sea-coast of Palestine.[4] As his march homeward lay through the richest lands of the conquered provinces, he inquired how their revenues had been allocated by those intrusted with the management of the public finances; and when informed that these

[1] Zonar. ii. 209. Cedren. 666.
[2] Karamsin, i. 240, 241.
[3] Abulfed. *Annal. Moslem.* ii. 511. Elmacin, 227.
[4] Elmacin, 233. Zonar. ii. 215. Cedren. 683.

possessions had been appropriated by the eunuchs of the court, he exclaimed indignantly, "Is it for the aggrandizement of such wretches that we have toiled and bled?" This implied resumption of their plunder irritated the powerful slaves against whom it was directed, and they prevented the fulfilment of the menace by poisoning the emperor.[1] A. D. 976.

The reign of his joint successors, Basil and Constantine, is the longest and most obscure in the Byzantine annals, and indeed affords little worthy of notice except the successful but inhuman warfare of Basil against the Bulgarians. The power of that once mighty people had been broken by the inroads of the Russians and the conquests of Zimisces, but the death of that emperor was the signal for revolt, and Samuel the Bulgarian prince dared to measure arms against Basil. He was defeated in a succession of sanguinary battles, and obliged to fly from Lychnides, his capital, which was sacked by the Greeks, and among other rich plunder gratified their cupidity by a booty of ten thousand pounds weight of gold. Fifteen thousand Bulgarian soldiers were made prisoners, and Basil, who regarded death as too light a punishment for their assertion of their country's rights, divided those captives into bands of one hundred, of whom ninety-nine had their eyes torn out, while to the hundredth a single eye was left by which he might guide his blind companions homeward. The piteous sight of his warriors thus savagely mutilated, struck Samuel to the heart, and speedily occasioned his death. The spirit of the people was broken by this terrible example, and Bulgaria submitted to the Greek dominion, under which it acquiesced until the close of the twelfth century. The empire, by the late conquests, had been restored nearly to its extent in the reign of Heraclius, and comprised Italy south of Mount Gargano; the vast and rich tract bounded on the north by the Danube, on the three other sides by the Adriatic, Mediterranean, and Euxine seas; the islands of the Archipelago, together with Cyprus and Crete; Syria north of Libanus; and Asia Minor, with Armenia, as far as the Euphrates. The obedience of the remotest parts of the Asiatic dominions was precarious and intermitting, and they often served as a field on which the aspirants to the imperial purple set forth their claims, and exercised their powers, before they entered on the more conspicuous and perilous arena of Constantinople. During many years of this reign the Asiatic provinces were involved in an active and widely diffused war, maintained by two rival generals, Phocas and Sclerus, who laid aside

[1] Zonar. ii. 215. Cedren. 684.

their mutual dissensions whenever the approach of the imperial armies threatened them with a common danger. Phocas fell in battle as he rushed forward to engage in personal conflict with Basil. Sclerus long evaded or defied the power of his sovereign, but was at length admitted to an honourable capitulation. The fierce, restless, and enthusiastic disposition of Basil prompted him, even in his sixty-eighth year, to embark in person in an expedition against the Saracens of Sicily; but he died before the sailing of the armament, to the great joy of his unwarlike subjects, whom he had harassed with compulsory levies and financial exactions. His brother Constantine survived him three years, during which he seemed to value the sole possession of sovereignty merely as it afforded the means of unbounded indulgence in sensuality.

Death of Basil, A.D. 1028.

It is here that we may most conveniently notice the early history of that conqueror who overthrew Romanus Diogenes, who, by his marriage with the Empress Eudocia, assumed the purple and the diadem in 1067. Of the three great Tartar nations, the Huns, the Monguls, and the Turks, who have spread their devastations and dominion over the largest and most populous portion of the civilized world, the last alone have retained existence as an independent people. Their first appearance in Persian history, in the early part of the eleventh century, exhibits them as one of the most numerous and formidable of the pastoral nations. When that mighty destroyer, Mahmud of Ghizni, had, by his twelve fanatical expeditions to Hindustan, exhausted the energies of his people, the reported bravery and numbers of the Turks who roved over the wastes of Bokharah, alarmed the caution of his declining years. Under the guise of friendship, he asked a Turkish envoy what assistance his tribe could afford him in case of attack. "Send this," said the Turk, holding forth an arrow, "and fifty thousand horsemen will repair to your standard; add another from my quiver and the number will be doubled; if you need further aid, despatch my bow through our tribes, and two hundred thousand mounted warriors will obey the summons."[1] Mahmud listened to the answer with deep alarm, but the storm of invasion was averted until his death; after which his son Massoud was utterly defeated at Zendecan, in Khorassan, by Togrul Beg, the Turkish chief, and this decisive action at once shattered into fragments the colossal empire of the Ghiznevides.[2] The descend-

Rise of the Seljukian Turks.

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[1] D'Herbelot, *v. Seljook.*

[2] Abulfed. ii. 111. De Guignes, i. 242. D'Herbelot, *v. Thogrul Beg.* Malcolm, i. 199.

ants of Buyah, the Bowides as they are named, had put an end to the capricious and brutal tyranny then exercised over the Khalifs by the Turkish guards,[1] and under the title of Emir-al-omra, or Chief of the Nobles, ruled Persia, until they themselves sank beneath the power of the Ghiznevides.[2] The Turkish prince, as a consequence of his victory, enjoyed the high consideration resulting from the custody of the Khalif, and the possession of Bagdad. Togrul Beg, the grandson of Seljuk, and the first sultan of the Seljukian Turks, reigned from Bokhara to Syria, from the vicinity of the Indus to the Black Sea; and at his death, in his seventieth year, bequeathed the vast empire which he had conquered to his nephew, Alp Arslan. That great prince reigned without a rival among the Mohammedans, as the Fatimite Khalifs of Egypt, happy to maintain their independence, sought by obsequious missions the friendship of the warlike potentate, whose double sway, as the ruler of the East and West, was denoted by the formidable symbol of a scimitar girt on each thigh.[3]

A.D. 1028.

Fatimite Khalifs of Egypt.

The founder of the Fatimite dynasty was Obeidallah, who, although he claimed the Khalifate, and the name which attached to his descendants in virtue of an alleged descent from Fatima, the wife of Ali and daughter of the Prophet, is represented to have been the grandson of a Jewish mechanic of Emessa.[4] This adventurer conquered the Aglabite princes of Tripoli, and soon after, expelling the Edrissites from Western Africa, reigned from the borders of Egypt to the Atlantic.[5] His descendant Moez made himself master of Egypt, and forbidding the name of the Abbasside Khalif to be used in the public prayers, himself assumed that title. The suspicious origin of those princes was a tender point to which their enemies often adverted; and Moez, having been once addressed on the subject of his lineage, drew forth his scimitar, and exclaimed, "Behold my genealogy!" then, throwing handfuls of gold among his soldiers, added, "Those are my family!"[6] He laid out a city, adjoining to Fostat, the existing capital of Egypt, and gave it the appropriate name of Caherah (or the victorious), which the Franks, by an easy corruption, have changed into

A.D. 972.

Foundation of Cairo.

[1] Price, ii. 155. Malcolm, i. 167. D'Herbelot, *v. Bruah.*
[2] De Guignes, i. 410, ii. 169. Price, ii. 267.
[3] Malcolm, i. 208. De Guignes, iii. 197, 198.
[4] D'Herbelot, *v. Fatemiah.*
[5] Elmacin, 1[illegible]. D'Herbelot, *v. cit.* See De Guignes, who, however (i. 365, 366), cannot be reconciled with himself.
[6] D'Herbelot, *v. Moez.*

Cairo. His grandson Hakem was a lunatic, and by a delusion not very rare among such unfortunate persons, imagined himself the Deity, and insisted on the adoration of his subjects. His extravagance has interest for the Christian investigator of the history of that period, since it impelled him to destroy the Church of the Resurrection at Jerusalem, and to obliterate the cave which tradition represented as the receptacle of the body of Christ.[1] This outrageous act agitated the minds of all Christians with horror and indignation, and first raised that spirit which burst forth so fiercely in the Crusades.

A.D. 1009.

Thus the spiritual pre-eminence of the Abbasside Khalifs sank before the pretensions of this recent dynasty, whilst their temporal power was lost as it had been gained, by the arbitration of the sword. That sword was now wielded by a bold, a strong, and not unskilful hand. Romanus Diogenes, encouraged by the success of three campaigns, in which he slaughtered or dispersed the numerous armies led against him by the feudatories or the generals of Alp Arslan, advanced adventurously at the head of a hundred thousand men to the confines of Media. Alp Arslan, leading forty thousand cavalry, hastened to chastise the invader; but a near view of the strength of his enemy suggested moderation. When his overtures for peace were met by an insulting demand that he should surrender his capital as the pledge of his sincerity, the Turkish sultan arrayed his squadrons on the plain of Konongo, with his own hands equipped his charger, clothed himself in his shroud, and having perfumed his body with musk, according to the fashion of Mohammedan burial, declared his determination, if defeated, to find a grave on the field of battle. The event was such as had been usual whenever infantry met on open ground the cavalry of the Asiatic plains. The rapid evolutions of the Turkish horsemen evaded the onset of the Greeks, whose dense columns were exposed, without hope of retaliation, to the carnage inflicted by the skilful archery of their enemies. Romanus, at the close of a long and hard fought day, in which he had exhibited admirable valour and presence of mind, found himself left almost alone amidst his enemies, by the fall or flight of his troops. He was disarmed and led to the presence of Alp Arslan, who, in the most ungenerous exultation of triumph, is related to have set his foot on the neck of the Emperor. This was but a momentary impulse; he afterwards treated Romanus with considerate kindness, released him on promise of a ransom of a million pieces of gold, and was preparing to assist him in the recovery of his throne,

A.D. 1071.

[1] D'Herbelot *v. Hakem.* Baron. *Annal. ad.* A.D. 1009.

when he received information that the unfortunate monarch had been put to death by his subjects.[1] The attention of the Seljukian sultans was so much engrossed by the conquest of the regions of the south, that Bokhara, their original country, had escaped from their dominion, and Alp Arslan was on his march to invade it with two hundred thousand men, when he fell by the hand of an assassin.[2] The empire of the Seljukian Turks attained its highest pitch of splendour and power in the reign of his son and successor, Malek Shah, on whose death it fell to pieces as rapidly as it had risen. The vast territory was divided between the four principal Seljukian dynasties of Kerman, of Persia, of Syria, and of Roum, and their ruinous dissensions presented a favourable opening for some of the most splendid successes of the CRUSADES.

A.D. 1072.

A.D. 1092.

[1] Zonar. ii. 282–285. Abulfed. *Annal. Moslem.* iii. 214, 215. De Guignes, iii. 206–211.

[2] Abulfed. *Annal. Moslem.* iii. 223. De Guignes, iii. 212, 213. D'Herbelot, *v. Alp Arslan.*

CHAPTER V.

THE FIRST CRUSADE.

FROM A. D. 1095 TO A. D. 1099.

We now approach a new and memorable series of events, the most stupendous which the universe had witnessed since the overthrow of the Roman empire, and the establishment of the Mohammedan religion and power. To this interesting period—filling in duration just two hundred years—several properties conspired to give a peculiar and determinate character. It began and ended with the sudden development, and with the slow but total extinction, of a single mighty passion in the rude European mind. It presented the first example of combined and continuous action for a common object among those nations of barbarian origin, who had founded the modern monarchies of Europe on the ruins of the Roman dominion. It threw, for the first time since the consolidation of the Gothic and Mohammedan conquests, the powers of the Western and Eastern world into formal and general collision; and it witnessed and tried, on the plains of Syria and Egypt, the embattled cause of Christendom and Islam. Nor is there wanting, in the internal fortunes of each of the European kingdoms, some remarkable consummation which may be distinctly traced, and is accurately defined, within the limits of the same period of history. Whatever share of influence we may with different writers concede or deny to the operation of one common cause, the triumph of royal authority over feudalism in France; the secure foundation of the constitutional system in England; the completion of the aristocratic and municipal liberties of the imperial Germanic body; the victorious extension of the Christian monarchies of Spain from the Ebro to the Guadalquiver; the rise and growth of commerce and freedom in the Italian republics; and the general elevation of the Papal power to its meridian grandeur; are all at least strictly contained in the order of time, within the same exact period of two centuries, which was filled with the great simultaneous episode of The Crusades.

The predisposing circumstances which led to those famous enterprises, and thereby impressed such singular features on the history of the period, are to be sought rather in the general aspect and feelings of society during the ages immediately antecedent, than in the occurrence of any particular events. Amidst the lawless violence which preceded and attended the settlement of the feudal system, the voice of religion could seldom be heard above the perpetual din of

armed rapine; and her influence, instead of being habitually exercised over the consciences of men, was felt only with startling remorse in some brief interval of sickness or calamity. Then, the rude and superstitious warrior, with the same untempered energy of passion, was prepared to rush at once from the perpetration of atrocious crime to seek its atonement in exercises of the severest penance. Equally among churchmen and laity, the devotional spirit of the times, such as it was, knew no other mode of reconcilement with offended Heaven, than in these acts of mortification. But if many sought to expiate their guilt in the passive austerities of the cloister, it was more congenial to the restless and enterprising character, which marked the Northern mind, to embrace the encounter with fatigue and peril, as the surest test and the most acceptable tribute of repentant faith. The Romish clergy, therefore, probably only indulged instead of creating a popular inclination, when, in the eighth and ninth centuries, they began to commute the more ancient penances enjoined by the canons of the church, for pilgrimages to Rome, to the shrines of various saints, and above all to Jerusalem. The desire of visiting the places on which celebrated events have occurred, seems, indeed, a curiosity too deeply implanted in our nature to belong to any particular time or condition of man; but the associations connected with the hallowed scene of human redemption were calculated to sanctify this feeling with peculiar interest, and had rendered journies to Jerusalem not uncommon in some of the earliest ages of Christianity. When this practice was communicated to the Gothic nations, the love of pilgrimages gradually became almost a universal passion; and though its objects were deformed by the grossness of superstition, and its course much diverted to Rome itself, and to those shrines in different countries at which pretended miracles were wrought, especially that of St James at Compostella, in Spain, the stream of mistaken yet sincere devotion continued to set steadily towards the shores of Palestine.

But the impulse which, above all others, had a tendency to increase the ardour for pilgrimages, arose from a glowing belief, early in the tenth century, that the end of the world was at hand. It was imagined that the thousand years mentioned in the Apocalypse would speedily be fulfilled; that the reign of Antichrist approached; and that the terrors of the last judgment would immediately follow.[1] In proportion as this erroneous interpretation of sacred prophecy gained wider credence, the Western World became violently agitated

[1] *Chron.* Guil. Godelli (in *Recueil des Historiens Français*, vol. x.) p. 262. De Vic et de Vaisette, *Hist. de Languedoc*, vol. ii. p. 86-117, &c.

As Robertson has remarked (*Hist. of Charles V.* vol. i. note 13), even many of the charters of the tenth century have for preamble, "*Appropinquante mundi termino*," &c. (seeing that the end of the world is at hand.)

with fearful forebodings of the destruction which awaited the earth; every delusive form of propitiation for sin, in penance and pilgrimage, was eagerly embraced; and as it was concluded that to visit the scenes of redemption was both a meritorious and a preservative act, multitudes annually flocked to Jerusalem, to revive and recover those hopes of salvation which withered under the remembrance of habitual guilt. When an expedient so quieting to the consciences of men in a state of society equally fruitful of crime and superstition, had once been discovered, inducements were not wanting for its repetition; and the custom surpassed and survived its original impulse and occasion. Throughout the tenth and eleventh centuries, the passion for pilgrimages was ever on the increase; and it is recorded of a single company which visited the Holy Sepulchre, about the middle of the latter age, that its numbers were no fewer than seven thousand persons.[1]

Foremost among the devotees, as among the warriors of the times, were the Normans. That singular and high-spirited people, in every respect the most remarkable of the barbarian races, had no sooner become converts to Christianity, than they strangely infused into their religious profession the same wild and enthusiastic temper, the same ardour for adventurous enterprise, which had distinguished their Pagan career. The conquest of Southern Italy, which originated entirely in the casual return of their pilgrims from the Holy Land through that theatre of Saracen warfare,[2] is in itself a striking memorial both of their addiction to such religious journeyings, and of the equal readiness for either devout or martial achievement by which they were animated. Traversing Italy in the route between their own land and the Mediterranean ports which communicated with Palestine, in small but well-armed bands, the Norman pilgrims were prepared alike either to crave hospitality in the blessed name of the Cross, or to force their way at the point of the lance. Their victorious establishment in Italy tended to increase their intercourse with the East; their daring assaults upon the Byzantine empire, though foreign to our present subject, attest their undiminished thirst of enterprise; and we shall find the sons of the Norman conquerors of the Sicilies and England figuring among the chief promoters and warriors of the First Crusade.

Such a union of religious and martial ardour, however, was by no means confined to the Normans; and the eleventh century was marked, throughout western Europe, by the general expansion of a spirit, of which the organized result may be numbered among the

[1] Ingulfus, *Historia*, p. 903, 904.

[2] Leo Ostiensis, *Chron. Mon. Cassin*, lib. ii. c. 37. Giannone, *Istoria di Napoli*, vol. ii. p. 7

most active and powerful causes of the crusades. This was the institution of CHIVALRY. The rude origin of a state of manners so extraordinary in itself, and so restricted to the descendants of the great northern race,[1] is obviously to be found in those ceremonies which, among their ancestors in the German forests,[2] attended the assumption of arms by the youthful warrior. In subsequent ages the same forms of martial investiture, with little addition or variation, were preserved among the conquerors of the Roman empire, and perpetuated in every kingdom which they had founded. In the Lombard annals; in a recorded act, as well as occasionally in the capitularies of Charlemagne; and in the chronicles of our own Saxon era; are to be found sufficient evidence[3] of a common practice in the ceremonial investiture of knighthood. We may here overleap

[1] The want of all resemblance to the spirit of chivalry in the manners and sentiments of classical antiquity is so obvious, that it might seem a work of supererogation to insist on the fact: if an accomplished modern writer (Hallam, *Middle Ages*, vol. iii. p. 482) had not, in rather an elaborate passage, cited the Achilles of Homer as a beautiful portraiture of the chivalric character "in its most general form." On this position it may, in the first place, be remarked as singular, that Mr Hallam should number "a calm indifference to the cause in which he was engaged" among the qualities of the Homeric hero, as suggesting a parallel with the knightly character; of which enthusiastic and loyal devotion in enterprise formed the peculiar attributes. In the next place, the resentment of Achilles for the loss of Briseis merely as his captured *property*, is utterly repugnant to that principle of respectful idolatry for the fair, which every true knight cherished as an indispensable article in his creed of love and honour. In fact, the most irreconcilable distinction between the manners of the Classical and Gothic ages rests, as we have before had occasion to remark, on the totally opposite estimation of woman. Finally, his conduct of Achilles, both in suffering the inferior herd of Greeks to strike the corpse of Hector, and in dragging the lifeless body of the noble and fallen antagonist at his chariot wheels, would have been held utterly abhorrent from chivalric ideas of courtesy; and Mr Hallam, a few pages further on, has quoted a passage from a chronicler of the thirteenth century, which denounces the act of insulting the dead body of an enemy as the lowest depth of infamy. Thus, altogether, to say nothing of the absence of that dedication of the sword to the cause of Heaven, which, mistaken as it was, gave a religious impression to the knightly character, the portraiture of Achilles is completely destitute of those qualities of loyalty, devotedness to woman, and courtesy to enemies, which Mr Hallam himself justly specifies as virtues essential to chivalry. That lofty energy of the soul, which is inspired by contempt of death and thirst for glory, and displayed in daring and magnanimous achievement, constitutes, indeed, the vital essence of heroism under every form of society; but into this lifespring of action, common to the Grecian and the Gothic warrior, it was the singular peculiarity of the chivalric spirit to infuse the triple incentive and sentiment of religious, social, and amatory obligation; and instead of sustaining the parallel suggested, the Homeric representation, abounding as it does in native sublimity of conception, might, with more propriety, be selected for a sufficient example of the contrast between the heroic character in the two great romantic ages of the ancient and modern world.

[2] Tacitus, *De Moribus Germanorum*, c. 13.

[3] Paulus Diaconus, *De Gestis Langobard*, c. 23, 24. *Vita Ludovici Pii, ad Ann.* 791. Malmsbury, lib. ii. c. 2.

the chain of circumstances which, in later connection with feudal and social obligations, imparted to the spirit of chivalry, which in the outset was only essentially martial, its more graceful virtues of loyalty and honour, courtesy and benevolence, generosity to enemies, protection to the feeble and the oppressed, and respectful tenderness to woman. To trace the growth of these beautiful attributes of chivalry, as a moral and social system, belongs not to our present inquiry; and it will suffice to notice in this place that admixture of religious ideas and duties with a military institution, which converted it into a ready engine of superstitious excitement, and singularly disposed the public mind of Europe for any enterprise of fanatical warfare.

The exact epoch at which chivalry acquired a religious character, it is neither easy, nor is it material, to ascertain. In the age of Charlemagne, and in his empire at least, the form of knightly investiture was certainly unattended by any vows or ecclesiastical ceremonies.[1] But in the eleventh century, it had become common to invoke the aid of religion in the inauguration of the knight; his sword was laid on the altar, blessed, and even sometimes girded to his side, by the priest; and his solemn vow dedicated its use to the service of Heaven, in the special defence of the church, as well as the general protection of the weak and the oppressed. The more complete conversion of the whole process of investiture into a religious ceremonial; the previous vigils, confession, prayer, and receipt of the sacrament; the bath and the robe of white linen, as emblems of purification; all those preparations, in short, by which the entrance into the knightly, was designedly assimilated to that into the monastic profession, formed the growth of rather later times.[2] But there is abundant proof of the success of the church, before the Crusades, in infusing some religious principle into the martial spirit of chivalry.[3] For this, justice has scarcely been extended to the motives of the Romish clergy by different classes of writers, who, whether from indignation at the real corruptions of that church, or from hostility to the cause of Christianity itself, can discover only unmingled evil in the ecclesiastical policy of the middle ages. But apart from the lower and more interested purpose, in itself surely not unjustifiable, of converting the martial temper of lawless communities into a means of defence for the church, the clergy of the eleventh century appear to have laboured with a zeal and sincerity above suspicion, in mitigating a spirit which they could not subdue. Their efforts to soften the ferocity, and harmonize the feelings of the times by their reprobation of

[1] *Vita Ludov. Pii, ubi suprà.*
[2] Du Cange, *Glossarium in vv. Arma, Miles*, &c.
[3] Du Cange, *in v. Miles.* Muratori, *Antiq. Med. Ævi. Diss.* liii.

private wars, and judicial combats, are deserving of all praise;[1] and there seems no reason to doubt that, in covering the ceremonies of chivalry with the sanction of religion, their policy was originally animated by a principle equally praiseworthy. In the same knightly vows which they demanded or registered at the altar, engagements to abstain from secret perfidy and open wrong, to shield the oppressed, and to do justice to all Christian men, were at least mingled with the obligation of fidelity and protection to the church itself. The ultimate extension of these pledges into the imaginary duty of warring to the utterance against all infidels, was indeed as incompatible with the generally peaceful designs of the clergy, as it was repugnant to every genuine precept of the gospel. But in a period so turbulent that even the ordinary social virtues could be no better exercised and protected than at the sword's point, a warlike and ignorant race passed, by an easy and obvious transition, into the monstrous error of believing, that the sincerity of their faith and the cause of divine truth were to be proven and upheld by the same carnal weapon.

This doctrine was too congenial both to the fierce manners and superstitious feelings of the laity to need the suggestions of the ecclesiastical order for its excitement; and it may well be questioned whether the clergy directed or merely shared and obeyed the impulse of the times. They who can see nothing in the pilgrimizing and crusading madness of the tenth and eleventh centuries but the influence of a crafty system of ecclesiastical policy, attribute to the clergy a far greater superiority of intellect over the spirit of their age than they apparently possessed, only to fix the deeper stigma upon the abuse of their power. It is not only more probable in itself, but more consistent with historical evidence, to conclude that they were fervently imbued with the fanaticism which they are accused of having coolly excited; a vast number of prelates and inferior ecclesiastics shared in the toils and dangers of pilgrimages and Crusades; and the sincerity of the preachers and the warriors of those expeditions must in general be tried by the same standard of mistaken enthusiasm. In every sense, indeed, it was the union of religious and martial principles, first effected in the chivalric institutions, which prepared and prolonged the fanatical madness of Europe; the profession of arms became hallowed by its presumed dedication to the service of Heaven; and we may, therefore, enlarge on the definition of a celebrated writer, in pronouncing chivalry to have been at once both a principal cause and an enduring consequence of the Crusades.[1]

Such, then, through the united influence of martial and superstí-

[1] Gibbon, *Decline and Fall, &c.* vol. xi. p. 41.

tious feelings, were the circumstances which predisposed the nations of Western Europe for any enterprise of fanatical warfare. The immediate occasion of the Crusades must be related in retrospect to the fall of Jerusalem, and the affairs of both the Byzantine and Mohammedan empires. During a long interval of above four centuries, between its capture by Omar, and by the Seljukian Turks,[1] Jerusalem had shared the vicissitudes of Saracen revolution; and the treatment both of its Christian inhabitants, and of the pilgrims who thronged to its sacred places, was variously affected by the temper of its Mussulman lords. After the fierce spirit of intolerance, which animated the Saracens in their early career of proselyting conquest, had subsided, and during the more tranquil period of the Khalifate, no obstacle was opposed either to the exercise of worship by residents, or to the resort of devout strangers. The spot which tradition had assigned to the Holy Sepulchre, together with the church of the resurrection originally built by Constantine the Great,[2] were left in possession of the Christians; and satisfied with the exaction of a small tribute from every inhabitant and pilgrim, the Saracen governors even encouraged the periodical increase of population which swelled their revenues. The reign of Haroun Al Raschid was especially marked as a period of undisturbed communication between the Latin world and Jerusalem; and the transmission of the keys of the city to Charlemagne by that Khalif, though assuredly not designed as a surrender of its sovereignty, was an elegant expression of esteem for the emperor of the Western Christians, and a pledge of secure access for his subjects.[3]

When, in the tenth century, Jerusalem fell under the dominion of the Fatimite Khalifs of Egypt, the resort of pilgrims to Jerusalem was equally protected by the first two princes of that dynasty, who were not insensible to the benefits of the commercial intercourse of the same fleets which conveyed these devout passengers. But when the phrensy of Hakem, the third Fatimite Khalif, instigated him to destroy, or at least greatly to injure, the church of the resurrection and the Rock of the Sepulchre, the horrors of a persecution which he at the same time inflicted on the Christians of Jerusalem, interrupted the devotional visits of their western brethren; and the report of his sacrilegious tyranny first excited that indignation of the Latin world at the possession and profanation of the Holy Sepulchre by infidels, which afterwards burst into action with an energy so tremendous. Before the institutions of chivalry were

[1] Jerusalem was captured by the Caliph Omar, A.D. 637, and by Togrul Beg, the grandson of Seljuk, a Turkoman chieftain, whence the name Seljukian, A.D. 1076.

[2] Eusebius, *in Vitâ Constantin.* lib. iii. c. 25.

[3] Eginharti *Vita Caroli Magni*, p. 80-81. Willermus Tyrensis Archiepiscopus, (*Gesta Dei per Francos,*) p. 630.

sufficiently matured to feed this kindling spirit, the death of Hakem, and the return of his successors to a more tolerant policy, again opened the shores of Palestine to the devotion of Europe; the Church of the Resurrection rose from its ruins; the Holy Sepulchre was repaired; and the custom of pilgrimage, stimulated by its temporary repression, was renewed with tenfold ardour. An immense tide of population flowed from every western country towards Jerusalem; and, in the language of a contemporary chronicler, the innumerable multitude of pilgrims comprehended the lowest and middle orders of the people, counts, princes, and dignified prelates, and even women, as well of noble as of poorer condition.[1]

During the remaining period of the Fatimite dominion in Palestine, these pious visitants continued to experience from the Musulman tyrants of the land, in the alternations of policy and caprice, just sufficient protection to encourage their concourse, with abundant injuries to exasperate that desire of vengeance which they communicated to the whole western world. Precisely when this feeling, nourished by the general dispositions in the social state of Europe to which we have referred, had acquired full strength, it was forced into impetuous action by one of those sudden and violent vicissitudes of revolution, to which Asia in every age of her history has been subject. In their rapid career of conquest, the Seljukian Turks, in an uncertain year towards the close of the eleventh century, became the masters of Palestine.[2] Those recent and fierce converts to Islamism, appearing as the champions of the Abassidan Khalifs of Bagdad, were animated with equal hatred against the Fatimite possessors and the Christian tributaries of Palestine; and their entrance into Jerusalem was marked by an indiscriminate massacre. The fanatical cruelty of a race of barbarians, with the sanguinary precepts of the Koran freshly engrafted on their native ferocity, was untempered, like that of the more civilised Saracens, by any motives of toleration; the Christian clergy in Jerusalem were frequently tortured and imprisoned in mere wanton fury, or for the sake of the ransom which their sufferings wrung from their brethren; and the Latin pilgrims, who, in defiance of danger, were still urged by pious impulses to visit the Holy land, were exposed in their journey through it, and in their devotions at the Sepulchre, to every variety of insult and spoliation from the savage and greedy Turks. The reports which they circulated on their return, both of the afflictions of the church of Jerusalem and of their own endured wrongs, agitated all Christendom with an universal sentiment of mingled horror, shame, and vengeance, at the profanation of the

[1] Glaber, lib. iv. in *Recueil des Hist. Français*, vol. x. p. 50.
[2] Willermus Tyr. p. 633.

holy places of Jerusalem, the imaginary disgrace of suffering the scenes of human redemption to remain in the hands of sacrilegious infidels, and the conviction that the punishment of their impious atrocities was a duty enjoined equally by religion and by honour.[1]

While these feelings were shared with deep sincerity alike by the great body of the clergy and laity of Western Europe, events had arisen in the state of the Byzantine empire, which gave the papal see an immediate motive of political interest in directing the strong impulse of the age to a religious war. When the victorious career of the Seljukian Turks, under Alp Arslan,[2] began to threaten the safety of Constantinople itself, the Emperor Michael VII., in the extremity of his distress and terror, grasped at a faint hope of succour by addressing himself to the ruler of the Latin church. Through a mission to Pope Gregory VII. he exposed the common danger of Christendom from the new growth of the Mohammedan power, declared his reverence for the papal authority, and implored its exercise for his aid among the princes of the West. Such an application, which seemed to promise the submission of the Greek church to the papacy, open views of aggrandizement, too congenial to the towering ambition and adventurous spirit of Gregory to be received with indifference; and he strenuously exhorted the sovereigns of Europe, by encyclical epistles, to arm against the infidels. In these letters the principal recommendation was the union of the two churches of Christendom for a general armament against the Turks: but in a single passage announcing that fifty thousand warriors had already declared their willingness to be led to the redemption of the Holy Sepulchre, is first[3] plainly shadowed out the great subsequent design of the Crusades.[4]

The proposal of Gregory VII. was not yet, however, directed with sufficient singleness of purpose to the shores of Palestine to inflame the kindling enthusiasm of the West; and the opportunity of maturing his daring project was reserved for his successor and imitator, Urban II. A renewal of the supplication which had been addressed to Gregory was produced by the increasing distress of the eastern empire; and the subsequent connection of its affairs

[1] Willermus, Tyr. p. 634.

[2] Alp Arslan, "the valiant lion," was the nephew and successor of Togrul Beg, as chief of the Seljukian Turks. He defeated the Greek Emperor, Diogenes Romanus, in 1071, and was slain by an assassin in 1072.

[3] It is usual to infer that the first design of a crusade was contained in an encyclical letter of Pope Sylvester II. at the commencement of the eleventh century. But the object of his epistle (*Recueil des Hist. Français*, vol. x. p. 425) does not appear to have gone beyond the obtaining of some pecuniary succour from Christendom for the distressed church of Jerusalem.

[4] *Epistolæ* Greg. VII. lib. i. ii. &c. (in Labbé, *Concilia*, vol. x.)

with the first crusade, requires that we should here briefly trace the thread of the Byzantine annals from the accession of Alexius Comnenus. That prince, at the outset of his reign, found his dominions assailed simultaneously on opposite extremities by the arms of the Normans of Italy and the Seljukian Turks. The invasion of Greece by Robert Guiscard, the first Norman Duke of Calabria, with the magnificent design of conquering the Eastern empire, demanded the earliest care of Alexius; and though his resistance was gallant and vigorous, his defeat by the Norman in the great battle of Durazzo, shook the tottering fabric of Byzantine power to its centre. The distraction of an Italian war arrested Guiscard in the subjugation of Greece, and perhaps saved Constantinople from his assaults:[1] but his enterprise had favoured the progress of the Turks in the eastern provinces of the empire; and Alexius was compelled to purchase their forbearance by the formal cession of Asia Minor. The establishment, in that wealthy region, of the subordinate Seljukian kingdom of Roum, or of the Romans,—a title in itself insulting to the proud pretensions and fallen majesty of the successors of Constantine—contracted the eastern frontiers of their empire to the shores of the Bosphorus and the Hellespont. The residence of Solyman, the Sultan of Roum, was fixed at Nice in Bethynia, within an hundred miles of Constantinople; and the Turkish outposts were separated only by the strait from the imperial capital. A hollow pacification did not prevent Solyman from meditating the passage of that channel; and his preparation of a naval armament filled Alexius with reasonable alarm for the safety of the European remnant of his dominions.[2] Following the example of Michael VII., he addressed the most earnest entreaties for succour to the Pope and the temporal princes of western Christendom.[3] The independent partitions of the Seljukian conquests on the death of Malek Shah, and the decline of the Turkish power through intestine dissensions, relieved the pressure on the Byzantine empire; and Alexius was enabled even to recover some portion of Asia Minor from the successor of Solyman: but his envoys were yet resident at the Papal Court, when by an instrument apparently far more powerless, that spark was struck into the enthusiasm of Europe, which threw its combustible elements into one general conflagration of religious warfare.

The name and story of the extraordinary individual who lit up

[1] Anna Commena, *Alexias*, lib. iii.—v. &c. Galfridus Malaterra, *Hist.* (in Muratori, *Scrip. Rer. Ital.* vol. v.) lib. iii. c. 24—39.

[2] For the history of the Turkish conquest of Asia Minor, &c. vide De Guignes, vol. i. p. 244, vol. ii. p. 1-12. Also the original account of William of Tyre, lib. i. c. 9, 10.

[3] Guibert Abbat. *Hist. Hierosol.* p. 475, 476. (*Gesta Dei per Francos*).

this unquenchable flame of fanaticism, must be familiar to every reader. Peter the Hermit was a poor gentleman of Picardy, who, after following in arms his feudal lord, Eustace de Bouillon, and vainly attempting to improve his fortunes by an alliance with a lady of noble family, had, in some moment either of disappointed ambition, or of awakened remorse for deeper guilt, escaped from a profitless service and a distasteful marriage, to the refuge of the cloister. But the restless fervour of spirit, which afterwards produced effects so memorable, led him shortly to desert the monastic profession for a life of absolute solitude; and to the character of an anchorite, he next superadded that of a pilgrim to the Holy Land. The scenes which he witnessed, the sufferings which he endured, in this expedition, were of a nature to confirm the mental distemper which had been nourished in his cell. At Jerusalem his indignation was excited by the cruelties of the Turks to the Christian residents and pilgrims: his piety was shocked at the profanations with which the Holy Sepulchre was insulted by those barbarian infidels. He fancied himself inspired by Heaven to effect its deliverance from their hands; and in a conversation with the Patriarch of Jerusalem, he declared his purpose to rouse the princes and people of the West to avenge the disgrace of Christendom.[1] He possessed many qualities which, notwithstanding an unpromising exterior, peculiarly fitted him for the task to which he thoroughly devoted himself. He was inspired with the genuine spirit of enthusiasm: regardless of bodily privation and fatigue, steadfast in purpose, ardent in imagination, and, above all, animated by that admixture of pious intentions with personal vanity, which has deluded the fanatic of every age. When he first emerged from obscurity, and burst upon the world as the preacher of a religious war, he is described as emaciated by self-inflicted austerities and wayfaring toil; diminutive in stature; mean in appearance; and clad in those coarse weeds of a solitary, from whence he derived his surname of the Hermit. But his eye beamed with fire and intelligence; he was fluent in speech; and the vehement sincerity of his feelings supplied him with the only eloquence which would have been intelligible to the popular passions of his times.[2]

Having obtained from the Patriarch of Jerusalem letters of

[1] Willermus Tyr. lib. i. c. 11. Guibert Abbat. p. 482.

[2] Willermus Tyr. p. 637. The Archbishop's lively portraiture of the fanatic has often been quoted. *Erat autem hic idem staturâ pusillus, et quantum ad exteriorem hominem, personæ contemptabilis. Sed major in exiguo regnabat corpore virtus. Vivacis enim ingenii erat, et oculum habens perspicacem; gratumque, et sponte fluens ei non deerat eloquium.* (This man was little in stature and contemptible in appearance, but there reigned within that slight body a very courageous spirit. He possessed a lively genius, and had a quick clear eye, nor was he wanting in agreeable and ready eloquence.)

credence and supplication for the cause which he had undertaken, Peter, on his return to Europe, repaired at once to the Papal Court, and found in Urban II. an astonished but ready listener to his magnanimous project. The Pope recognised, and perhaps sincerely credited, the Divine authority of his mission; but the views of Gregory VII. were not forgotten by his successor; and motives of ambition, sufficiently strong to induce his assent, must have been suggested by the embassy of Alexius, and the desire of extending the authority of the Papal See over the churches of the East. The probability that schemes of mere worldly policy were at least mingled with the religious impressions of Urban II. is increased by the assertion of a well-informed writer of his times,[1] that he had recourse to a temporal counsellor, who had in his own person proved the weakness of the Byzantine empire. This was Boemond, natural son of Robert Guiscard, who had attended his father in his daring invasion of Greece, and whose ambitious spirit was now impatiently restrained within the narrow limits of a Neapolitan fief. The Norman prince, whose selfish and wily character strikingly developed itself in the subsequent events of the Crusade, was little influenced by the devotional fervour of the age; and if his advice determined Urban to direct the enthusiasm of Europe to the shores of Palestine, we may readily believe the chronicler that it was founded more upon political than religious considerations.[2]

However this may have been, the Hermit of Picardy quitted the Papal Court strengthened by the approbation and the promises of the spiritual Chief of Christendom; and travelling over Italy and France, he everywhere proclaimed the sacred duty of delivering the sepulchre of Christ from the hands of the infidels. Unless we bear in mind the prodigious influence of those superstitious and martial feelings which together absorbed the passions of a fierce and ignorant age, it is difficult to conceive the recorded effects of the Hermit's preaching; and language has been exhausted in describing after contemporary authorities, the innumerable crowds of all ranks which thronged cities and hamlets, churches and highways, at his voice; the tears, the sighs, the indignation excited in these multitudes by his picture of the wrongs of their Christian brethren, and the sacrilegious defilement of the Holy Sepulchre; the shame and remorse which followed his reproaches at the guilty supineness that had abandoned the blessed scenes of redemption to the insults of infidels; the eager reception of his injunctions to every sinner to seek reconcilement with Heaven by devotion to its cause; and the rapture which his denunciations of vengeance against the Saracen enemies of God

[1] Malmsbury, p. 407.

[2] Pandul. Pisanus, *Vita Urbanii II.* (*in Script. Rerum Ital.* vol. iii.) p. 352. Willermus Tyr. p. 638. Malmsbury, *ubi supra.*

awakened in the stern hearts of congregated warriors. The fanatical austerity of the preacher, which was proclaimed in his withered form, his squalid attire, and his abstemious diet; the voluntary poverty which distributed to the indigent the alms vainly designed for its own relief; the rude eloquence of speech and gesture, which flowed from impassioned sincerity, were all in deep unison with the religious sentiments of his hearers: the appeal to arms roused with irresistible strength that double excitement of devotion and valour which animated, as with a blended and inseparable principle, the Christian chivalry of Europe.[1]

The Pope had dismissed the Hermit with the assurance that he would strenuously support his great design; and the enthusiasm which Peter had awakened by his preaching was restrained from bursting into action, only by eager expectation of the fulfilment of the pledge. At Piacenza, Urban first convoked the prelates of Italy and the neighbouring regions; four thousand inferior clergy, and thirty thousand lay persons, are computed to have flocked to the scene; and the legates of the Eastern Emperor having been admitted into the assembly to expose the dangers which menaced their country and all Christendom from the progress of the Turks, and to implore the aid of the nations of the West against the infidels, it was resolved to promote the demand, and to mature the design of a holy war, by the authority of a more general Council.[2] Urban was directed in his choice of a place for its assemblage by the partialities of birth, by the predominant martial and religious spirit of his native country, France, and by the special invitation of Raymond, Count of Thoulouse. Clermont, the capital of Auvergne, was appointed for the seat of the Council, at which the Pope in person presided, and an immense multitude of clergy and laity of all ranks, from France, Italy, and Germany, gave their attendance. During the first week after the opening of the Council, its deliberations were chiefly engaged in the enactment of some general provisions for the improvement of morals and the repression of private war: but on the ninth morrow of the session, the Pope himself ascended an elevated pulpit in the open air, and preached the sacred duty of redeeming the sepulchre of Christ from the infidels, and the certain propitiation for sin by devotion to this meritorious service. His fervent exhortations were addressed to a multitude already deeply imbued with fanatical purpose; his inference of a divine command for the holy war was interrupted by one universal and tumultuous cry of "It is the will of God;" and the slightly varied

A.D. 1095. March.

Nov. 1095.

[1] Willermus Tyr. p. 638. Guibert, p. 482. Fulcherius Carnotensis, (*Gesta Dei per Francos,*) p. 381.

[2] P. Pisan. *Vita Urban.* p. 353. Labbé, *Concilia*, vol. x. p. 499, &c.

acclamations of *Deus vult, Dieux el volt,* and *Deus lo volt,* expressed the common enthusiasm of the clergy and the people, while it marks the pure retention of the Latin tongue in the familiar speech of ecclesiastics, and the popular corruptions which it had undergone into the two great northern and provençal dialects of France. At the instant when their cries resounded throughout the vast assembly, the figurative injunction of Scripture to the sinner, to take up the cross of Christ, suggested to Urban the idea that all who embraced the sacred enterprise, should bear on their shoulder or breast that symbol of salvation. The proposal was eagerly adopted; the Bishop of Puy first solicited the Pope to affix the holy sign in red cloth[1] on his shoulder; and the example being immediately followed, the cross became the invariable badge of the profession, while it gave an enduring title to the warfare of the *Croisé* or Crusader. The first temporal prince who assumed the cross was the Count of Thoulouse, and his offers, through his ambassadors, to devote his powerful resources, as well as his person, to the cause, were hailed with admiration. Before the Council broke up, Adhemar, the Bishop of Puy, was invested by Urban with full authority as papal legate for the conduct of the expedition; and the following spring was appointed for the period of its departure to the east.[2]

The decision of the Council of Clermont was welcomed throughout the Latin world with joyful assent; and Europe echoed with the clang of warlike preparation for the sacred enterprise. France, Italy, and Germany, were inspired with a common ardour; the same spirit was communicated to the British Islands, and penetrated the remoter region of Scandinavia;[3] and if Spain did not equally respond to the call, it was only because the Christian chivalry of Castile and Arragon were already occupied on a nearer

[1] It has been observed by Gibbon, after Du Cange, that although in the first Crusade red was the general colour of the cross, different hues were subsequently adopted as national distinctions: red by the French, green by the Flemings, and *white* by the English. Yet the red cross of St George was early our national emblem, and still proudly floats on that banner which "a thousand years has braved the battle and the breeze."

[2] Willermus Tyr. p. 639-641. Guibert, p. 478-480. Fulcher, p. 382. Baldricus Arch. (also in *Gesta Dei*), p. 79-88. Labbé, *Concilia*, vol. x.

[3] Malmsbury whimsically involves his picture of the universal extent of the crusading ardour, in an allusion to national habits: "The Welshman forsook his hunting; the Scot his companionship with vermin; the Dane his carouse; and the Norwegian his raw fish," p. 416. Among the distinguished personages who joined the first Crusade from our own island, were Stephen, the English-Norman Earl of Albemarle, Odo, Bishop of Bayeux and Earl of Kent (Dugdale, *Baronage*, vol. i. p. 23, 61), and perhaps (*L'Art de vérifier les Dates*, vol. i. p. 842) a son of Malcolm Ceanmore, King of Scotland.

theatre of religious hostility, in the long contest with their Saracen enemies.[1] In every country, and among all ranks and conditions of men, the master passions of fanatical and martial zeal were fed by various impulses of action. The chief inducement beyond doubt was a canon of the Council of Clermont, by which the performance of the crusading vow was accepted as a full equivalent for all ecclesiastical penances. This decree is memorable in itself as having first suggested, or at least rapidly extended, the idea of granting plenary indulgences: the sale of which for money was afterwards converted by the cupidity of the Popes into so profitable an expedient for replenishing their coffers, and became the most scandalous practical corruption of the Romish Church.[2]

To the feudal nobility and their followers, the commutation of penances for a military enterprise was peculiarly grateful. The anathemas of the church against private wars, the enforcement of the truce of God, and the prohibition to bear arms, or to mount on horseback, which the clergy often employed as a form of penance, were all grievous to an order in whom the love of arms and rapine struggled with the terrors of superstition. An injunction to religious warfare, which relieved their fears, while it promised free indulgence to their favourite pursuits, was gladly embraced as the very easiest mode of reconciling their usual course of life with expiation for its disorders; and so admirable, in the judgment of the age, appeared this discovery of a mode of atoning for its prevalent crimes by their very repetition, that a chronicler emphatically eulogizes it as a new kind of salvation.[3] Nor were there wanting the worldly incentives of avarice, ambition, and renown, still further to animate the mistaken sense of religious duty. The exaggerated tales of pilgrims and traders were filled with pictures of oriental wealth; the subjugation of Asia seemed an easy and glorious achievement; and the chivalry of Europe already shared in imagination the countless treasures and fertile provinces of the gorgeous east.[4]

[1] The sacred and meritorious character of the warfare against the Spanish Saracens had been already recognised by the Popes. In the conquest of Toledo (A. D. 1085), Alfonso VI. had been assisted by many foreign knights; and when pressed in the following year by the African Saracens, he was succoured by the chivalry of France. It has even been contended (Mailly, *Esprit des Croisades*, vol. ii. p. 91) that their auxiliary expedition should be numbered as the first of the Crusades; and there is no doubt that it was considered as a holy war, and must have familiarised the French nobles with the idea of such enterprises—though its memory has been eclipsed by the superior importance of the subsequent design for the redemption of the Sepulchre.

[2] Labbé, *Concilia*, vol. x. p. 507, Mosheim, *Eccles. Hist. Cent.* xii. P. 2. c. 3. Muratori, *Antiq. Med. Ævi. Diss.* lxviii.

[3] "*Novum salutis genus.*" Guibert, p. 471; (a new kind of salvation.)

[4] *Idem*, p. 554, 555.

By the remaining classes of society the same mingled influence of spiritual and temporal motives was equally felt. While numbers of the clergy sincerely shared the general fanaticism, the conquest of Asia opened prospects of wealthy establishments to the higher order of ecclesiastics; the monks found at least a meritorious occasion of escape from the irksome restraint of the cloister, and the peasantry from feudal bondage to the soil. Under the pretence of a holy purpose which it was decreed sinful to prevent, debtors were protected both from the present demands of their creditors and the accumulation of interest during their absence; criminals were permitted to elude the pursuit of justice; and offenders of every degree, under the special safeguard which the church threw over the performance of their vows, were enabled to defy the vengeance of the secular law.[1] Lastly, even the speculations of an infant commerce assisted the general excitement; and the merchants of Italy, in particular, engaged with avidity in enterprises from which, in effect, they alone, by the establishment and extension of a lucrative maritime trade, derived any solid and durable advantage.

Yet all these were but the secondary motives of that one mighty impulse, under which all the ordinary considerations of life, all the ties which bind men to home and country, to kindred and possessions, were alike disregarded. To obtain funds for so distant and expensive an enterprise, princes and high nobles mortgaged, or even alienated their vast domains; warriors of inferior rank either wholly abandoned their feudal estates and obligations, or prepared to follow their lords in voluntary service; lands were everywhere converted into money; horses, arms, and means of transport were collected at exorbitant prices; and valuable property of all kinds was recklessly sacrificed on the most inadequate terms to colder or craftier dealers. Yet even among such, the irresistible force of example often prevailed; the awakening conviction of duty, the thirst of glory, or the dread of reproach, was gradually imparted to every bosom not wholly insensible to religion and honour; and the prudent or designing purchaser in one hour was himself the deluded seller in the next. Nor was the contagion of fanatical adventure confined to the chivalric order. Not only ecclesiastics deserted their benefices, and monastic recluses their cells, but mechanics and rustics forsook their occupations, and exchanged their implements of industry for weapons of offence; and women of all ranks, with an abandonment of the more timid and becoming virtues of their sex, which produced equal misery and scandal, either left their husbands behind them, or with their children swelled and encum-

[1] See Du Cange, *in v. Crucis Privilegium*, and the authorities there cited.

bered the unwieldy masses of helpless pilgrims.[1] Moreover, the superstitious confidence of atonement for past crimes, and the expectation of license for future enormities, equally attracted the vilest portion of mankind. Robbers, murderers, and other criminals of the deepest dye, professed their design to wash out their guilt in the blood of the enemies of God.[2] The aggregate of the immense multitudes who thus assumed the Cross could scarcely be accurately computed, in an age so unfavourable for collecting the details of statistical calculation. By one chronicler it is vaguely estimated at six million of persons;[3] by a less credulous contemporary it is denied that all the kingdoms of the West could supply so vast a host:[4] but even the exaggeration proves that the original design of enthusiasm would have totally depopulated Europe; and after making every deduction for the influence of delay, returning reason, and the accidents of life, in cooling the first burst of fanatical fervour, the numbers which actually fulfilled their purpose justify the assertion that whole nations, rather than the mere armies of western Christendom, were precipitated upon Mohammedan Asia.

Long before the season, the end of spring,[5] fixed by the Pope for the departure of the Crusaders had expired, the impatience of the ruder multitudes of people grew too violent for restraint. Soon after the commencement of the new year, an immense concourse of pilgrims, chiefly of the lowest orders, had thronged around Peter the Hermit on the western frontiers of France, and urged him, as the original preacher of the sacred enterprise, to assume its conduct. Apparently unconscious of his utter unfitness for command, the fanatic rashly accepted the perilous charge; and under his guidance, the accumulating torrent began to sweep over Germany.[6] Its im-

A. D. 1096. March.

[1] Guibert, p. 481. Albertus Aquensis, (*Gesta Dei per Francos*), p. 185. Guibert has a passage which too curiously illustrates the madness of the prevalent fanaticism to be passed without notice in this place. Deluded rustics yoked their oxen, shod like horses, to carts, in which they placed their families and goods to perform the sacred journey; and it was *planè joco aptissimum* (very amusing) to hear the children inquiring, as they approached any city, whether that were Jerusalem, p. 482.

[2] Wilermus Tyr. p. 641. Albertus Aquensis, *ubi suprà*.

[3] Fulcherius Carnot, p. 386.

[4] Guibert, p. 556.

[5] And not the "Feast of the Assumption in August," as Gibbon has stated. See the interesting version of the speech of Urban, in the Council of Clermont, as given by William of Malmsbury (p. 410-415.) The first detachment under Godfrey, Duke of Lorraine, set out by way of Hungary in March 1096.

[6] Before we accompany the disorderly march of the mob which thus commenced the First Crusade, it behoves us to specify our principal guides throughout the expedition. These are the original authorities contained in the great collection of Bongarsius, which he printed at Hanover, in two folio volumes in 1611, under the general title of *Gesta Dei per Francos;* a designation which Jortin pithily proposed to change into *Gesta Diaboli*, &c. The actual eye-witnesses of the First Crusade,

mense tide overflowed the ordinary channels of communication; and devastation marked its course. The roads were obstructed by the multitude of passengers; the country through which they moved was oppressed by their excesses; the means of subsistence were exhausted by their wants; and Peter was compelled to exhort them to separate into smaller masses. Under the command of Gualtier, or Walter, a Burgundian knight, whose poverty procured for him the surname of *Sans-Avoir*, or the pennyless, and who accepted the office of lieutenant to the Hermit, a body of twenty thousand pilgrims preceded the march of the main host through Hungary and Bulgaria towards Constantinople. The wretched quality of the adventurers who composed this advanced guard is sufficiently indicated by the fact that there were only eight horsemen in the whole number, and their conduct was as reckless as their condition was deplorable. Through Hungary, they were indebted for a safe though toilsome passage to the friendly disposition of its king, Carloman, and Christian people; but on their entrance into the still wilder regions of Bulgaria, which were governed by a lieutenant of the Byzantine empire, they encountered every possible obstacle, both from the treacherous policy of the imperial officers, who forbade the supply of their necessities, and from the ferocious temper of the natives. Hunger compelled the crusaders to resort to violence; the Bulgarians flew to arms, and the route of Walter and his followers was tracked in blood and flames. But in every day's march, the natives cut off hundreds of the miserable rabble; and the destruction of the whole host, before it reached the southern confines of Bulgaria, was so complete, that only Walter and a few survivors succeeded, by a flight through the forests, in reaching the Court of Constantinople.[1]

The second division of the crusading mob, under Peter the Her-

whose relations are to be found in the collection of Bongarsius, were, 1. Robert the Monk (*Hist. Hierosolymitana*); 2. Raymond de Agiles, chaplain to the Count of Thoulouse, during the Crusade (*Hist. Francorum*); and 3. Fulcher, also a chaplain, who accompanied the Count of Chartres, and afterwards attached himself to Baldwin, brother of the great Godfrey, and second king of Jerusalem (*Gesta Peregrinantium Francorum*); 4. next in the order of testimony is the work of an archbishop, Baldric (*Hist. Hierosolym.*), who assisted at the Council of Clermont, and whose relation, although he did not himself accompany the expedition, is declared to have been revised by an abbot who did so; 5. Albert of Aix (*Hist. Hierosol. Expeditionis*); and 6. Guibert (the title of whose Chronicle, *Gesta Dei per Francos*, it was that Bongarsius adopted for the whole collection), were contemporaries, and the latter was a keen observer and lively narrator; 7. and lastly, William, Archbishop of Tyre, already so often quoted, whose history, although he was not contemporary with the First Crusade, is, perhaps from the materials of information to which he had access, and the judgment with which he compiled them, the most valuable document in the whole collection.

[1] Fulcher, p. 384. Albert. Aquensis, p. 185. Guibert, p. 483. Willermus Tyr. p. 642.

mit himself, amounting to forty thousand men, women, and children, followed on the traces of the first body. Aided by the good offices of the Hungarian king, their march through his country was abundantly supplied, and tranquilly pursued, until they reached Malleville, the modern Zemlin, on its southern confines, where the triumphant exhibition on the walls of the spoils of some of their precursors who had been slain in an affray with the inhabitants, roused them to a furious vengeance. The ramparts of the city were scaled; thousands of its people were slaughtered, and for several days the survivors were exposed to all the horrors of violation and rapine. The approach of Carloman with a large army to punish their perfidious ingratitude, accelerated the departure of the crusaders; and their hasty and disorderly passage of the Save exposed them to a heavy loss from the attacks of the savage hordes, who awaited their landing on the Bulgarian bank of that river. Though they finally repelled these new enemies, they found Bulgaria a wasted solitude. The natives had retreated to their fastnesses and strongholds; the fortified towns were closed against them; and the purchase of provisions for their march, under the walls of these places, was the only intercourse which the imperial officers would permit the inhabitants to hold with them. Their excesses again provoked a more open and fatal hostility. Enraged at some outrages, the people of Nissa pursued and massacred their rear-guard; the efforts of Peter could not dissuade the whole host from returning to avenge this quarrel; and in an ineffectual attempt to renew the same scenes as at Zemlin, the assailants were repulsed from the walls with immense slaughter. The triumphant garrison and inhabitants issued forth upon them; a general and total rout ensued; and in the onset, the sally, and the pursuit, above ten thousand of the crusaders perished. Their camp was abandoned and plundered; and, despoiled of their baggage, of their money, and of their arms, the wretched herd of fugitives continued its journey towards Constantinople.[1]

When they had ceased to be formidable, their helpless misery extorted some compassion; Alexius interposed his protection, and their remains at length reached his capital, where they were reunited to Walter and the survivors of the first division. But they were no sooner refreshed, than they repaid their hospitable benefactor by new acts of insolence, licentiousness, and pillage; and Alexius gladly acceded to their desire to be transported across the Bosphorus. Under the conduct of Peter and his lieutenant Walter, they were landed in Asia Minor: but here neither the exhortations of the Hermit could restrain their outrages against the religion and

[1] Albert. Aquensis, p. 186-188. Guibert, p. 484. Willermus Tyr. p. 643-645. Peter and his horde of banditti reached the neighbourhood of Constantinople in August 1096.

property of the subjects of Alexius, nor the advice of the emperor himself to await the arrival of the more disciplined chivalry of Europe, prevent their headlong advance. Peter, finding himself totally unable to control them, used a decent pretext for escaping back to Constantinople, but Walter, whose more martial spirit was really associated with qualities for command deserving of a better fate, was compelled to yield to their clamorous demand to be led against the infidels. Despite of his prudential warnings, they divided their forces to plunder the Turkish provinces, and reunited only on a report artfully circulated by the Sultan of Roum, that Nice, his capital, had fallen into the hands of an advanced body of their associates. Allured by the prospect of sharing in its spoils, they blindly rushed into the heart of a hostile country; but when they descended into the plain of Nice, instead of being welcomed by the sight of the Christian banners on its walls, they found themselves surrounded by the Turkish cavalry. In the first onset, Walter fell bravely, covered with wounds, while vainly discharging, by intelligence and example, the twofold duties of the leader and the warrior. The disorderly multitude of his followers was immediately overwhelmed and slaughtered; a remnant, no more than three thousand, escaped the general destruction by flight to the nearest Byzantine fortress; and a huge mound, into which the savage victors piled the bones of the slain, formed an ominous monument of disaster for succeeding hosts of crusaders.[1]

The disorders and destruction of these first two divisions of the crusading rabble were indeed but a prelude to more atrocious scenes of guilt, and more enormous waste of human life. Stimulated by the example of Peter, a German monk, named Godeschal, preached the Crusade through the villages of his native land with so much effect, that he allured about fifteen thousand of the peasantry to follow him to the East. This third division took the same route as the two preceding: but on their arrival in Hungary they experienced a far different reception from its sovereign, who was justly exasperated at the outrages with which his hospitality had been repaid. At first he prudently supplied them with the means of accelerating their passage through his kingdom; but their march was attended with an aggravated repetition of the worst crimes which had been perpetrated by the followers of the Hermit; the whole population of Hungary rose in arms against them, and Carloman was at length provoked to deliver them over to the vengeance of his subjects. For this purpose he had recourse to a cruel act of perfidy, which deeply sullied the merit of his earlier forbearance. Before the

[1] Albert. p. 189–193. Baldricus Archiepiscopus, p. 89. Guibert, p. 485. Willermus Tyr. p. 645–647. Anna Comnena, p. 226, 227.

walls of Belgrade, his promise of forgiveness and protection induced them to lay down their arms; and this act of submission was immediately followed by their ruthless massacre.[1]

But the numbers, the gross superstition, the licentious wickedness, and the miserable extirpation of these fanatical hordes, all sink into insignificance before the features displayed in the composition and conduct of the fourth and last division of the rabble of Europe. From France, from the Rhenish Provinces and Flanders, and from the British Islands, there gathered on the eastern confines of Germany one huge mass of the vile refuse of all these nations, amounting to no less than two hundred thousand persons. Some bands of nobles, with their mounted followers, were not ashamed to accompany their march, and share their prey: but their leaders are undistinguishable; and the most authentic contemporary records of their proceedings compel us to repeat the incredible assertion that their motions were guided by a goat and a goose, which were believed to be divinely inspired. If we impatiently dismiss a circumstance so revolting to every pious mind, and so degrading to the pride of human intellect, we find their actions as detestable as their superstition was blind and unholy. The unhappy Jews in the episcopal cities of the Rhine and Moselle were the first victims of their ferocity. Under the protection of the ecclesiastical lords of these commercial places, colonies of that outcast race had long enjoyed toleration and accumulated wealth. Their riches tempted the cupidity of fanatics, who professed a zeal for the pure religion of the gospel, only that they might violate its most sacred precepts of mercy and love. Under the pretence of commencing their holy war by extirpating the enemies of God in Europe, they sought the blood and spoils of a helpless and unoffending people. To the honour of the Romish Church, the bishops of Mayence, Spires, and other cities, courageously endeavoured to shield the Jews from their fury and rapine: but their humane efforts were only partially successful, and thousands were either barbarously massacred, or, to escape the outrages and disappoint the cupidity of their enemies, cast themselves, their women and children, and their precious effects, into the waters or the flames. Sated with murder and spoliation, the ruffian host pursued its march from the Rhine to the Danube; and the continued indulgence of its brutal sensuality attested that it needed not the impulse of fanaticism for the commission of every atrocity. But it was at length overtaken by the vengeance of God and man. In the hour of danger, the unruly and wicked multitude proved as dastardly against an armed enemy as it had been ferocious towards the defenceless Jews. It effected the

[1] Albert. p. 194. Willermus Tyr. p. 648.

passage of the Danube only to encounter a tremendous defeat from the Hungarian army which had collected for the national defence; some sudden and inexplicable panic produced a general flight, and unresisted slaughter; and so dreadful was the carnage, that the course of the Danube was choked with the bodies, and its waters dyed with the blood of the slain. The contemporary chronicler, who was apparently best informed of their execrable crimes and well-merited fate, asserts that very few of the immense crusading multitude escaped death from the swords of the Hungarians or the rapid current of the river; and it is certain that, whatever remnant survived, saved their lives only by flight and dispersion.[1]

Before twelve months had expired since the spirit of crusading was roused into action by the council of Clermont, and before a single advantage had been gained over the infidels, the fanatical enthusiasm of Europe had already cost the lives, at the lowest computation, of two hundred and fifty thousand of its people.[2] But such were the stupid ignorance and headlong folly which misguided these wretched multitudes, and still more, so dark and grovelling was their superstition, so cruel and demoniacal their fanaticism, and so flagitious their licentiousness, that all pity for their fate is lost in the disgust and horror with which we recoil from the contemplation of brutality and guilt. The picture is relieved by no exhibition of dignified purpose or heroic achievement; the myriads who had perished in Hungary, in Bulgaria, and in Asia Minor, were animated by none of the loftier sentiments of the age; they were composed chiefly of the coarser rabble of every country; and in their destruction we behold only the offscouring of the popular ferment of Europe. But while the first disasters of the Crusade were sweeping this mass of corruption from the surface of society, the genuine spirit of religious and martial enthusiasm was more slowly and powerfully evolved. With maturer preparation, and with steadier resolve than the half-armed and irregular rabble, the mailed and organized chivalry of Europe was arraying itself for the mighty contest; and a far different, a splendid and interesting spectacle, opens to our view. In the characters, the motives, and the conduct of the princely and noble leaders who achieved the design of the first Crusade, we are no longer presented with the revolting sameness of a mere brutal ferocity. Their zeal, although mingled with superstition, and not unstained by cruelty, was also elevated by the generous pursuit of martial fame; their resolves were inspired by the twofold incentive of spiritual duty and temporal honour; and their fanaticism was regulated by foresight and prudence. In en-

[1] Albert. Aquensis, p. 195, 196. Fulcher. p. 386. Willermus Tyr. p. 649, 650.
[2] Mills, *History of the Crusades*, vol. i. p. 81.

tering on their purpose, they had indeed been more or less infected with the general madness of the age; but, in the guidance of the holy war, many of them proved themselves as politic in counsel, as skilful in expedients, and as patient and constant under difficulties, as they were adventurous in danger and courageous in combat. The wildness of their enterprise is condemned by our calmer reason, the justice of their cause may be impeached on every true principle of divine and human law; but from the magnanimous devotion of their spirit, and the fearless heroism of their exploits, it is impossible to withhold our sympathy and admiration.

It has been deemed worthy of remark, that none of the principal sovereigns of Europe engaged in the first Crusade; but their absence was determined by the accidents of individual character and position. Pope Urban II. declined the personal command of the expedition, on the plea of his engrossing functions in the general government of the church, and his duty of repressing the schism created by the Anti-pope Clement; or perhaps on the more reasonable excuse of his age and infirmities;[1] but he deputed his spiritual authority to his legate Adhemar, the bishop of Puy. The Emperor Henry IV., the personal enemy of Urban, and protector of the anti-pope, of course refused to recognize the authority by which the Crusade was preached. Philip I. of France was absorbed in sensual indulgence; and to renew the excommunication already passed upon him was one of the acts of Urban at the very council of Clermont. The crafty and irreligious character of William II. of England (Rufus) also led him rather to minister to his brother's reckless enthusiasm, by purchasing the mortgage of Duke Robert's Norman dominions, than to join himself in the holy war. But the cause rejected by these monarchs was eagerly embraced by the most distinguished feudal princes of the second order: by Godfrey of Bouillon, duke of the Lower Lorraine or Brabant, with his two brothers, Eustace and Baldwin, and a kinsman also of the latter name; Hugh, styled the Great Count of Vermandois, and Robert, Duke of Normandy, brothers of the French and English kings; Robert, Stephen, and Raymond, Counts of Flanders, Chartres, and Thoulouse; and the Norman Boemond, son of the Guiscard, Prince of Tarento, with his cousin Tancred, whom history and romance have equally delighted to exhibit as the brightest exemplar of knightly virtue.

In dignity and character, however, in the conduct and the results of the Crusade, the highest place of honour must be conceded to

[1] *Belli Sacri Hist.* (by an anonymous Chronicler, in Mabillon, *Mus. Ital.* vol. i.) p. 135.

the Duke of Brabant. Godfrey of Bouillon was descended through females from Charlemagne; and ranked, alike by his great possessions and personal qualities, among the most powerful feudatories of the German empire. His reputation for wisdom in counsel and prowess in arms was deservedly high; and during the war between the empire and papacy, in which he adhered to Henry IV., he had specially distinguished himself, both at the battle of Merseburg and the siege of Rome. His political importance was increased by the position of his States on the frontiers of France and Germany; and his consequent familiarity with the popular dialects of both countries, as well as his acquisition of the Latin, the customary language of the church, facilitated his intercourse, and promoted his personal influence, among the nations of Europe. But the severe integrity of his character disdained the selfish exercise of these advantages; and amidst the gross and violent disorders of the times, his life was regulated by the strictest principles of morality and religion. His manners were gentle, pure, and benignant; his conduct was just and disinterested; and his piety, though mistaken, was sincere and fervent. These virtues might have qualified him rather for the cloister than the camp, if they had not been associated with energies capable of the loftiest designs: with a head to conceive and a hand to execute the most arduous enterprises which his conscience approved; with resolution, tempered by reflection and judgment, which no difficulties could shake; and with valour, calmed only by moderation, which no perils could deter. Since the siege of Rome his frame had been consumed by a slow fever; his illness dictated the renewal of an early purpose of performing the pilgrimage to Jerusalem; and he no sooner heard of the projected crusade, than, as if inspired with new life, he suddenly shook off disease from his limbs, and sprang with renovated health and youth from a sick couch to engage in so glorious and meritorious a work.[1]

The transcendent merits and accomplishments which adorned the principal hero of the first Crusade have demanded an especial portraiture: the few features in the characters of the remaining leaders, which varied their general resemblance in devout zeal and warlike excellence, may be more briefly sketched. In Hugh of France these qualities, though supported by other attributes not unworthy of his royal birth, were destitute of the religious humility and modest demeanour of Godfrey; and the great Count of Vermandois was remarkable chiefly for an arrogant and haughty deportment.[2] Robert of Normandy was generous and merciful,

[1] Malmsbury, p. 448. Guibert, p. 485. Willermus Tyr. p. 651.
[2] Anna Comnena, p. 227. Robertus Monachus, p. 34. Guibert, p. 485.

eloquent in debate, and well skilled in military expedients; but profuse in expense, dissolute in morals, and equally rash and unsteady in resolve. Although, therefore, his conduct during the Crusade was thought in some measure to atone for the irregularities of his earlier life, and his exploits often attracted the general admiration, his instability of mind prevented his maintaining the respect of his more illustrious compeers.[1] His namesake of Flanders resembled him in headlong valour, without sharing any portion even of his abortive talents. The Count of Chartres, one of the wealthiest and most potent feudal princes of France, was also deemed the most learned in all the literate and practical knowledge of the age, experienced and wise in his suggestions, clear and persuasive in discourse. These intellectual acquirements peculiarly fitted him for directing the general design of the war; and he was accordingly chosen to preside in the council of its leaders. In the field, the superiority of his tactical skill was equally recognised; but he was deficient in vigorous enterprise; and in the eyes of the fiery champions of the cross, his fame was tainted by the questionable quality of his valour.

The veteran and sagacious Count of Thoulouse,[2] whose youth had been habitually exercised in arms against his Saracen neighbours in Spain, had brought from that warfare a deadly hatred of the Musulman name, and was more fiercely animated than the other crusading princes by the spirit of religious intolerance. His master passion was unmitigated fanaticism; and the devotion of his old age, the abandonment of his extensive dominions, and the appropriation of his great riches to the service of the Crusade, might have protected his motives from the suspicion of worldly ambition and avarice: if their sincerity had not been attended by a cold and selfish nature, a proud and vindictive temper, which denied him the friendship of his noble confederates, and alienated the affections of his own native followers. To the purely fanatical zeal which predominated in the character of the Provençal prince, may be opposed the unscrupulous ambition and deep hypocrisy of the Norman Boemond, the Ulysses of the war. To him alone, perhaps, of all

[1] A well-known instance of Robert's careless spirit was the above-mentioned mortgage of his duchy to his brother William for five years, at the inadequate price of ten thousand marks, to equip himself for the Crusade. *Chron. Sax.* p. 204. Will. Gemeticensis, p. 673.

[2] The history of this prince is very obscure. His original title was Count of St Gilles in Languedoc: whence Anna Comnena corrupted his name into *Sangeles*, and under that appellation exaggerates his rank as if he had been the principal personage of the Crusade. In what manner he had acquired the extensive fiefs of Thoulouse and Provence, and arrogated the title of Duke of Narbonne, which he also bore, seems undetermined. *L'Art de Vérifier les Dates*, vol. ii. p. 289—294, &c.

the movers and warriors of the Crusade, may be attributed a systematic design of rendering the popular enthusiasm of Europe subservient to views of mere personal interest. If his versatile and unprincipled genius enabled him to feel or to feign[1] some share in the prevalent sentiment of his time, the whole recorded tenor of his conduct betrays the settled and absorbing pursuit of temporal aggrandizement. Familiar with all the arts of dissimulation, and no less rapacious than perfidious, he exhibits among the heroes of the holy war, the singular spectacle of a cool and crafty politician. His vices were odiously contrasted with the generous qualities of his youthful cousin Tancred,[2] whose frank and courteous bearing, no less than his love of glory and high-minded disdain of wrong and perfidy, rendered him the mirror of European chivalry.[3]

Such were the leaders under whom the warlike array of the western nations was marshalled for the First Crusade. Their confederated powers were collected, according to the local convenience or preference of the chieftains, into four great divisions. The first body, composed of the nobility of the Rhenish provinces and the more northern parts of Germany, ranged themselves under the standard of Godfrey of Bouillon. That prince was accompanied by the two Baldwins, and many other powerful feudal lords, whose forces numbered no less than ten thousand cavalry and eighty thousand foot. In the second division, under the Counts of Vermandois and Chartres, the two Roberts, and Eustace, Count of Boulogne, (brother of Godfrey,) were assembled the chivalry of Central and Northern France, the British Isles,[4] Normandy, and Flanders; and their formidable muster can be estimated only loosely

[1] Boemond pretended to receive with surprise and admiration the news of the design of Urban, which it is more than probable that he had secretly prompted. At the siege of Amalfi, he embraced the Crusade in an apparent transport of zeal: excited the fanatical ardour of his confederates and followers by an eloquent harangue; and while their enthusiasm was at its height, rent his own robe into pieces in the shape of crosses for the soldiery. This curious and characteristic anecdote is told by Guibert, p. 485.

[2] Tancred was the son of Matilda, sister of Robert the Guiscard, and therefore the cousin of Boemond, (Radulphus Cadomensis, *de Gestis Tancredi*, c. 1.) and not either his brother or nephew, as some of the writers in the *Gesta Dei*, less correctly informed than the biographer of the hero, and Gibbon and Muratori after them, supposed. The father of Tancred was an Italian marquess, Odo. Ralph of Caen was the personal friend and companion of Tancred in Palestine after the Crusade.

[3] *O più bel di maniere e di sembianti*
O più eccelso ed intrepido di core, &c.
La Gerusal. Liberata. can. i. 45.

But the poet has here only echoed the praises which the qualities of Tancred extorted even from the Greek princess, never unwilling to detract from the virtues of a Latin, above all a Norman name.—Anna Comnena, p. 277.

[4] For "neither surely," says old Fuller, "did the Irishmen's feet stick in their bogs." (*Hist. of Holy War*, lib. i. c. 13.) So also sings Tasso:

from the assertion of a contemporary, that the number of lesser barons alone exceeded that of the Grecian warriors at the siege of Troy.[1] The third host, in the order of departure, was composed of Southern Italians under Boemond and Tancred, and formed an array of ten thousand horse and twenty thousand foot. The last division, which assembled under the Count of Thoulouse in the south of France, was originally formed chiefly of his own vassals and native confederates of Languedoc, Gascony, and Arles, comprehended under the general appellation of Provençals;[2] with a small admixture of the Christian knighthood of the Pyrenean regions of Spain: but in his route through Lombardy, his army was swollen by so great numbers of Northern Italians, that the combined host which marched under his banners amounted to one hundred thousand persons of all arms and conditions. Besides several feudal chieftains of distinction, Raymond was accompanied by three prelates of high rank: the papal Legate Adhemar of Puy, the Archbishop of Toledo, and the Bishop of Orange.[3]

Of all the principal leaders of the Crusade, the preparations of Godfrey of Bouillon were earliest completed; and his march from the banks of the Moselle was conducted with admirable prudence and order by the same route which had proved so disastrous to the preceding rabble. When he reached the northern frontiers of Hungary, he demanded of its king by his envoys an explanation of the circumstances which had provoked their destruction. The reply of Carloman exposed the crimes by which the vengeance of his people had been roused; and his just and amicable representations compelled the upright judgment of Godfrey to admit, that the wickedness of the crusading mob had merited its fate. He accepted a friendly invitation from the Hungarian king; treated with him for a safe passage through his dominions with supplies of provisions on equitable terms; and left his own brother Baldwin and his family as hostages for the good faith and forbearance which he enforced on his followers. The noble sincerity of Godfrey won the confidence of the Hungarian monarch, and disarmed the suspicion and hostility of his people. Carloman himself attended the movements of the crusaders with a numerous cavalry, both to observe their behaviour and to protect their march; the whole of his kingdom was traversed without a single act of offence on either side; and, when the Latin host had passed its southern confines, the hostages were courteously dismissed with a friendly adieu. When

Questi dall' alte selve irsuti manda
La divisa dal mondo ultima Irlanda.

[1] Guibert, p. 48 [2] Raymond des Agiles, p. 144. [3] Willermus Tyr. p. 660.

the crusaders entered the Byzantine provinces, their virtuous and able leader still succeeded in maintaining the same strict discipline; the Emperor Alexius assisted and rewarded his efforts by liberally supplying the wants of his army in its toilsome passage through the desolate forests of Bulgaria; and the first division of the European chivalry peaceably accomplished its entrance into the fertile plains of Thrace.[1]

But for the friendly succour of the Byzantine monarch, it is acknowledged that the hosts of Godfrey must have perished in their route through provinces imperfectly cultivated, and already exhausted by the feuds of their barbarous natives. The alacrity with which Alexius at first facilitated the approach of his Latin allies, was succeeded by indications of a more dubious policy; and in the report of their chroniclers, the conduct of the Emperor is branded with the reproach of deliberate perfidy and systematic hostility. In weighing the justice of these charges, some reduction from their truth must be made for the bigoted prejudice of the Latins against a schismatic monarch and nation; and a still larger share of extenuation for the suspicious conduct of the Emperor may be claimed for the difficulties and peril of his position. Instead of the reasonable aid which he had solicited from the Pope and the temporal sovereigns of the West, he found his dominions overwhelmed, and his throne shaken from its foundations, by the deluge of European fanaticism. His hospitable reception of the first disorderly masses of pilgrims had been requited by the ravage of his territories and the spoliation of his subjects: the very numbers and formidable array of the better disciplined chivalry of Europe might alone have justified a prudent apprehension of their power and disposition, which their fierce promptitude in resenting was by no means calculated to allay. Of the personal characters and real designs of most of their leaders he was utterly ignorant; and their alliance in the same enterprise with his ancient and dangerous enemy, Boëmond, was at least an ominous conjuncture. The plea of delivering the Holy Sepulchre from the hands of the Turks, might easily cover a design of subjugating the whole eastern world to the spiritual dominion of the Latin Church; the same pretext of fanatical zeal might be readily employed against the infidel Mohammedans and heretical Greeks; and to the confident valour and the envious cupidity of the Western warriors, thus animated by religious hatred and temporal ambition, the rich spoils of Constantinople[2] and its provinces might offer a more accessible and tempting prey, than

[1] Albert. p. 198, 199. Willermus Tyr. p. 652.

[2] Of the astonishment and envy with which the splendour of Constantinople struck the rude Latins, we may form a lively idea from the burst of admiration which the remembrance of its magnificence recalls to the mind of one of their chroni-

the distant relief of Jerusalem and plunder of Syria. Moreover, the recent distraction and rapid decay of the Seljukian power had terminated the alarm with which Alexius formerly anticipated the entire ruin of his empire; and the subsiding of the Turkish energies had removed the immediate danger which induced him to implore the approach, and might have reconciled him to the presence of auxiliaries, in Greek estimation scarcely more civilized, and only less to be dreaded, than the Mohammedan enemy.

Under these critical circumstances, for the double purpose of averting the ruin with which he was menaced, and of obtaining the advantages which he might yet hope to extract from the oppressive aid of the Western nations, the Emperor appears to have had recourse to the timid and tortuous policy habitual in the Byzantine Court. While he welcomed the approach of the army of Godfrey, his fleets in the Adriatic were prepared to dispute the passage of the French and Norman crusaders from the Italian to the Grecian ports. That second grand division of the European chivalry, led by Hugh of Vermandois, the two Roberts, and the Count of Chartres, had traversed France and Italy for the purpose of embarkation. At Lucca, where these chiefs, prostrating themselves at the feet of the Pope, piously received his benediction, Urban II. committed the standard of St Peter into the hands of the great Count of France;[1] and here the arrogance of that Prince furnished Alexius with a first occasion of offence. Twenty-four knights, in armour gorgeously inlaid with gold, were despatched by Hugh to Durazzo, with a haughty intimation to Alexius himself of the approach, and a command to the imperial lieutenant to make royal preparation for the arrival, of the brother of the King of Kings, and standard-bearer of the Pope.[2] The terms of the letter and the message were resented as an insult; and the Governor of Durazzo, instead of offer-

clers, the chaplain and companion of the Count of Chartres: *O quanta civitas nobilis et decora! quot monasteria quotque palatia in eâ, opere miro fabrefacta! quot etiam plateis vel in vicis opera, ad spectandum mirabilia! Tædium est quidem magnum recitare quanta sit ibi opulentia bonorum omnium, auri et argenti,*" &c. Fulcherius, p. 386.—(Oh! what a fine and noble city is this! How many palaces and monasteries, constructed with admirable skill, it contains! how many works of art, wonderful to behold, are to be found in its streets and shops! It would be indeed a tedious matter to tell how great is it riches in all kinds of goods, of both gold and silver.) The emotions excited by the contemplation of such wealth, however innocent in the breast of the good chaplain, were likely to prompt dangerous wishes and designs to the bold and unscrupulous imaginations of fierce and rapacious warriors.

[1] Fulcherius, p. 384. Robertus Monachus, p. 35.

[2] Anna Comnena, p. 228. Du Cange, with the true complacent vanity of a Frenchman, has amused himself by proving (*Dissert. sur Joinville*, xxvii., and note *ad Alexiad.* p. 352) that the title of King of Kings thus arrogated by Hugh for his brother, was conceded through the respect of Europe during the middle ages *par excellence* to the monarchs of France.

ing the desired reception, stationed his navy to prevent the egress of the great Count and his followers from the Italian harbours. The Duke of Normandy, and the Counts of Flanders and Chartres, with their followers, after consuming the autumn in luxurious pleasure, resolved to defer their departure from Italy until the return of spring: but Hugh, regardless alike of the dangers of a wintry passage and the ambiguous disposition of the Greeks, impatiently put to sea. His fleet was dispersed in a storm; his own vessel was wrecked on the hostile shore; and in lieu of the magnificent descent which he had announced, he entered Durazzo as a suppliant, and found himself a captive. He was indeed treated with outward demonstations of respect; but his person was for some time detained, until the commands of Alexius were received for his removal to Constantinople.[1]

When intelligence of the captivity of the Count of Vermandois reached the camp of Godfrey in Thrace, it roused the violent anger of the crusaders; and after an ineffectual demand for his release, the Duke of Brabant was compelled to gratify the eager desire which was felt by his followers to punish the imperial perfidy with the ravage of the fine province in which they were quartered. This severe retaliation speedily produced the submission of Alexius. He had already soothed the captivity, and seduced the pride and vanity of the French prince, by his pompous reception at the imperial court; and Hugh was induced to despatch two of his own attendants to Godfrey with the assurance that, on the Duke's arrival at Constantinople, he would find their master not a captive, but a guest. This message produced a cessation of hostilities: but the awakened suspicions of the crusaders prepared them to fly to arms on the slightest provocation; the Greeks were equally distrustful; and the mutual contempt and hatred of two races, so dissimilar in manners and spirit, inflamed every misunderstanding. On the near approach of Godfrey and his host to the Byzantine capital, the refusal of the Duke and his fellow chieftains to trust their persons unattended within the imperial walls, provoked Alexius to forbid all intercourse between his subjects and the crusaders. The Latin camp was immediately straitened for provisions; and Godfrey was again compelled to indulge the rapine of his followers, and the emperor to arrest the sufferings of his people by conciliatory measures. A third, and more dangerous quarrel, was produced by the belief of the crusaders in a perfidious design of the emperor to blockade and starve them in their camp, which was enclosed by the waters of the Bosphorus, the Black Sea, and the river Barbyses. To anticipate this suspected treachery, the troops

[1] Anna Comnena, p. 228, 229.

of Godfrey possessed themselves, by an impetuous attack, of the bridge of the Blachernæ, the only outlet and key of their communication with Constantinople and the open country. The hostile seizure of this important post disappointed the intentions of the Greeks; or it more probably excited their apprehension against the ulterior purpose of the crusaders themselves. The imperial troops issued from the gates of Constantinople to dispute the passage of the bridge; after a bloody conflict they were repulsed, and pursued to the city; and the crusaders, inflamed with success and resentment, even attempted a headlong assault upon the walls. But the ramparts of Constantinople were strong and lofty; the Latins were unprovided with any battering engines; and the Greek archers, securely directing an unerring aim, galled them with an incessant flight of arrows. An indecisive contest was maintained until the close of day; but at nightfall the assailants, after setting fire to the suburbs, withdrew from the walls.[1]

To a state of hostility so inconclusive in its objects, and injurious to both parties, a stop was now put by the mediation of the Count of Vermandois. If Alexius had ever really meditated the destruction of the crusaders, experience had shewn the fruitlessness of his efforts; and his desire of an accommodation might be increased by the approach of Boemond and his army. Renouncing, therefore, his earlier designs, or more probably only shifting the jealous expedients of a policy which had prompted him in self-defence to restrict, not to ruin the dreaded power of the crusaders, he proposed to their chiefs, as a condition of his friendship, that they should take an oath of fealty to himself, and swear either to restore to the empire, or to hold in feudal dependence,[2] such of its ancient provinces as they might recover from the infidels. Upon these terms, he engaged vigorously to support the Crusade with the imperial forces and wealth; and he had prepared the way for their acceptance by inducing the brother of the French king to offer an influential precedent.

So overcome was that vain and inconsistent prince by the blandishments and presents of Alexius, that he not only stooped to the

[1] Albertus Aquensis, p. 200-202. Baldricus Arch. p. 91. Willermus Tyr. p. 653, 654. Anna Comnena, p. 232-234.

[2] Anna Comnena, p. 235. The very circumstance of this proposal being made, is a proof, which perhaps deserves more attention than it has usually attracted, that the idea of the feudal relation, whensoever received, was at this epoch familiar to the Eastern Emperor. It is still more observable that the ceremonies with which the Latin princes subsequently took the oaths of fealty to Alexius were also strictly feudal; and though their ready adoption on this occasion in the Byzantine Court need not shake our belief in the exclusively barbarian and not Roman origin and existence of the system from which they were borrowed, yet the whole fact is curious.

[3] Anna Comnena, p. 229.

performance of the desired homage himself, but undertook to obtain the same submission from his confederates. The proposal was at first received in the Latin camp with the indignation natural to the free and fiery spirit of high-born warriors, who spurned the idea of all allegiance or subjection to a foreign lord. Godfrey himself reproached the baseness of Hugh in having consented to a degradation alike unworthy of his haughty pretensions and real dignity, of his ostentatious bearing and royal birth. But the Count of Vermandois excused his own compliance, and enforced its propriety on Godfrey, by arguments best adapted to the disinterested principles of that single-minded and pious prince: such as the paramount obligation of their sacred vows; the difficulty of reducing Alexius to more becoming terms; the impossibility of prosecuting the holy enterprise without the imperial aid; the probable ruin of the cause by delay and wasting hostility; and the very sinfulness of a contest with a Christian people. The reason of Godfrey was no sooner convinced, than all sentiments of worldly pride and honour yielded to the humbler dictates of religious duty; and no subsequent persuasions, with which he was addressed by the messengers of Boemond and the Count of Thoulouse, to await their arrival, and chastise in arms the insulting demand of Alexius, could shake the sincerity of his purpose. He declared his resolution to take the required oaths of fealty; and the example of his self-denial secured the acquiescence of his compeers. To remove their lingering suspicions of treachery, Alexius delivered his son as a hostage for their safe return; and Godfrey and his principal companions repairing to Constantinople, prostrated themselves in homage before the imperial throne. Their humiliation was relieved by a reception of studied honour; and in return for the vows of fidelity which he repeated on his knees with clasped hands, Alexius distinguished the virtue and dignity of Godfrey by the ceremonies of filial adoption, and investiture in imperial robes.[1] But these empty recognitions faintly concealed the real triumph of Greek pride and policy; and it was no fanciful degradation which converted the brave and chivalric princes and nobles of Western Europe into the vassals and liegemen of a Byzantine despot.[2]

[1] Anna Comnena, p. 235-238. Albert. p. 203. Willermus Tyr. p. 656, 657.

[2] That the humiliation was keenly felt may be inferred from the sullen brevity with which the Latin chroniclers dismiss the transaction: but the daughter of Alexius has related an anecdote, which more plainly marks the struggling emotions of the proud warriors, while it amusingly illustrates the manners of Western Europe. During the ceremony of performing homage, a private French baron, conjectured by Du Cange, with great probability, to have been Robert of Paris, was so little disposed to repress his disgust at the pride of the Greek despot, and the compliance to which religious or political motives had induced the more responsible leaders of the Crusade to submit, that he audaciously seated himself beside Alexius on the imperial

After this ceremony, Alexius urged his adopted son, and his new dependents, to exchange their threatening position near his capital for more eligible and abundant quarters on the Asiatic side of the Bosphorus; and their passage of that strait was apparently hastened through his dread of their being reinforced, while still under the walls of Constantinople, by the other divisions of the crusading hosts. Before the departure of Godfrey, the Count of Flanders and his followers had already reached the Byzantine capital from Italy; and their arrival was speedily succeeded, at short intervals, by that of the Duke of Normandy, the Count of Chartres, and the scattered residue of the great army which had originally assembled under Hugh of Vermandois. By the dexterous application of flatteries [1] and bribes, each of these potent chiefs was persuaded in his turn to perform the same homage as his precursors, and was then hurried off to join them on the Asiatic shore.[2] The embarkation from the Apulian ports of the third grand division, under Boemond and Tancred; their passage of the Adriatic into Greece; and their march through that country; were all regulated by those able leaders with higher martial conduct and discipline. Large bodies of the imperial troops, with dubious intentions, hovered over their route, and sometimes even attempted to obstruct their passage, and cut off their detachments: but the skilful dispositions of Boemond frustrated their attempts; and the impetuous valour of Tancred

throne. When the brother of Duke Godfrey attempted to reprove him for this rude disrespect, he coolly retorted his contempt; and the emperor was so astonished by his insolence, that he could only demand through an interpreter his name and condition. "I am a Frenchman," was the reply, "and of noble birth; and I care only to know that in the neighbourhood from which I come there is a church, whither they who design to prove their valour repair to pray until an adversary be found to answer their defiance. There have I often worshipped, without finding that man who dared to accept my challenge." Alexius, because he well knew, says his daughter, the fierce spirit of the Latins, dissembled his resentment, or rather vented it in an ironical caution, that if the Frenchman still desired to maintain the same boast with safety, in his crusading warfare, he would do well to keep beyond reach of the Turkish arrows, by remaining in the centre of the Christian host. His taunt and his advice were thrown away; and his daughter betrays some satisfaction in proceeding to record that the insolent barbarian fell in the foremost ranks of the crusaders at the battle of Dorylæum. Anna Comnena *ubi suprà*.

[1] Even the politic Count of Chartres was deluded by the arts of Alexius, who contrived to make each of the Latin princes in turn believe himself preferred to all his confederates. There is extant a curious and apparently authentic epistle from Stephen to his Countess, in which he unconsciously shews how completely he was duped by the wily Greek. The Emperor had inquired how many were his children; spoken much of the love he bore towards him and his unknown house; pretended that the Count must send for one of his sons to be educated at the Byzantine Court; and bade him reckon on his imperial favour to provide for the youth: in all which the wise Count religiously confided. Mabillon, *Mus. Ital.* vol. i. p. 237.

[2] Baldric. p. 92. Albert. p. 204. Willermus Tyr. p. 658-660.

more than once punished the secret perfidy, or open aggression of a pusillanimous enemy. The whole march to the vicinity of Constantinople was triumphantly completed; and here Boemond, being met by Godfrey himself with persuasions to satisfy the imperial demand of fealty, left his army in charge of his gallant kinsman, and with a small train proceeded to the capital of Alexius [1].

The belief of that monarch's duplicity in his reception of the other Latin princes is increased by the equal cordiality with which he welcomed this hateful enemy. He alluded to Boemond's earlier invasion of his empire only to extol the valour which he had displayed in that enterprise, and to express his own satisfaction at the pacific union which now effaced every feeling of enmity. With as consummate hypocrisy, Boemond on his part professed his self-reproach at the injustice of his former hostility, and his desire to prove his gratitude for so gracious an oblivion of injuries. But Alexius, as well aware of his ambitious and greedy character, as of his habitual faithlessness, designed to secure his allegiance by the only motives of selfish interest which could be binding on a nature so sordid. After causing him to be lodged and entertained in the most magnificent style in one of the imperial palaces, the cunning monarch ordered the door of a chamber filled with heaps of gold and jewels to be left, as if accidentally, open when he passed. The Norman was ravished with delight and envy as he gazed at the glittering hoards; and his ruling impulses were betrayed in the involuntary exclamation, that, to the possessor of such treasures, the conquest of a kingdom might be an easy achievement. He was immediately informed that the gift of the Emperor made them his own; and after a slight hesitation, his avarice swallowed the bait. His performance of homage to Alexius was succeeded by dreams of ambition, which perhaps aspired to the imperial throne itself; and his expressions of devotion to its service were accompanied by a proposal that he should be invested with the office of Great Domestic of the East, or General of the Byzantine armies in Asia. A present compliance with this audacious demand, which shocked the pride, and might well startle the suspicions of Alexius, was prudently avoided with hollow assurances that the highest dignities of the empire should be the reward of future services; and the baffled or sanguine adventurer was persuaded to join the Asiatic camp of his confederates. The opposite conduct of his high-minded relative had meanwhile excited equal alarm. Disdaining, on his arrival at Constantinople, to imitate the baseness of Boemond, Tancred had quitted the capital unobserved, and crossed the Bosphorus

[1] Robertus Monachus, p. 36, 37. Baldricus Archiepiscopus, p. 92. Guibert, p. 488. Willermus Tyr. p. 658.

in disguise. By this flight he had only designed to escape the degradation of owning himself the vassal of a foreign prince; but the suspicion and resentment of the Emperor were not allayed until Boemond unscrupulously pledged himself by oath for the homage and allegiance of his cousin.[1]

The arrival of the last army of crusaders under the Count of Thoulouse, exhausted the artifices of the imperial policy. After traversing Northern Italy, that skilful and veteran commander had led his forces into the Byzantine provinces, through the wild passes of Dalmatia. His march, though distressed by the noxious climate and rugged obstacles of that mountainous region, and successively harassed by the savage Dalmatians, and by the no less hostile Greeks, had been prosecuted with so much energy and vigilance, that his host, after exercising a passing vengeance on their treacherous assailants, reached the shores of the Bosphorus in unimpaired strength and discipline; and the news of his formidable approach at the head of one hundred thousand Provençals and Italians, revived the liveliest apprehensions in the Imperial Court. At some distance from Constantinople, the army was met by messengers both from Alexius and from Godfrey and his associates, with a united request to the Count of Thoulouse to repair to the capital. Raymond complied with the invitation: but on his arrival neither the arts of the Emperor, nor the solicitations of his confederates, could induce him to kneel before the Imperial Throne. Once more is the Emperor accused, on his failure in this negotiation, of having directed a treacherous surprise of the Provençal camp; and whatever was its origin, a furious collision ensued between the troops of Raymond and of Alexius. The Greeks were defeated with signal carnage; and in the first suggestions of vengeance, the Count of Thoulouse was with difficulty restrained from vowing war to the utterance against so perfidious a race. He repelled with contempt the menaces both of Alexius and of Boemond, who now ostentatiously avowing himself the most faithful champion of the empire, proclaimed his resolution to turn his arms in its succour even against his recusant confederate. To the milder expostulations of Godfrey, the aged count so far yielded as to tender an oath that he would abstain from all enterprises against the life and dignity of Alexius; but beyond this concession his cold and stubborn pride was equally impenetrable to threats and entreaties. He declared that he had quitted his native dominions to devote the residue of his life to the service of God alone, not to submit himself

[1] Baldric. p. 92-94. Albertus Aquensis, p. 204. Guibert, p. 491. Willermus Tyr. p. 659. Anna Comnena, p. 238-241. Radulphus Cadomensis, *de Gestis Tancredi*, p. 289, 290.

to any earthly master; and Alexius, either awed into personal respect by the firmness of his spirit, or desirous of conciliating so powerful a chief, suddenly changed his whole demeanour, loaded him with assiduous attentions, and treated him with such real or affected confidence as to impart his secret hatred and suspicion of Boemond. The old Provençal Prince listened with pleasure to these complaints of a rival whose interference had already irritated his jealous and vindictive temper; and his heated passions unguarding the usual wariness of his politic judgment, made him an easy dupe to the superior craft of the wily Greek. Alexius so completely gained the ascendency over his mind, that he lingered at Constantinople after the departure of the other chieftains; and the Count of Thoulouse, who had been loudest in his denunciations against the perfidy of the Byzantine Court, was among the last to quit its seductive hospitalities for the Asiatic camp of the crusaders.[1]

Before the arrival of the Provençal forces, all the other great divisions of the crusading levies had already completed their junction on the plains of Asia Minor; and their wants rather than their strength had been increased by the wretched remnants of the preceding mob, who, with Peter the Hermit himself, had, in recovered confidence, found their way from various places of refuge to the general muster. The enormous numbers of the congregated hosts of Christendom can be estimated with little hope of precision; either from the tumid metaphors of the Grecian Princes, who has described their desolating course; or from the positive assertions of the Latin writers, whose ignorance of military affairs might easily mislead their computations, and whose astonishment at the view of so prodigious an array was sure to be vented in exaggeration. If we were to credit some of our usual authorities, six or seven hundred thousand warriors were present in arms; besides an innumerable multitude of ecclesiastics, women, and children.[2] But the report of the same parties in other places,[3] and every evidence of reason and probability, are alike inconsistent with this conclusion; it may be suspected that the leaders of the war were themselves unable to ascertain the real numbers of a disorderly herd of irregular infantry; and we can rely with safety only on the statement of the most judicious chronicler of the Crusade, that the mailed cavalry, which, according to the rude tactics of the Middle Ages, formed the nerve of armies, amounted to one hundred thousand men.[4] This superb body of heavy horse was composed of the flower of the European

[1] Raymond de Agiles, p. 140, 141. Robert, p. 38. Guibert, p. 490. Willermus Tyr. p. 660–662. Anna Comnena, p. 241.
[2] Fulcher, p. 387. Willermus Tyr. p. 664.
[3] Willermus Tyr. p. 693, &c.
[4] Guibert, p. 491.

chivalry: knights, esquires, and their attendant men-at-arms, completely equipped with the helmet and shield, the coat and boots of chain and scale armour, the lance and the sword, the battle-axe and the ponderous mace of iron. The crowd of footmen fought principally with the long and cross-bow, and were used indifferently as occasion required for archers, scouts, and pioneers; but their half-armed and motley condition formed a miserable contrast to the splendour of the chivalric array, which glittered in the blazonry of embroidered and ermined surcoats, shields and head-pieces inlaid with gems and gold, and banners and pennons distinguishing the princely and noble rank of chieftains and knights.[1]

From their first camp on the Asiatic shores of the Bosphorus, the advance of the Christian hosts, in bold disregard of minor objects of attack, was immediately directed against Nice, the capital of the Sultan of Roum,[2] situated in a fertile plain on the direct route to Jerusalem. Resting on the waters of the lake Ascanius, the defensive capabilities of that city had been sedulously improved by art. It was surrounded by a double wall of stupendous height and thickness, provided with a deep ditch, and flanked at intervals by no less than three hundred and seventy towers; its garrison was numerous and brave; and the Sultan Solyman (or Kilidge Arslan),[3] who had retired to the neighbouring mountains with his Turkish cavalry, preserving his communication with the place by the lake, might with equal facility reinforce its defenders, and harass the quarters of the besiegers. Nothing deterred by these difficulties, the crusaders, on their arrival before the city, undertook the siege with an energy suitable to the obstinacy which was anticipated in the defence. Notwithstanding their numbers, the immense circumference of the walls prevented a complete investment; but each independent leader, successively encamping on the first quarter which he found unoccupied, from thence directed and prosecuted his attacks. Contrary to the impressions which later historians have sometimes given, that a chief authority over the crusading hosts was conceded to Duke Godfrey, it is here observable that no traces of such a recognition of supremacy can be discovered in the narrative of contemporary chroniclers. The general plan of operations

[1] Albert Aquensis, p. 103, 212, 241, 392, &c. This writer fondly dwells on the splendid array of the crusading hosts, and affords us more information than any of the other chroniclers on the armament, composition, &c. of the troops.

[2] Roum, a corruption of Roma (Rome), was the name given to the Mussulman kingdom, founded in Asia Minor by the Seljoukian Turks, about the year 1074, and of which Nicæa, or Nice, the chief city of Bythinia, was the capital. It was against this city, where the first General Council of the Church was assembled under Constantine, A.D. 325, that the crusading army now marched.

[3] De Guignes, vol. i. p. 245.

was sometimes debated and determined in a council of princes; but the details and choice of execution were abandoned to the uncontrollable will of the different chieftains and their respective followers, who were alike too proud of personal rank, and too jealous of national distinctions, to brook any submission to a foreign command. But the same feelings, which were repugnant to all subordination and unity of action, in a great degree supplied their want with a generous emulation of glory; and in the leaguer of Nice, the Latin princes contended with rival valour and industry who should be foremost in urging his approaches to the walls. On the northern side were encamped Duke Godfrey and his Rhenish and German division; eastward extended the quarters of the Counts of Vermandois and Chartres and the two Roberts, with the French, Norman, English, and Flemish crusaders; on the same front the Provençal and Italian host of the Count of Thoulouse took up a continued alignement; and towards the south the city was enclosed by the troops of Boemond and Tancred. Two thousand men who had attended the march of the crusaders, under Taticius, as imperial lieutenant, were the only Byzantine forces in the confederate camp.[1]

From their respective quarters each of these divisions pushed forward its attacks, with all the mechanical expedients which the Middle Ages had imperfectly preserved out of the martial science of classical antiquity. Among the principal machines of the besiegers were lofty wooden towers of several stories, termed *belfredi*,[2] or *belfrois*, which were moved forward on rollers or wheels; protected against conflagration by coverings of boiled hides; filled with archers to dislodge the defenders from the ramparts; and supplied with drawbridges, which, on a nearer approach, being let down upon the walls, afforded a passage for the knights and their followers to rush to the assault. The advance of these *belfrois* was sometimes preceded, the road levelled, and the ditch of a fortress filled up, by means of a moveable gallery or shed of similar materials, but lower structure, called indifferently a fox or cat,[3] or *chat-chateil* when surmounted also by a tower. Under cover of these galleries, the walls could either be undermined by the slow operation of the sap, or breached by the violent blows of the battering-ram. Balistic engines of various sizes and denominations for hurling masses of rock, beams of timber, stones, and darts, composed the ordinary artillery both of the assailants and besieged; and the most effectual

[1] Robert. Mon. p. 39, 40. Albert. Aquensis, p. 204, 205. Willermus Tyr. p. 666. Anna Comnena, p. 247.

[2] Du Cange *v. Belfredus.*

[3] *Idem, vv. Catus, Vulpes,* &c.

means of defence were afforded by the use of the Greek fire in destroying the hostile machines.[1]

The mechanical operations of the crusaders were for a while arrested by the gallant efforts of the Sultan of Roum, who, descending from the mountains which overhang the plain of Nice with a swarm of fifty thousand horse, endeavoured by a sudden and impetuous attack, with the assistance of the garrison, to overpower the eastern camp of the Christians. But his hope of surprising their quarters was frustrated by the capture of the messengers who were entrusted to convey his purpose to the city; he everywhere encountered a determined resistance and a bloody repulse; and his first experience of the valour of the Western Christians compelled him to abandon Nice to its fate. The defence of the city was not the less resolutely maintained; and the attempts of the besiegers to breach the walls were repeatedly foiled, their projectile engines disabled, and their towers and galleries crushed by fragments of rock, or burned by the Greek fire. Some weeks had already been consumed in fruitless labour and slaughter, when the position of the city on the lake Ascanius suggested to the besiegers a more successful expedient. At their desire, Alexius caused a number of small vessels to be prepared in his arsenals, transported over land, and launched upon the lake. This flotilla, manned by seamen and archers in the imperial pay, ensured the command of the lake, alarmed the city on that side with desultory attacks, and intercepting all its communication by water with the exterior country, completed the investment of the place.[2]

Meanwhile the besiegers continued their works with renewed spirit. The veteran Count of Thoulouse, whose approaches had been conducted with most skill and pertinacity, at length succeeded, by the science of a Lombard engineer, in attaching with safety a *chat-chateil*, or castellated gallery, to one of the towers of the city, which had been injured in a former siege, and was bent forward from its base. The miners of the besiegers propped the superincumbent mass with strong timbers while they loosened the foundations; and the supports being then fired, the whole fell with a tremendous crash, and left a yawning breach. But instead of seizing the first moment of consternation by which the garrison were paralysed, the Provençals imprudently delayed the assault until the following morning; and an artful Greek contrived in the interval to rob them of the fruits of success. The wife and sister of the Sultan, whom he had left in the city until this moment, endeavoured on the first alarm to escape over the lake; they were captured by the imperial flotilla; and

[1] Muratori, *Antiq. Med. Ævi, Diss.* xxvi.
[2] Albert. p. 205, 206. Willermus Tyr. p. 667. Anna Comnena, p. 245.

Butomite its commander immediately offered, not only their honourable release, but protection to the people of Nice against the fury of the Latins, if the city were surrendered to his master. The now despairing inhabitants accepted his terms; the troops of the flotilla disembarking were admitted into the city; and when the crusaders with returning day were prepared to mount the breach of the fallen tower, the first spectacle which they beheld was the imperial banner floating on the walls. In their wounded pride and disappointed cupidity at being thus cheated of the honour and spoils of victory, the first impulse of the crusaders was to continue the assault. But a prudential consideration of the ulterior objects of the war induced their princes to stifle their own emotions of disgust at the artifice of Alexius or his lieutenant, and to appease the louder resentment of their followers; and after a few days of repose, the whole crusading host, breaking up from the camp before Nice, pursued the destined route towards Jerusalem.[1]

20th June 1097.

In their passage through Asia Minor, a march of five hundred miles was still to be accomplished before they could touch the confines of Syria; and the Sultan of Roum, whose spirit had only been roused to increased energy by the loss of his capital and the danger of his kingdom, was already prepared to offer a formidable resistance to their progress. His appeal, both to his own subjects and to the independent chieftains of his kindred race, for assistance in repelling these new invaders, who so unexpectedly menaced their faith and nation with a common destruction, had been eagerly answered. From all sides the Turkish hordes flocked to his standard; and so innumerable was the force which he collected, that by some of the Latin writers it is supposed to have exceeded three hundred thousand horse. With this immense cloud of cavalry, during the first few days' advance of the crusaders from Nice, while their strength was fresh and their array undivided, he merely hovered on their flanks: but his forbearance ceased when the convenience or the necessities of their march induced them to separate into two distinct columns on different routes. In one division were now Duke Godfrey and the Counts of Vermandois and Thoulouse; in the other, Boemond and Tancred, the Duke of Normandy, and the Counts of Flanders and Chartres.[2]

Before the latter and less numerous of the two columns had reached Dorylæum—the modern Eskischeker—about fifty miles from Nice, it was suddenly enveloped, while reposing in a valley,

[1] Fulcher. Carnot. p. 387. Raymond de Agiles, p. 142. Baldric. Arch. p. 97. Albert. p. 206-208. Guibert, p. 491-493. Willermus Tyr. 668-672. Anna Comnena, p. 246-250.

[2] Albert. Aquensis, p. 215. Willermus Tyr. p. 672. Anna Comnena, p. 251.

by the Turkish swarms. The first astonishment of the surprise, the unearthly yells, and the furious onset of the barbarians, struck dismay and disorder into the Christian ranks; and the fate of the day was held in suspense only by the gallant example, the desperate efforts, and the personal prowess of the three leaders of Norman blood, Boemond, Tancred, and Duke Robert. While the lightly-armed and active cavalry of the Asiatics easily evaded a close encounter with the heavy array of the Europeans, their clouds of arrows slew the unbarded horses, and pierced every opening in the body armour of the Christian warriors. Overwhelmed with the dense confusion of the field, oppressed by the ponderous weight of their own equipment, and fainting under the intense heat and burning thirst of the climate, the weary and despairing crusaders with difficulty sustained an equal conflict. To regain some degree of order, their leaders could only cover a retreat and draw off their exhausted squadrons; and the Turks, flushed with success, penetrated into their camp and commenced an indiscriminate massacre of the aged and infirm pilgrims, the women and the children.

In this extremity, the skilful and valorous conduct of Boemond, never elsewhere so nobly contrasted with the baser qualities of his character, saved the whole crusading host from destruction. In the first alarm he had, with cool foresight, despatched notice of the danger to the other division under Godfrey and the Count of Thoulouse; and now reanimating his confederates and followers to rescue or revenge the helpless victims whose shrieks pierced their ears, he rushed again at their head towards the camp, and fell with resistless impetuosity upon the triumphant and sanguinary barbarians. The Duke of Normandy bravely supported his charge; the inspiring shout of "*Deus vult*," which had first been heard at the Council of Clermont, was now the war-cry which rang again through the Christian squadrons; and the fight was renewed with all the courage, which a sense of religious duty could add to the stern resolves of vengeance and despair. But the crusaders were still encountered with equal resolution and superior force; and the tide of Turkish victory was arrested at this juncture only by the opportune approach of Duke Godfrey and the Count of Vermandois, who, at the first summons, had urged their cavalry, forty thousand strong, at the utmost speed to the succour of their confederates. The junction of this formidable reinforcement, in fresh, firm, and ardent array, infused new life into the sinking energy of their brethren, and in the same proportion depressed the confident spirit of the Turks. The quivers of the infidels were already emptied; the length of the struggle had worn down their activity; and in the close combat which they could no longer escape, their inferiority to the warriors of the West in bodily strength and martial equipment

was signally displayed. The supple dexterity of the Asiatic, was now feebly opposed to the ponderous strokes of the European arm; the curved scimitar and light javelin could neither parry nor return with effect the deadly thrust of the long pointed sword and gigantic lance; and in a direct charge, the weight and compactness of the Latin chivalry overpowered the loose order and desultory tactics of the Turkish hordes.

While the infidel host bent and wavered before the determined assault of the Christians, the last division of the crusaders arrived on the field; and Count Raymond directing his Provençals on the flank or rear of the disordered enemy, completed their terror and ruin. They broke and fled in every direction, were pursued until the close of day with unremitting slaughter, and were compelled to abandon their camp to the possession of the conquerors. Of the crusaders, four thousand had fallen; but they were for the most part of humble condition; and the number included persons of both sexes who were massacred when the infidels first burst into the Christian camp. Among the Turkish host, in the battle and the pursuit, thirty thousand had been slain; and no less than three thousand of these were chieftains or warriors of distinction, whose rank was proclaimed by the value of the spoils found on their bodies. The pillage of the Asiatic camp offered a still richer reward to the victors, in immense quantities of gold and silver, arms and apparel, war-horses, camels, and other beasts of burthen.[1]

4th July 1097

By the general confession of the Latins themselves, the Turks had displayed a valour and warlike skill which excited their astonishment and deserved their admiration; and the surprise produced by the unexpected discovery of these qualities in an Asiatic nation is evinced in the assertion, that they alone of all eastern people were worthy of contending in arms with the Christian chivalry, and of sharing with the warriors of the West a common superiority in martial virtues over the despicable Greeks. The conduct of the Sultan of Roum, after the battle of Dorylæum, afforded a more unequivocal testimony of the respect and fear with which the prowess of the crusaders had impressed the infidels themselves. Abandoning all further hope of successful resistance to the conquerors, Solyman hastily evacuated his kingdom with the wreck of his army, every where ravaging the land in his flight; and the crusaders were left without opposition to continue their advance through a desolated and deserted country. Their march over the wasted plains of Asia Minor skirted the base of the great mountain range which stretches across that celebrated region from the sea of

1 Robertus Monachus, p. 41, 42. Guibert, p. 493, 494. Willermus Tyr. p. 674 Radulphus Cadomensis, p. 293, 294.

Marmora to the Syrian gates; and their route may be traced on the modern map by the cities of Kara Hissar, Aksheer, Konich, and Ereckli.

The horrors which attended the passage of so unwieldy a host, undisciplined and unprovisioned by any of the arrangements which are familiar to the military science and economy of our own times, admit but of imperfect description, and may only faintly be imagined. The towns had been swept both of their inhabitants and stores, the cultivated districts converted into a scathed and hungry solitude; and the more natural deserts which frequently intervened were parched with sand and destitute of water. Of the poorer and worse provided among the crusaders, hundreds died on every day's march, of want and fatigue, of raging thirst or its fatal gratification; war-horses, baggage-animals, and hounds and hawks—the indispensable incumbrances of a chivalric camp—perished alike from the scarcity of water; and of the splendid cavalry of the princes, nobles, and their followers, which on the field of Nice had mustered one hundred thousand lances, nearly thirty thousand were dismounted before their arrival under the walls of Antioch. In a word, so completely exhausted and disorganised was the whole host before its approach to the Syrian frontiers that, in the tremendous pass of Mount Taurus, even a small band of resolute men might have successfully maintained the steep and narrow defile against the armed but feeble multitudes who, staggering under the oppression of toil, heat, and intolerable thirst, slowly wound in a lengthened and disorderly train through the mountain chain which here bars the southern route. But the panic-stricken Turks, in the precipitation of their flight, neglected the opportunity of defence; the crusading host was suffered, unassailed, to complete the most toilsome and dangerous portion of their march; and every natural obstacle of the country and the climate being gradually surmounted, their straggling divisions were safely reunited in the same encampment on the Syrian soil.[1]

While the main army of the Crusaders prepared to penetrate through the Tauridian pass, two bodies of their cavalry had been separately detached in advance under Tancred and Baldwin, the brother of Duke Godfrey, to explore the neighbouring regions, and make a diversion against the Turkish power. After both had wandered in some uncertainty among the mountains, the division of Tancred first succeeded in effecting a passage, and continued its southern descent into the coasts of Cilicia. The young chieftain had already arrived before Tarsus, and granted a capitulation to the Turkish garrison, when the troops of Baldwin, who had reached

[1] Albert. p. 215. Guibert, p. 495. Fulcher. Carnot. p. 389. Baldricus Arch. p. 99. Willermus Tyr. p. 675

the same vicinity by another route, unexpectedly made their appearance; and the jealous artifice of their leader succeeded, by opening an intrigue with the Infidel and Christian inhabitants, in obtaining possession of the city. The generous Italian, repressing his indignation, abandoned the place to his rival; and turning eastward, pursued a new course of enterprise with so much rapidity, that several important towns submitted to his arms. But his forbearing temper was outraged beyond endurance when he learned that, after his departure from Tarsus, the selfish refusal of Baldwin to receive a party of his followers within the protection of the walls, had exposed them to be massacred by the retreating Infidels; and the Rhenish chieftain, leaving a garrison in Tarsus, no sooner came up with his division, than Tancred, yielding to the natural impulse of resentment which he shared with his enraged soldiers, led them to a furious assault upon the forces of their treacherous confederate. After a bloody encounter, the Italians were repulsed by a superiority of numbers: but feelings of mutual compunction at so irreligious a fued between brethren of the Cross having succeeded to their first emotions of anger, an accommodation was effected; and the two detachments together rejoined the grand army before it reached the Syrian frontier.[1]

This quarrel of Baldwin and Tancred had one important consequence. The guilt of the original aggression lay so clearly with the former, that, when the circumstances of his conduct became known in the crusading camp, he justly incurred the execrations of the whole host; and respect for the virtues of his brother Godfrey alone saved him from condign punishment. A consciousness of the aversion in which he was held by his confederates, did not tend to lessen his selfish disregard for the general interests of the Crusade; and he gladly availed himself of the first advantageous opening to separate from the main army, and pursue an independent career of ambition. He learned that the Christian cities of Armenia and Mesopotamia endured with impatience the Musulman yoke; that the Turkish garrisons were few and feeble; and that the inhabitants were ripe for revolt against their oppression. At the instance of a fugitive Armenian noble, and at the head of only two hundred of his own lances, and a more considerable body of infantry, he quitted the crusading camp; boldly directed his march eastward; and victoriously overran the whole country as far as the Euphrates. Encouraged by the sight of the banners of the Cross, the Christian population everywhere rose in arms; opened the gates of their cities on his approach; and assisted him in expelling the

[1] Albert. Aquensis, p. 214-219. Radulphus Cadomensis, p. 297-301. Willermus Tyr. p. 677-680.

common Infidel enemy. After a slight and ineffectual opposition, the Turkish Emirs either fled or submitted to his arms; the fame of his successful exploits soon spread beyond the Euphrates; and the people of Edessa, the most considerable city of Mesopotamia, who though still governed by a native prince, had long groaned under the exactions of Turkish tribute, obliged their aged Duke to implore his aid in delivering them from subjection to the Infidels. Baldwin eagerly accepted the invitation; he was received with enthusiasm by the Edessenes; and though his disposable Latin forces were now reduced to eighty horse and a small band of foot, he was so vigorously aided by these new allies, that he found no difficulty in establishing the independence of their state. The means by which he next possessed himself of its government are variously related: but under their most favourable construction, the event may justify the darkest suspicions of his guilty ambition. Excited by the dread that their deliverer would forsake them, the people of Edessa first compelled their Duke to adopt[1] him as his son and successor; and the old Prince was then murdered in a popular insurrection. If Baldwin was really innocent of his death, he profited not the less by the catastrophe. He received the ducal crown on the following day; and thus became the founder of the first Latin principality in the East. Under his able and vigorous government, his new subjects soon discovered that they had chosen a severe and absolute master, as well as a formidable champion; but he at least completed their emancipation from the hated tyranny of the infidels; extended the limits of their state by his conquests from the Turks of the intermediate territory between their city and Antioch; and rendered the PRINCIPALITY OF EDESSA, by its position beyond the Euphrates, for above fifty years, one of the most important outworks of the Christian power in the East.[2]

Baldwin seizes Edessa, 1097.

While Baldwin was engaged in establishing his power on the banks of the Euphrates, the main host of the crusaders had advanced to Antioch, and undertaken the siege of that ancient capital of Syria. The city, which still presented the appearance of pristine grandeur, and contained a numerous Christian population, was possessed by

[1] For the particulars of the singular ceremony by which this adoption was declared, we are indebted to the lively narrative of Guibert. In full assembly of the people, Baldwin was first made to enter in a state of nudity under the same shirt with his new father, who then folded him to his breast and gave him the filial kiss. He was next obliged to submit to precisely the same forms of adoption by the wife of the Duke of Edessa. Guibert, p. 496. It is supposed that the Emperor Alexius, in honouring the homage of Godfrey with the filial relation, had also received him between the shirt and the skin. But see Du Cange, *Diss. sur Joinville*, xxii.

[2] Fulcherius Carnotensis, p. 389, 390. Albert Aquensis, p. 220-222. Guibert, p. 496, 497. Willermus Tyr. p. 682, 683.

Baghasian, a prince of Seljukian lineage; whose power was maintained by a Turkish garrison of about ten thousand horse, and twice as many infantry, and whose courage and energy were worthy of his station. After some brave but ineffectual efforts to impede the approach of the invaders, he retired within the walls; and the iron gates of the bridge over the Orontes, which commanded the access to the city from the north, having been forced by the advanced guard of the crusaders under the Duke of Normandy, their whole host passed the river, and overspread the adjacent plain. At this epoch, Antioch, occupying an irregular site of precipice and valley, was embraced, within a circumference of about four miles, by a strong wall, which, wherever the natural obstacles of the ground did not afford a sufficient defence, rose to the height of sixty feet. Part of the circuit was covered by the river and a morass which received the torrents from the neighbouring hills, and the remainder by a deep and wide ditch. The formidable aspect of these works at first dispirited the leaders of the crusade; the lateness of the season—for the summer and autumn had been already consumed in the passage of Asia Minor—was unfavourable for the commencement of an arduous siege; and a proposal to defer the enterprise until the return of spring was only rejected in their council through the energetic remonstrances of the Count of Thoulouse against the dangers of delay and inaction.[1]

As soon as the exhortations of that Prince renovated the ardour of his confederates, the city was invested, and operations against it were commenced: but, of the five gates in its circumference, three only were blockaded; and by some unexplained negligence or necessity, the communication of the garrison with the exterior country through the other two was left open. From these the resolute and active Baghasian harassed the rear of the besiegers with perpetual sallies, frequently cut off their supplies, and burned the materials which were with difficulty collected for their operations. The want of all warlike stores for the siege, the consequent tardiness of the approaches, and the unskilful attempts to which the crusaders were reduced, all betray the extent of their obligations at the preceding siege of Nice to the aid of Alexius and his Greek engines and artificers. Their few battering and projectile machines were now used without effect; and the single moveable tower, which they were enabled to construct with assistance from some Italian vessels lately arrived on the coast, was no sooner advanced to the walls, than the Turks, suddenly issuing from one of the uninvested gates, set it on fire, and reduced it to ashes. While this and other

[1] Albert, p. 225, 226. Radulph. Cad. p. 303. Raymond des Agiles, p. 142. Baldric. Arch. p. 101. Guibert, p. 498. Willermus Tyr. p. 684-689.

partial successes raised the courage of the garrison, and their intercourse with the country secured the constant renewal of their supplies, the besiegers themselves were beginning to suffer the most grievous distresses from want and disease. At first they had found abundant food in the fertile district which was commanded by their camp; and their whole host had rioted in plenty: but the improvident waste and wanton destruction, both of provisions and forage, speedily exhausted the means of support in the vicinity; and when the approach of winter increased the difficulty and expense of transporting distant supplies, the more indigent of the crusading multitude fell a prey to all the horrors of famine. Even the rich were glad to purchase the most disgusting fare at exorbitant prices; and their horses were either starved or killed for food in so great numbers, that of the seventy thousand cavalry with which they commenced the siege, before its third month was completed not more than two thousand remained. The ravages of hunger were, as usual, followed by those of pestilence. The plain of Antioch was deluged with the wintry rains; and the putrifying effect of moisture in an Asiatic climate upon the filthy condition of the Christian camp, produced a contagious disease, which swept off thousands of its squalid population.[1]

From this scene of accumulated misery, numbers of warriors of inferior rank fled to the establishments of Baldwin in Mesopotamia, and to the delivered Christian towns in Cilicia; but the shame of their desertion was exceeded by that of some of the leaders themselves. The Duke of Normandy having withdrawn to the coast, required several citations and a threat of excommunication to induce his return; and the Count of Chartres, at a later period, under the excuse of illness, confirmed the suspicion of his cowardice by retiring from the camp with his division to Alexandretta. But the sacred cause was still more deeply disgraced by the flight of the valiant Viscount of Melun;[2] together with the great fanatic Peter the Hermit, who, after exciting the warriors of Europe to devote themselves to the imaginary service of Heaven, was foremost in attempting to abscond from the privations of the enterprise. The dangerous effect of this example was prevented by the activity of Tancred, who intercepted the escape both of the Hermit and his companion; and their desertion was only pardoned in the council of the

[1] Robertus Monachus, p. 45, 46. Albert. p. 227-233. Radulph. Cad. p. 304, 305. Raymond des Agiles, p. 143-145. Baldric. Arch. p. 101. Fulcher. Carnot. p. 390. Guibert, p. 499, 500. Willermus Tyr. p. 690-693.

[2] This worthy was surnamed the Carpenter; not because he followed that mechanical occupation; but, as the chroniclers are careful to tell us, by reason of the weighty strokes with which his battle-axe *hammered* the heads of his antagonists. Robert. p. 47. Guibert, p. 501.

indignant princes, upon their swearing never to abandon the holy expedition. The retreat of Taticius, the imperial lieutenant, with the small body of Greek auxiliaries which he commanded, was permitted with mingled emotions of hope and contempt. He could scarcely obtain full credit for the assertion that his motive was to impress Alexius, by his personal influence, with the necessity of forwarding immediate supplies of provisions for the Syrian war; though he offered the pledge of his oath that he would himself return with the convoys; but if the princes were not deluded by this shallow pretext, they prudently dissembled their suspicions, and dismissed him in peace.[1]

With the return of spring the sufferings of the crusaders were in some degree mitigated by the arrival on the coast of supplies from Europe; but the activity of the Turks in harassing their convoys was undiminished; and the continued freedom of intercourse between the garrison of Antioch and their Syrian confederates, perpetually exposed the besiegers to desultory attacks in front and rear. On one occasion, early in February, an army of twenty thousand men, under the three emirs of Aleppo, Cæsarea, and Ems, was intercepted in an attempt to enter the city, and defeated with signal slaughter by Count Raymond and Boemond. But, in the following month, the same crusading leaders, while escorting a supply of provisions and military stores from the coast, were suddenly assailed and routed by an ambuscade of the infidels. Godfrey, who had lately risen from a sick couch, was compelled to fly to their succour with the remains of the Latin chivalry; and the ever-enterprising Baghasian, seizing the occasion of this absence of the best troops of the crusaders from the beleaguer, made an impetuous sally from the walls, and forced the Christian lines. The bravery and conduct of the Duke of Brabant were never more vigorously displayed than on this occasion. He retraced his march to the camp with so great celerity, and posted his forces with so much ability, as to intercept the retreat of Baghasian; and a furious conflict ensued under the walls of Antioch. The infidels fought with desperation, but their courage was unequally opposed to the heroic spirit and sinewy force of the Christian knighthood, animated by the individual prowess of its leaders; among whom the two dukes, Godfrey, and Robert of Normandy, and the gallant Tancred, are recorded to have performed

[1] Robert. p. 47, 48. Raymond, p. 146. Baldric. p. 103. Guibert, p. 501, 502. Willermus Tyr. p. 694. Anna Comnena, p. 252. The Grecian princess, indeed, refers the flight of Taticius to the arts of Boemond, who fearing interruption on the part of the imperial lieutenant in his scheme for acquiring the sovereignty of Antioch, terrified him into a belief that the Latin princes designed to massacre him and his troops on some suspicion that Alexius had betrayed them to the Turks. But all the Latin writers agree in giving the account copied in the text.

the most incredible feats of corporeal strength and valour.[1] Of the infidels, a son of Baghasian, many other emirs, and two thousand warriors of inferior degree, fell in this sanguinary flight; of the Christians, not more than half that number were slain; and encouraged by their victory, they formed and successfully accomplished the design of barring the egress of the garrison from the two gates which had hitherto been left unblockaded, by the construction of a fortified mound or intrenchment opposite to each. Tancred and the Count of Thoulouse severally undertook the honourable duty of guarding the new posts; the garrison of Antioch was thenceforth effectually confined within the walls; the supplies of provisions which their brethren had hitherto introduced by these gates were cut off and diverted to the refreshment of the Latins; and the whole surrounding country being now in unmolested possession of the besiegers, abundance again reigned in their camp.[2]

Still, little or no impression had been made upon the defences of the city; seven months had already been ineffectually consumed in the siege; and the Council of Princes was disturbed by intelligence that the Sultan of Persia was collecting a large army for the relief of the garrison. At this dangerous crisis, the alliance of an apostate and a traitor served the cause of the crusaders more beneficially than their arms. Among the Christian population of Antioch, was a man of noble birth, but unprincipled and sordid character, named

[1] Thus, we are gravely informed how Godfrey, with a single blow of his falchion, clave a Turk in twain from shoulder to hip. The upper half of the miscreant fell into the Orontes; the legs kept their seat, and were borne by their good steed into the city. Nor was this the only feat of the hero. At one stroke of his sword, he slit an infidel down from the top of the head to the saddle, and even cut through both that and the back-bone of the horse. Again, after the capture of Jerusalem, he satisfied the incredulity of a noble Saracen, who had heard of his prowess, by sweeping off the head of a camel with his sword in a trice. The unbeliever still ascribing more virtue to the temper of the blade than to the strength of the arm which wielded it, Godfrey, to convince him, borrowed his own weapon, and with that, in like manner, decapitated a second camel. These stories are not related by some one obscure fabler only, but are avouched, the first two with minute particularity, by the monk Robert (p. 50), and by Ralph of Caen (p. 404); and all confirmed by so dignified an authority as the Archbishop of Tyre (p. 701, 770). And Malmsbury, who made a careful collection of the feats of Godfrey, adds to the number (p. 448), the slaying of a lion in single combat near Antioch. The chroniclers are eager in ascribing to Godfrey as great a superiority in bodily strength as in intellectual virtues over the other chieftains of the war. But of some of these leaders, exploits scarcely less astounding are recorded. The Duke of Normandy, for instance, cut through the head and shoulders of a Turk at a blow; and Ralph of Caen was prevented from detailing the stupendous deeds of Tancred only by the silence which the modesty of that hero had imposed on his esquire.

[2] Robert. p. 49-53. Raymond. p. 147. Baldric. 104-107. Albert. p. 237-243. Guibert, p. 503-506. Willermus Tyr. p. 695-703.

Phirouz, who, abjuring his religion, had been received into the Turkish ranks, and intrusted with the command of three towers. Stimulated by avarice or disaffection from the service which he had embraced, he opened a secret correspondence with Boemond; and consented, on the promise of a large reward, to betray his post to the besiegers. The Norman made the use of this opening, which was to be expected from his selfish and intriguing spirit. He declared to the council of his compeers his possession of a plan for the surprise of the place; but, before he would reveal its nature, claimed the principality of Antioch for himself as the just recompense of his successful merit. The ungenerous preference of his own interest to the common cause of the crusade, which was apparent through this reservation, disgusted those among his confederates who were actuated by loftier motives of conduct;[1] but it especially excited less dignified and splenetic feelings in the breast of the Count of Thoulouse, who entertained views similar to his own, and regarded his pretensions with the hatred of a rival. His stipulation was, therefore, at first indignantly rejected; but the increasing urgency of the danger with which the army was menaced by the approach of the Turkish succours, and the necessity of either acquiring possession of the city, or of suspending the siege before their arrival, prevailed over the reluctance of the council to comply with the extortionate demand. The Count of Thoulouse was compelled by his brother chieftains to stifle his jealousy and abandon his opposition; and Boemond received the solemn pledge of all the princes that, if Antioch were gained by his means, he should be invested with its sovereignty.[2]

Upon this promise, the crafty Norman disclosed his project, and

[1] Even the good Godfrey himself, usually so ready to sacrifice his own interests and feelings to the advancement of the sacred cause, could not escape a collision with the selfish meanness of Boemond; nor was his own magnanimity always proof against the sense of a petty injury. This is amusingly shewn in a story related by Albert of Aix (p. 242). A superb Turkish pavilion, which the Prince of Edessa had captured and sent as a present to his brother Godfrey, was intercepted by an Armenian chieftain, and despatched as his own gift to Boemond. Godfrey, accompanied by his friend, the Count of Flanders, paid an angry visit to the quarters of Boemond to demand the restitution of the tent. The covetous Norman refused compliance; and Godfrey complained to the Council of Princes. Boemond was at last compelled to deliver up the disputed property; but not before, as Mr Mills has pithily observed (*Hist. of the Crusades*, vol. i. p. 189), a "piece of silk excited the passions of thousands of men who had despised all worldly regards, and had left Europe in order to die in Asia." The whole scene may recall to the reader's mind some of the squabbles of the Homeric heroes; but the impatience of Godfrey in endangering the harmony of the camp for so frivolous a cause, is at variance with the dignified forbearance of his general conduct.

[2] Robert. p. 54. Albert. p. 244. Radulph. p. 308, 309. Baldric. p. 108, 109. Guibert, p. 509, 510. Willermus Tyr. p 704-707.

prepared its accomplishment. In the dead of night, he led his own troops to the base of the towers, where Phirouz held his watch; by the traitor and some associates of his plot, rope-ladders were lowered; and the future Prince of Antioch, to encourage his wavering followers, was himself the first man who ascended the walls. The escalade was effected in safety; the Turkish guards of several neighbouring towers were slain before they could give the alarm; and the gates of the city were opened to the whole crusading host. A horrid and indiscriminate slaughter of the Infidel garrison and the Christian inhabitants ensued; until the crusaders had exhausted the first burst of savage fury, roused by the remembrance of their own sufferings in the siege, and the obstinacy of the lengthened defence. The remains of the Christian population were then protected from further outrage: but the massacre of the Turks was still pursued with relentless vengeance; and the fugitives who escaped beyond the walls were immediately intercepted and slaughtered by the Latin detachments and Syrian Christians who held the surrounding plains. Such was the fate of the gallant veteran Baghasian himself: but numbers of the garrison effected their retreat into the citadel; and closing its gates before the victors bethought themselves of completing their success, the refugees there desperately maintained a protracted resistance.[1]

3d of June 1098.

The divided state of the Mohammedan world had hitherto favoured the progress of the Crusade. The dismemberment of the dominions of Malek Shah had fatally weakened the general power of the Turkish Empire. The Monarchs of Persia remained the nominal chiefs of the Seljukian race: but the Sultan of Roum had been unassisted in his struggle to arrest the invasion of the Latins by any succour from that kindred dynasty; the numerous Emirs of Syria, Armenia, and Mesopotamia were disunited among themselves, and agreed only in the effort to throw off their dependence on the court of Ispahan; and the Fatimite or Ommiadan Princes of Egypt were the natural enemies of the whole Turkish nation, as the disciples, protectors, and tyrants of their fallen rivals, the Abassidan Khalifs of Bagdad. Before the arrival of the crusaders in Asia, the Khalif of Egypt, availing himself of the distractions of the Seljukian Empire to recover the ancient possessions of his house, had already despatched an army into Palestine, and succeeded in wresting Jerusalem itself and other places from their Turkish conquerors.[2] When, therefore, the strange rumour reached Cairo of the Christian invasion of Asia, the overthrow of the Sultan of Roum,

[1] Robert. p. 55. Albert. p. 245-247. Radulph. p. 308, 309. Baldric, 109-112. Guibert, p. 511. Willermus Tyr. p. 708-712.

[2] De Guignes, vol. i. p. 249.

and the advance of the crusading myriads into Syria, the Khalif endeavoured, by sending an embassy to their camp before Antioch, to discover their further designs, to ascertain their force, and perhaps to cultivate their alliance against a common enemy. It is not improbable that the news of their previous successes, as tending to precipitate the fall of the Turkish power, was grateful to the Egyptian Prince; and he is said, by one authority, to have encouraged their prosecution of the siege of Antioch, and even to have offered his co-operation. His envoys also expressed his readiness to admit the Christian pilgrims to worship in peace at Jerusalem: but this proposal was haughtily rejected by the leaders of the Crusade, who replied that the Holy Sepulchre was the lawful heritage of Christendom alone, and declared their resolution, by the divine aid, to recover and preserve it from further profanation by infidels of whatever race. So bold and unreserved an avowal of their hostile purpose was not calculated to secure the friendship, or to allay the jealousy of the Khalif. The negotiations which he had opened were not indeed broken off, and he accepted an embassy from the crusaders: but his conduct in the vicissitudes of the siege alternately betrayed his enmity and his fears. When he heard of the destruction with which the besiegers were threatened by famine and pestilence, he imprisoned their envoys: when their princes despatched the heads of the slaughtered Turkish Emirs to Cairo as the trophies of victory, he released the ambassadors, and loaded them with presents for the principal leaders of the Crusade.[1]

The report of the danger of Antioch was received with other emotions by the Sultan of Persia; and the alarming progress of the Christian arms had the effect of exciting the Turkish States into a transient union against the invaders. From the banks of the Euphrates and the Tigris, twenty-eight powerful Emirs with their swarms of cavalry obeyed the summons of the Sultan to range themselves under the standard of their Prophet, and to avenge the cause of their faith and nation. The supreme command was assigned to Kerboga, Prince of Mosul on the Tigris, as the lieutenant of the Persian monarch; he was joined by Kilidge Arslan, the Sultan of Roum, with the remains of his forces; and the whole host, which some of the Latin writers are contented to describe as innumerable,[2] is estimated by others at two, three, or even four hundred thousand cavalry.[3] The first operations of this overwhelming multitude were directed against the new Christian Principality beyond the Euphrates: but the undaunted heroism with

[1] Robert. p. 49-52. Albert. p. 236, 237. Raymond. p. 146. Willermus Tyr. p. 696.
[2] Robert. p. 56. Fulcher, p. 392. Guibert, p. 512. Willermus Tyr. p. 714.
[3] Albert. p. 242, and Radulphus, p. 319, give the lowest and highest estimate in the text.

which Baldwin defended his capital, delayed their advance until the fall of Antioch; and the startling intelligence of that disastrous event roused Kerboga to break up from the unsuccessful siege of Edessa, and hasten his march to the relief of the Syrian citadel.[1]

On the approach of his host towards Antioch, the leaders of the Crusade withdrew their diminished forces within the defences of the city; and the Turkish cavalry, filling all the surrounding plains, reinforced the garrison of the citadel, enclosed the Latins in their position, and cut off all their communications with the sea-coast and exterior country. By these measures, the crusaders, now besieged in their turn, were immediately subjected to a second and far more grievous famine than that which they had endured in the preceding winter. A repetition of the same narrative of distress, with many aggravated horrors, would be equally revolting and profitless; and the reader will gladly be spared the shocking and loathsome details of misery which reduced a famishing host to satiate the cravings of hunger with leaves and weeds, with the hides of animals, and the old leather of belts and harness, to devour greedily the vilest offal of slaughter-houses and sewers, and even to prey upon human flesh. For five and twenty days, the ravening and perishing multitudes suffered every frightful extremity of want which language may paint, or imagination conceive; the princely, the noble, and the fair, were exposed to privations only less horrid in their intensity than those of the inferior herd of soldiery and camp followers; and the whole host was stricken with one universal sentiment of weakness and despondency. Desertions again became numerous; and the fugitives, who, letting themselves down by ropes at night from the walls, were fortunate enough to escape the scimitars of the Turks, spread their dismal tale of the impending ruin of the crusading cause throughout the few Christian establishments on the sea-coasts and in the interior, in which they could find refuge. Among these apostates to their vows were many persons of distinction, including that Lord of Melun, William the Carpenter, who had lately so publicly renewed his devotional oaths; and the numerous companions of his shame are consigned to indignant oblivion by one historian, only under the conviction that their unworthy names were eternally blotted from the Book of Life.[2]

The conduct of the fugitives was indeed calculated to extinguish the faint gleam of hope which the crusaders might have felt in the knowledge, that the Byzantine Emperor was now on his march with a large army through Asia Minor to support their operations, and

[1] Albert. p. 243. Baldric. p. 112. Guibert, p. 502.

[2] Robert. p. 57 59. Albert. p. 248-251. Raymond, p. 153. Baldric. p. 113-117. Guibert, p. 512-517. Willermus Tyr. p. 714-717.

claim the paramount sovereignty of their conquests. The pusillanimous Count of Chartres, who had hitherto lingered at Alexandretta, was so terrified by the wretched aspect and more deplorable report of the deserters who had reached his quarters, that he immediately continued his retreat; and meeting Alexius in Phrygia, communicated the panic to that monarch. Though the emperor had been joined, in addition to his own forces, by numerous squadrons of fresh crusaders from Europe who were still eager to advance to the relief of their confederates at Antioch, the suggestions of his selfish policy, or the baser influence of fear, made him resolve not to risk his resources or the safety of his person for the deliverance of his Latin allies; and abandoning them to their fate, in despite of the remonstrances and reproaches of their countrymen in his camp, he enforced a general retreat upon Constantinople.[1] The evil tidings of his retrograde movement were not slow in reaching the crusaders at Antioch; and the first burst of fury at his treacherous or cowardly desertion of his engagements was succeeded by a general apathy of hopeless resignation or sullen despair. Neither the dread of the enemy, nor the threat of punishment, could rouse the soldiery to the requisite exertions for the common defence; they shut themselves up in gloomy expectation of death; and in one quarter of Antioch it was necessary to fire the houses over their heads before they could be driven out to man the ramparts.[2]

Amidst this prostration of mental and corporeal energies, which levelled the proud distinctions of spirit between the gallant chivalry and the meaner multitude of the crusading host; the names of five only of the leaders of the war deserved the honourable record of its chroniclers, by their unshaken constancy and courage; Godfrey of Bouillon, Raymond of Thoulouse, the Papal Legate Adhemar of Puy, Boemond and Tancred. The fortitude of Godfrey was sustained by the purest strength of a religious mind; that of the count and the bishop might be inspired by the fiercer confidence of fanatical zeal; the vaulting ambition and cupidity of Boemond were unextinguishable save with life; and in the generous soul of Tancred, the love of glory still shone through the darkest adversity with a steady and unfading light. But the example, the exhortations, and the valorous resolves of these master spirits of their cause, would have proved alike ineffectual to reanimate the hopes and efforts of their desponding confederates and followers, if they had not invoked the all-powerful aid of superstition. When every prospect of earthly succour had vanished, it required the belief of

[1] Robert. p. 60. Albert. p. 253. Baldric. p. 119. Anna Comnena, p. 255-257. Willermus Tyr. p. 718-720.

[2] Albert. p. 253. Guibert, p. 517. Willermus Tyr. p. 720.

a special interposition of Heaven in their behalf to rekindle the expiring fanaticism of the multitude; and the character of the Count of Thoulouse, as well as his share in promoting the popular delusion, may indifferently justify the presumption that he was the original mover, or the willing dupe of a pretended revelation.

In the Provençal division of the crusaders, was a priest of Marseilles, Peter Barthelemy by name, who, presenting himself before the council of princes, declared how St Andrew had shewn him in a vision, that the steel head of the very lance which had pierced the side of the crucified Redeemer, might be found buried beneath the high altar in the Church of St Peter at Antioch; that the Count of Thoulouse was appointed to bear the sacred weapon against the infidel enemy; and that its mystic presence in the battle should penetrate the hearts of the unbelievers, and ensure a complete victory to the people of God. The minds of the crusaders had been prepared for the reception of this tale, and perhaps the expedient itself had been suggested, by rumours of several previous apparitions of the saints both to clerical and lay individuals in the army, all leading to the expectation that some visible act of Almighty favour for their deliverance was at hand. If the Count of Thoulouse was not privy to the original imposture, he at least eagerly lent his countenance to its success; the policy or conviction of the other chiefs gladly accepted the tale; and Raymond himself, with his chaplain and ten select companions, were appointed to search for the sacred relic. Two days of solemn preparation were spent by the whole army in religious exercises; and early on the third the princes, attended by the clergy and lay multitude, went in procession to the Church of St Peter. The doors were closed against the impatient crowd; and relays of workmen dug until nightfal to the depth of twelve feet under the high altar, without discovering the promised instrument of victory. But as soon as the increasing darkness favoured the deception, Peter Barthelemy himself descended into the pit, and, after a plausible delay, exclaimed that he had found the precious object of their search. The steel head of a lance was then brought up from the excavation, and reverently displayed in a web of cloth of gold to the enraptured gaze of the multitude. All previous incredulity was drowned in a general burst of superstitious enthusiasm; and the devout and firm assurance of approaching victory succeeded with wonderful rapidity to the abject despair with which the starving host had previously been overwhelmed.[1]

The first measure, by which the leaders of the Crusade shewed the

[1] Robert. p. 60-62. Albert. p. 253, 254. Raymond, p. 150, 151. Radulphus, p. 316, 317. Baldric. p. 119. Fulcher. p. 391-393. Guibert, p. 517-520. Willermus Tyr. p. 721.

sincerity of their renovated hopes, affords a curious picture of fanatical confidence. It was charitably resolved to offer the infidels one opportunity of escape from the destruction to which they were otherwise doomed, in the alternative of withdrawing altogether from the sacred land of Syria, or declaring their conversion to the Christian faith. The ambassador selected to convey these proposals to the camp of Kerboga was Peter the Hermit; and the astonishment, rage, and contempt, which their nature provoked, were if possible increased by the arrogant deportment and language of the fanatic. The ebullition of furious indignation which prompted the reply of the Emir will excite less of our surprise, than the forbearance which enabled a Turkish barbarian to respect the character of an ambassador, and to dismiss in safety the bearer of a message so insulting to his pride and faith. The defiance of the Christians was hurled back upon them; and the Hermit was fiercely admonished that there remained for them the choice only between submission to the law of Mohammed, or servitude and death.[1]

On this reply, the crusaders entertained no further doubt that the vengeance of Heaven had delivered the whole obstinate host of the infidels into their hands. But the Latin chieftains, with that admixture of politic wisdom which generally tempered their fanaticism, spared no exertion to excite the religious ardour, and refresh the physical strength of their followers for the approaching combat. The horses of their cavalry, now reduced from seventy thousand to no more than two hundred in number, were carefully fed on the last remains of their provender; the leaders and soldiery freely shared with each other their last meal; their rusted arms were whetted anew with grim desperation; and the whole army betook themselves to prayer, made confession of their sins, and received the absolution of the Sacrament. Thus nerved in body and mind, the host was arrayed, in honour of the apostolic number, in twelve divisions; the dawn of the festival of St Peter and St Paul was chosen for the re-opening of the gates of Antioch; and preceded by a body of the clergy chanting a psalm, the army issued from the city and formed in order of battle on the plain. It is singular that the Count of Thoulouse, the destined bearer of the holy lance, was left within the walls with a detachment of his Provençals to watch the citadel: but his place was supplied by the martial Legate who, in complete armour, bore aloft the sacred weapon at the head of one division; and accompanied its display to the eyes of the whole host with the thrilling exhortation to fight that day as became the chosen champions of Heaven. Of the other eleven divisions one, the vanguard, was led by the Count of Vermandois, as bearer of

[1] Robert. p. 62. Guibert, p. 520. Willermus Tyr. p. 722.

the Papal standard; nine respectively by Godfrey, the two Roberts, Tancred and other chieftains of renown; and the reserve was intrusted to Boemond.

Battle of Antioch, 1098.

The distress and consequent weakness of the Christians had been so well known in the Turkish camp, that Kerboga, notwithstanding their late haughty embassy, was lulled into a delusive security that their necessities must compel them to a speedy submission; and he was so little prepared for their assault, that the foremost corps of his army was cut to pieces before the main body could hasten to support it. But as soon as the Turks recovered from their consternation, they fell impetuously upon the advancing line of the Christians; and the brave Sultan of Nice wheeling round his flank, gained the rear of the reserve under Boemond, and began to inflict a bloody vengeance for the rout of Dorylæum. Thus enveloped in a cloud of Tartar cavalry, the extrication of the crusading army from imminent peril is as usual marvellously referred to the personal prowess of its chiefs; and eulogies of their valour supply the place of more intelligible details. In the confused pictures of the chroniclers, and perhaps in the disorderly tactics of the age, it is a hopeless attempt to follow the fluctuating tide of battle, or discern the real causes of victory. Yet, with every allowance for stupendous deeds of heroism in the Europeans, and enormous exaggeration in the reported numbers of the Asiatics, for the desperation of one army and the surprise of the other, the astonishing issue of the struggle can only be explained by the supposition of some gross misconduct or fatal dissension among the Moslem leaders. If we are to believe the narrative of their own chroniclers, two hundred Latin horsemen, supported by the unwieldy array of dismounted knights and men-at-arms, charged, routed, and put to flight the myriads of Turkish cavalry; the pursuit was as sanguinary as the combat had been obstinate; and the whole immense host, which had been permitted for twenty-five days to hold the crusaders besieged in famine and despair within the walls of Antioch, was suddenly destroyed or dissipated in a single morning. While the victory yet hung in suspense, the fanatical ardour of the crusaders was assisted by a new accident or stratagem. Several figures of horsemen in bright armour became visible on the adjacent hills; and the papal legate pointing them out as the holy martyrs St George, St Maurice, and St Theodore, bade the army, with a loud voice, behold the promised succour of Heaven. Responsive shouts of "It is the will of God," burst from the crusading ranks; and the last triumphant charge was inspired by the imaginary presence and aid of these celestial champions.[1]

[1] Robert. p. 63-66. Albert. p. 254-258. Raymond, p. 154, 155. Baldric. p.

The defeat and dispersion of the host of Kerboga was immediately followed by the capitulation of the citadel of Antioch. By the recovered command of the surrounding territory, the crusaders were enabled for a time to relieve their wants with plentiful supplies of provisions; and the captured horses of the Turks served to remount the cavalry of the victors. The general joy was interrupted only by the obstinate ambition and quarrelsome temper of the Count of Thoulouse, who, still prosecuting his rivalry against the stipulated claims of Boemond to the sovereignty of Antioch, availed himself of the absence of that Prince, and the duty with which he had been entrusted of watching the citadel, to hoist his own standard on the walls. He was again compelled by the other confederate chieftains to forego his pretensions; and Boemond was formally installed in his new principality: but the rankling jealousy of the Provençal continued not the less to disturb the harmony of the common cause, and to embarrass the ulterior operations of the Crusade. In the council of Princes, discord, desertion, and the selfish pursuit of private interests, now succeeded to the unity of purpose, which was originally produced by devotional feelings, and had been supported by the pressure of imminent danger. The resentment which the crusaders cherished towards the Greek Emperor for his failure of succour in their hour of need, was vented in an embassy of remonstrance and reproach; and the great Count of Vermandois being selected for this mission, took advantage of the opportunity, on his arrival at Constantinople, to escape the further

120-122. Fulcher. p. 393-395. Guibert, p. 520-523. Willermus Tyr. p. 723-726.

A belief in the reality of the apparition and aid of the three celestial warriors seems to have been universal among the crusaders. But their credulity with regard to the discovery of the holy lance was less general or lasting. The archbishops Baldric and William of Tyre, indeed, with several of the other chroniclers, betray no distrust of the genuineness both of the vision and the relic: but political jealousy overcame the superstition, and sharpened the intellect of some of the princes and their adherents; and while Raymond des Agiles, the chaplain of the Count of Thoulouse, is loud in maintaining the authenticity of a miracle of which his patron was the appointed instrument, Ralph of Caen, in the opposite interest of Tancred and Boemond, boldly exposes the fraud. Fulk of Chartres also evinces more than one suspicion of the imposture. The sequel of its history is curious. After the victory of Antioch, the efforts of the Count of Thoulouse and his Provençals to perpetuate a delusion which conferred a sort of spiritual superiority upon the chosen guardians of the sacred lance, provoked the envious rivalry of Boemond and his friends to proclaim their disbelief. The example of their scepticism shook the faith of the whole army; and to maintain the truth of the revelation, Peter Barthelemy, as its original publisher, was rashly induced to appeal to the judgment of Heaven by the fiery ordeal. Two burning piles being prepared with a narrow path between them, the wretched impostor, or fanatic, rushed through the flames, and was so dreadfully burned in his passage that he expired on the next day.

perils and privations of the Crusade by returning to France.[1] Baldwin and Boemond were wholly engrossed in securing the establishment and extension of their new states of Edessa and Antioch; the envious ambition of the Count of Thoulouse led him to imitate their example by undertaking the abortive conquest of some Syrian towns; the death of the papal legate, Adhemar, shortly deprived the crusading cause of one of its most popular and zealous supporters, and most skilful and politic counsellors; and even the pious Godfrey himself suffered his ardour for the deliverance of the Holy Sepulchre to be suspended by the temptation of gratifying his troops with the more accessible spoils of adjacent districts.[2]

The delays thus generated by disunion and diversity of objects among the leaders of the Crusade were not without some plausible pretexts: such as the necessity of reposing and refreshing the army after the fatigues and distresses of the siege of Antioch; the difficulty of advancing to Jerusalem through the intervening desert during the drought of a Syrian summer; and the prudence of consolidating the dominion which had already been won, that the arduous conquest of the Holy City itself might be the more surely effected. But the losses and calamities which flowed from division and inaction, far outweighed any attendant advantages. Numbers of the bravest knights and best soldiers were seduced from the general service of the Crusade by the prospect of a profitable establishment in the new Christian States; many gallant lives were consumed in the profitless or unsuccessful assaults of detached corps upon the Turkish garrisons; and the usual improvidence of the crusaders occasioned a third famine and consequent pestilence, the combined effects of which were so terrific that no fewer than one hundred thousand persons are declared to have perished.[3]

[1] It is a remarkable proof of the disgrace which, in the chivalric ideas of the age, attended such an abandonment of the crusading vow, that both the Counts of Vermandois and Chartres found in their high rank no exemption from contempt and obloquy; and to redeem their fame they were compelled to undertake a second expedition to Palestine, in which, as we shall hereafter observe, they were both slain.

[2] Albert, p. 260-263. Baldric. p. 122, 123. Fulcher. p. 394, 395. Guibert, p. 525. Willermus Tyr. p. 729-732.

[3] The practices to which the multitude were driven by hunger are almost too horrible for belief: yet the evidence afforded by chroniclers contemporary with, and many of them eye-witnesses to the circumstances, so unanimously attests the prevalence of cannibalism throughout the first Crusade, as to make it impossible to doubt the fact. This loathsome indulgence of hunger was sometimes associated with that of an avarice almost equally disgusting. We are told that the Turks on the eve of battle were used to swallow their money, and that the human savages into whose hands they fell often ripped open the bodies of the slain, or of murdered captives, to search for gold, and afterwards devoured their flesh. The cannibalism of the crusaders was not confined to one season of distress, but had become familiar to the rabble of the camp, and reached its height during the third famine of Antioch, when

The ravages of this plague were assisted by the previous excesses in which the whole host had indulged since the victory of Antioch; and in the pages of their chroniclers charges of universal intemperance and debauchery are intermingled with the dreadful picture of their distress. Nor can the feeling be condemned as an irrational superstition which ascribed the calamities of the crusaders to the anger of offended Heaven: for, of all the miseries which they endured throughout the war, the greater portion were only the faithful consequences of their crimes; and the union of fanaticism and profligacy in men who believed themselves the chosen champions of a sacred cause is among the most sacred objects of contemplation in the spirit of the times. At the outset of their enterprise, while the sense of pious duty was fresh and uncorrupted, the morals of the crusaders were comparatively pure; and, during the siege of Nice, the same authorities which are loudest in reprobating the subsequent disorders of the host, bear testimony to the prevalence of virtue and decorum in their camp. The leaders of the war, in general, presented an edifying spectacle of humility and fraternal concord; the obedient soldiery, emulating their example, were sober, chaste, and vigilant; and from the proudest chieftain to the lowest warrior, all shared alike with undistinguishable zeal and devotion in the labours, privations, watches, and perils of the siege. These sentiments of mutual charity and forbearance did not indeed extend to their common enemies: for their fanaticism was fierce and cruel; and mercy to the heathen was an article excluded from their mistaken creed. But among themselves they dwelt in Christian brotherhood, and their conduct was such as became warriors who had devoted their lives to the service of God, and patiently expected the crown of martyrdom which they as firmly believed would be the reward of the slain.[1] But both the license and the sufferings of the march through Asia Minor first tended to relax the bonds of this voluntary discipline; and the previous self-denial of all ranks degenerated, under the hardening effects of want and danger, into rapacious and selfish brutality. The transition from scarcity to luxurious abundance on the arrival of the army before Antioch; the enervating influence of the Syrian climate; the absence of any unity of command or disciplined restraints over a host composed of various and independent nations; and the temptations offered by a rich and fertile district to the riotous indulgence of every sensual passion;

in their desultory attacks upon the Turkish garrisons, they regularly ate the dead bodies of the Infidels, and even of their own slain companions. See Robert. p. 69, 70; Radulphus, p. 315. Baldric. p. 125, and Albert. p. 267, 268: the first three of whom record these brutalities with horror, and the last with indifference.

[1] See particularly the two Archbishops, Baldric. p. 95; and William of Tyre, p. 667-672, &c.

all assisted in producing a general corruption of morals. Among great masses of men, the alliance of misery and vice is proverbial; and the subsequent calamities of famine and pestilence gave a frightful completion to the public iniquity. In the hourly contemplation of death, and in the extremity of despair, the multitude, so far from being awed into virtue, became utterly deaf to the voice of religion and conscience; every divine and human law was disregarded and violated; the religious exhortations of the clergy,[1] and the authority of the princes, were equally despised; and the most licentious and enormous crimes were openly perpetrated. The only hold which their spiritual and temporal rulers could exercise over the minds of the multitude was through their gross and extravagant superstition; and if pretended revelations were successfully employed to animate the fanatical courage of the soldiery, or served to excite a transient ebullition of remorse,[2] denunciations of the heavenly wrath always failed to correct the public depravity, and truth and imposture were equally powerless in effecting any permanent reformation of manners in the crusading camp.[3]

Amidst all the demoralization of the multitude, no decay of fanatical zeal in pursuing the great ultimate object of the war is justly

[1] As long as ecclesiastical discipline was preserved by the authority of the Legate Adhemar, whose virtues are extolled by all the chroniclers, and whose death, in the third pestilence of Antioch, was lamented by the whole army, the clergy set an edifying example of pious resignation and morality: but the Archbishop of Tyre acknowledges (p. 763) that, after the loss of their spiritual chief, their conduct in general relaxed into indifference and dissoluteness, and that they became, with some bright exceptions, as vicious as the people.

[2] Among other things, a monk was assured in a vision that the anger of God was specially kindled against the crusaders, because Paynim women were the partners of their amours; and the fair infidels were accordingly for a time sent away from the camp. The good Adhemar went further on another occasion: he considered that he was procuring an acceptable sacrifice to Heaven by obliging the warriors to separate not only from the paramours but from their wives; and all the women, virtuous as well as vicious, were confined in a remote quarter of the camp. Albert. p. 234. Willermus Tyr. p. 695.

[3] The dissoluteness of the crusading army before Antioch would surpass belief were it not confirmed by unquestionable testimony. Gibbon has dwelt upon it in his own peculiar way (xi. 68), and has transferred to a foot-note an allusion to the "tragic and scandalous fate of an archdeacon of royal birth, who was slain by the Turks as he reposed in an orchard playing at dice with a Syrian concubine." The unfortunate ecclesiastic, who thus suffered himself to be seduced from his vow, and who paid with his life the penalty of his folly, was Alberon, Archdeacon of Metz, son of Conrad, Count of Lunenbourg, and a relation of the Emperor of Germany. The story is told by Albertus Aquensis, *i. e.* Albert of Aix, in Provence, a canon of the church, and who, though not a crusader himself, derived his information from trustworthy sources. He calls the fair partner of Alberon *matrona*,—whence we may infer that she was a married woman, and a person of condition. According to him her fate was horrible. See upon this subject generally, Mailly, *L'Esprit Des Croisades*, iv. 101; and Michaud, *History of the Crusades*, i. 131.

chargeable upon them. They indeed were ever clamorous against the delays which the caution, the declining ardour, or the private views of their leaders opposed to their impatience. After the first burst of enthusiasm had expended itself in the sieges of Nice and Antioch, the latter, with the exception perhaps of the single-minded Godfrey, the gallant and disinterested Tancred, and a few congenial spirits, evinced more desire to indulge their love of pleasure and rapine, their mutual enmities and personal ambition, than to complete the purpose of the Crusade. But the people discovered and regarded their selfishness with indignation and disgust; and the soldiery and pilgrims who had survived the third famine and pestilence of Antioch, were loud in their demands to be led without further loss of time to the conquest of Jerusalem. The popular discontent at the continued procrastination of the enterprise was shortly displayed in a temper which it was no longer safe to provoke. The ramparts of the city of Marra, which, together with Albara on the Orontes, the Count of Thoulouse had captured and intended to retain, were razed to the ground by his own troops, that the place might not, like the possession of Antioch itself, be rendered an object of contention to the chiefs, and of delay to the army. Raymond finding his prize untenable, was compelled to yield to the wishes of his Provençal followers, and declared his readiness to lead them to the deliverance of the Holy Sepulchre; the same tardy resolution was embraced by the other princes; and not until eight months had expired since the final reduction of Antioch, were the crusading forces once more concentrated, and put in combined motion towards Jerusalem.[1]

A. D. 1099.

Of the immense host, perhaps seven hundred thousand men, which had originally formed the siege of Nice, so enormous had been the losses by the sword and the climate, by famine and pestilence, desertion and conquest, that the total force which advanced from Antioch amounted to only fifteen hundred cavalry and twenty thousand foot soldiers, with about an equal number of unarmed pilgrims and camp followers. But this remnant of the myriads who had assumed the Cross was composed of veteran and devoted warriors, and led by those renowned chieftains and champions of the sacred war, whose zeal and constancy had triumphantly surmounted the fiery trials of peril and temptation: Godfrey of Bouillon, the two Roberts of Normandy and of Flanders, Raymond of Thoulouse, and Tancred. Boemond, pleading the cares of his new principality, did not accompany their march far beyond its confines: but he freely rendered his contributions and support to the success of the common

[1] Robert. Mon. p. 69, 70. Albert. p. 267, 268. Raymond des Agiles, p. 160–164. Baldric. p. 125, 126. Guibert, p. 525–527. Willermus Tyr. p. 731–736.

cause; and his confederates, whatever contempt and indignation they might feel at this personal abandonment of his vows, received his excuses and accepted his aid. From Antioch to Jaffa, a distance of about three hundred miles, the crusaders, for the convenience of supplying their wants from the Italian vessels which traded on the coast, chose their route along the sea-shore. Their advance was easy and unopposed: for the Turkish Emirs of Gabala, Tortosa, Tripoli, Beritus, Tyre, Sidon, Acre, and other intervening places, despairing of successful resistance, either fled from their strongholds, or, deprecating assault, by submission purchased the forbearance of the invaders with large contributions of money and provisions. At Jaffa, turning from the coast, the exulting host struck into the interior country, and directed their march upon Jerusalem itself. With devout and awful curiosity, the rude warriors of Europe now traversed a region filled with places which hourly recalled some sacred association; the clergy successively directed the religious attention of their more ignorant brethren to the memorable scenes of Ramula, Bethlehem, and Emmaus; and at length the holy city burst upon their enraptured gaze. In that glorious sight, the long cherished object, promise, and reward of their hopes, every toil was forgotten, every suffering repaid. The single mighty passion of a host suddenly broke forth in joyful exclamations and embraces; and these first gladsome emotions, which filled every heart with pious thanksgivings, were as quickly succeeded by feelings of deep humiliation and self-abasement. The proud noble, the fierce soldier, and the lowly pilgrim, confessed their common unworthiness even to look upon the scene which had witnessed the sufferings of the Redeemer of mankind; and the whole armed multitude, as with one impulse, sinking on their knees, prostrated themselves, and poured out their tears over the consecrated soil.[1]

But the deliverance of the Holy City and Sepulchre from infidel bondage and profanation still remained to be achieved. By the admixture of truth with imposture, the Musulmans themselves had been taught to revere Jerusalem as inferior in sanctity only to Mecca and Medina;[2] and every motive of religion, honour and policy, forbade the Khalif of Egypt to yield to the Christians that ancient possession which his arms had recently recovered from the Turks. Finding, therefore, his repeated offers of alliance and peaceful admission into Jerusalem as unarmed pilgrims contemptuously spurned by the haughty warriors of the West, he had prepared for the

[1] Robert. p. 71. Albert. p. 269-274. Raymond des Agiles, p. 165-173. Baldric. p. 127-131. Radulphus Cad. p. 317-319. Willermus Tyr. p. 736-745.

[2] D'Herbelot, *Bibliothèque Orientale*, *v. Al Cods*, p. 269. Al Cods, or the Holy, was the Arabic designation of Jerusalem.

vigorous defence of the city. No less than forty thousand of the best troops of Egypt, under Istakar, his most distinguished and favourite lieutenant, were assigned for its regular garrison; and this force was swollen by twenty thousand Musulman citizens and peasantry of the surrounding district, who on the approach of the Christian invaders took refuge within the walls. It was abundantly supplied with provisions; and its ancient fortifications, which increased the natural strength of the site, had been diligently restored or repaired. As Mount Sion was no longer embraced within their circuit, the city, including the hills of Acra, Moria, Bezetha, and Golgotha, presented the form of a parallelogram; but on the southern and eastern faces, the craggy precipices equally defied assault and obstructed any sally; and the two remaining sides presented the only accessible points of operation.

Before these fronts the besiegers impatiently pitched their camp. The Count of Thoulouse chose his station from Mount Sion along the western side; Eustace of Boulogne extended his troops from the conclusion of the Provençal lines towards the north, until he adjoined the quarters of his brother, Duke Godfrey, whose standard was planted on the north-western angle at the foot of Mount Calvary; and the two Roberts and Tancred continued the blockade from that point to the verge of the eastern precipices. In the first confidence of their fanatical valour, the crusaders, fully expecting the miraculous aid of Heaven, rushed, on the fifth morning after the investment, to a furious assault of the walls of Jerusalem, without battering engines, without scaling ladders, without any of the ordinary applications of the besieging art. The astonishing impetuosity of their rash onset, despite of every probability and obstacle, had nearly delivered the city into their hands. Disregarding the superior numbers, the safe position, and the deadly missiles of the garrison, they burst through the barbican, or lower outward gate, and even penetrated to the foot of the main rampart. But here they were arrested, less by any efforts of the panic-stricken infidels, than by the mere inaccessible height of the bulwarks and the absence of all means of escalade. The Musulmans, perceiving the inability of the assailants to approach them, recovered their courage; hurled down every destructive variety of projectiles on the heads of the exposed and devoted Christians; and finally beat them back with slaughter and confusion to their camp.

The leaders of the Crusade, awakened from their fanatical delusion by this repulse, now prepared to prosecute the siege by the rules of art. They resolved to construct the usual machines for breaching or overtowering the walls: but the immediate vicinity of Jerusalem afforded no timber sufficiently large for these works; and the surrounding country was explored for materials. It was

only at the distance of thirty miles that, in the grove of Sichem,[1] trees could be found of suitable dimensions; and, under the direction of the indefatigable Tancred, these being felled, were transported by the painful but zealous labour of the soldiery to the camp. Competent artificers were yet wanting, when the fortunate arrival of some Genoese galleys at Jaffa supplied this deficiency. So general a superiority in mechanical skill had the commercial people of Italy attained over the ignorance of the times, that the whole Latin host were dependent on the fortuitous services of these mariners. The crews were landed at Jaffa; an escort of troops was despatched to bring them up from the coast; and as soon as they reached the camp, they undertook the construction of three great moveable towers, with proper engines for throwing missiles, undermining the ramparts, and battering or scaling the walls. The army awaited the completion of their labours in anxious suspense: for now again were the sufferings of their former sieges repeated under a new variety of horror. The country round Jerusalem was destitute of water; the rocky soil yielded few springs; the fountains and reservoirs had been destroyed by the Infidels; and the streams of Siloe and Kedron were dried up by the intense heats of summer. The besiegers were agonized by thirst; a scanty supply of water could be procured only at a distance of several miles; and the poorer multitude, who could not pay for its transport in gold, were obliged to wander in quest of the springs, at the hazard of being cut off by the fleet Musulman hordes which scoured the whole country. Numbers, by abstaining from food, endeavoured to lessen the intolerable thirst which consumed them; and so extreme was the distress, that many gasping wretches were fain to lick up the dews of night from the rocks, and to excavate holes in the earth that they might but press their lips against the moister soil.[2]

For forty days, amidst this horrid drought, had the siege endured, before the readiness of their engines of assault enabled the crusaders to put a triumphant consummation to their labours. When the lofty moveable towers, each of three stories, were completed, two, respectively manned and worked by the troops of Godfrey and Raymond, were slowly moved forward towards the walls. The former leader chose his point of attack where the rampart had least elevation, and the great depth of the ditch had rendered the garrison negligent of its defence. Three days were laboriously con-

[1] A city of Canaan, and subsequently of Samaria, and the burial-place of the patriarch Jacob, frequently mentioned in Scripture. It was situated on Mount Ephraim, where afterwards stood the Flavia Neapolis of Herod, now the Nablous of the Arabs. It was one of the cities of refuge appointed by Joshua (xx. 7), and was the Enchanted Grove of the poet Tasso. (Gerusal. Liberata. canto xii.)

[2] These expressive proofs of the height of the people's sufferings are given by Robert the Monk, p. 75.

sumed in filling up this fosse; and the tower was then successfully rolled over the new level. Meanwhile the Provençals had been less skilful or fortunate: for their tower was repeatedly damaged by the besieged with projectiles and fire. But several approaches were prepared against different fronts of the main ramparts of the place with battering and mining engines; and the eager warriors only awaited the signal of final attack. On the eve of the day appointed for a general assault of the city, the whole host in full armament, and preceded by the clergy, made a religious procession round the walls to invoke the divine aid. Instead of banners, crucifixes were born aloft at the head of the troops; every instrument of martial music was hushed; and the only sounds to which the army moved were sacred chants of psalmody. Ascending the Mounts of Olives and of Zion, the crusaders halted on each of those holy places, and knelt in prayer; and when these solemn rites had elevated the devotional and warlike enthusiasm of the soldiery to the highest pitch of excitement, the spectacle which was presented from the walls still further inflamed their fanatical feelings with a deadly thirst of revenge against the Infidels. The garrison, displaying crucifixes on the ramparts, derided those revered emblems of salvation, and covered them with filth; and the crusaders with shouts of fury vowed to wash out these impious insults in the blood of the perpetrators.

Thus animated by every incentive of natural valour, religious hope, and fanatical vengeance, the crusading host advanced on the following dawn to the assault of Jerusalem. While showers of arrows and stones from the archers and balistic engines were directed against the defenders on the ramparts to cover the principal operations, the battering and mining machines and huge moveable towers—all the stages of the latter filled with chosen bodies of knights and men-at-arms—were impelled towards the walls. But the onset was received by the Moslems with a courage guided by skill, and sustained by confidence or despair. From behind the defences, their incessant flights of missiles replied with murderous effect upon the more exposed bodies of the Latin archers; masses of rock were successfully hurled upon the machines of the besiegers; and the dreadful Greek fire was poured in liquid streams against the moveable towers. During the day the struggle raged without intermission, and the event still hung in tremendous suspense. But at even, the slaughter among the crusaders far exceeded that of the Infidels; the great tower of Count Raymond had been partially burned and disabled; many of the other engines of assault had been destroyed; and the besiegers were reluctantly compelled to desist for the night from further efforts. Yet their heroic spirit was undismayed, their confidence unabated, their labour indefatigable. Though the Provençal tower had been

arrested in its advance, that of Duke Godfrey was undamaged, and had been brought into threatening contiguity to the rampart; and on other fronts of attack the walls of the city were shaken, and already imperfectly breached in several places, by the violent strokes of the battering-rams and the more insidious use of the sap. At daylight, the assault and defence were renewed with increased fury; at noon, the desperate conflict was still balanced in appalling indecision; but at the third hour of the evening, the barbican, having been beaten down, the tower of Godfrey was forced sufficiently near to the inner rampart to enable the iron-nerved chivalry of Europe to close hand to hand for the mastery with the less vigorous warriors of the East. In that moment, so critical for the suspended cause of Christendom and Islam, the spirit and strength of the Musulman defenders of Jerusalem, despite of their superior numbers and securer footing, quailed before the personal prowess of the champions of the Cross. The frail drawbridge of the tower was let down upon the solid rampart; two brothers, Letoldus and Englebert, of Tournay in Flanders, were the first and second of the crusading warriors who sprang upon the battlements; and Godfrey of Bouillon, himself the third, planted his banner on the walls.[1] His victorious example was followed with irresistible energy; in quick succession the Duke of Normandy, the Count of Flanders, and Tancred, burst through the gate of St Stephen into the city; and at every breach in the works a passage was impetuously forced by their emulous associates and followers. Meanwhile, the Count of Thoulouse, disdaining to enter the place in the train of his more successful confederates, gallantly inspired his Provençals to carry the rampart in their front by escalade; the defenders, appalled by the defeat of their brethren, wavered and fled; and in all quarters the ensigns of the Cross floated over the towers of Jerusalem.

Abandoning all further hope, the fleeing multitude of the Moslems thronged to die under the sacred domes of their Mosques. The victors pursued them with a relentless fury, which consigned men, women, and children to indiscriminate slaughter. The passive and unresisting despair with which the helpless and miserable crowds awaited their fate, neither awakened the pity nor satiated the bloody vengeance of their savage destroyers. The outrages which the Infidels had formerly inflicted on the Christian pilgrims, and the insults with which they had recently derided the Cross, were sternly remembered and fearfully avenged; the very sight of the sacred places which they had profaned with their false

[1] The author of L'Esprit des Croisades arranges the series of the successful assailants somewhat differently, viz. thus:—Godfrey, Eustace, Baldwin de Burgh, Bernard de St Valier, De Guicher, and De Raimbaud Crôton. These took the lead in the order in which they are named, followed closely by D'Amanjeu d'Albret, and Leotold and Englebert of Tournay; iv. 420.

worship served to heighten the fanatical rage of the conquerors against the fugitives who sought shelter in those edifices; and it was the boast of the Latin princes, in a public letter which they addressed to the Pope,[1] that, in the splendid mosque erected by the Khalif Omar on the site of the Temple of Solomon,[2] they rode up to their horses' knees in the blood of the Infidels. In that principal sanctuary alone, ten thousand persons were massacred; every minor retreat in the city was explored with equally fierce diligence by the swords of the crusaders; and the horrid computation of the total carnage on the battlements, throughout the streets, and in the churches and houses, has been variously extended to an incredible number of both sexes and all ages.[3]

These dreadful scenes of fanatical cruelty, from which reason and humanity equally revolt, were followed by a sudden transition of passion, as strangely but less painfully characteristic of the times; and the events of the single day on which Jerusalem was stormed forcibly exemplify the unnatural union of those motives of martial achievement, ferocious intolerance, and fervent piety, which produced the Crusade. The mailed warriors who had sworn and accomplished the deliverance of the Holy Sepulchre in arms, hastened, as humble and repentant pilgrims, to complete their vows of adoration, at that hallowed monument of redemption. Duke Godfrey, after himself staining the example of heroic courage with merciless slaughter, threw aside his reeking sword, washed his bloody hands, exchanged his armour for a white linen tunic, and with bare head and feet repaired in pious humiliation to the Church of the Sepulchre. The same religious impulse was quickly communicated to his fellow-warriors; the inhuman fanaticism which had so lately steeled their hearts against every softer emotion, was all at once relaxed into a flood of contrite and tearful devotion; and the whole host in turn, discarding their arms and purifying their persons from the signs of recent slaughter, moved in procession to the Hill of Calvary, and in mingled penitence for their sins, and thanksgiving for their victory, wept over the tomb of the Saviour of the world. After these religious exercises, a loose was given to the general joy both of the Latin conquerors and the native Christians, who had either been retained in the city during the siege, or had gathered in the crusad-

[1] Martenne, *Thesaurus Novus*, vol. i. p. 281.

[2] D'Anville, *Diss. sur l'Ancienne Jérusalem*, p. 42-53.

[3] By the Musulman writers (De Guignes, vol. ii. p. 99, and Abulfeda, *apud* Reiske, vol. iii. p. 319), the numbers massacred are stated as high as seventy or even one hundred thousand souls: but these were traditional estimates long after the event; and the last probably exceeds the amount of the whole population of Jerusalem at the period. William of Tyre, who alone of the Latin chroniclers attempts a precise enumeration, gives twenty thousand as the number of victims in the first massacre, of whom one half fell in the Mosque of Omar.

ing quarters. Among the latter was the Patriarch of Jerusalem, who, after seeking a retreat from the Musulman tyranny in Cyprus, had lately arrived in the camp. He instructed his flock to honour, in the person of Peter the Hermit, the faithful missionary whose indignation and piety had been moved by the spectacle of their bondage to the Infidels, and whose holy zeal had roused the nations of the Western World to undertake their deliverance. The grateful multitudes prostrated themselves before the poor Solitary of Amiens, as a revered and chosen servant of God; and if the sincerity of the fanatic, who, to perform this service, had twice traversed Europe and Asia, may be measured by his indefatigable labours in the imaginary cause of Heaven, the spiritual triumph which rewarded his success must have surpassed the most exquisite enjoyment of temporal ambition.[1]

Among the conscious offences which humbled the souls of the crusaders in contrition and prayer before the altar of the Sepulchre, they were so far from numbering their cruelties to the Infidels, that they deemed the late work of slaughter a meritorious offering to the God of Mercies. To every pious and enlightened mind there can be few subjects of contemplation more offensive and painful than this alliance of a devotion, which, though mistaken, was sincere, with so ferocious and dark a superstition. Scenes of bloodshed similar to those which had preceded, also followed the interval of worship; and on the morning after the capture of Jerusalem, the crusaders deliberately renewed the massacre of the Infidel garrison and inhabitants. The Jews of the city were burned alive in their synagogues; the Musulman captives who had been spared by the lassitude, and the fugitives who had eluded the first search of the victors, were now dragged from their prisons and hiding-places, and remorselessly butchered. All—even women, children, and infants at the breast—shared the same fate, except a few wretched Musulmans who owed their escape from the general slaughter, not to the humanity but to the covetousness of the Count of Thoulouse, who rescued them for sale as slaves, and incurred the censure of the army by preferring the indulgence of his avarice to that of his fanaticism. With the rest of the crusaders, the former passion was only second to their cruelty; and the work of pillage proceeded simultaneously with that of bloodshed. By previous agreement, the rich plunder of the mosques, which abounded with lamps and vases of gold and silver, was dedicated to the service of the church and the relief of the poor; but each house became the property of the first

[1] It is singular that, after his reception of this public homage, the name of the Hermit occurs not again in any contemporary or authentic record; and history has altogether forgotten to notice the subsequent fate of the man who had moved the population of Europe from its foundations.

warrior who burst its door, and suspended his shield from its walls.[1]

The infidel inhabitants of Jerusalem had been extirpated; and the law of conquest supplied a new and Christian population. When the victorious soldiery had divided the possession of the Holy City, her streets were cleansed from the horrid pollution of recent slaughter by the labour of some Musulman slaves; the churches and mosques were delivered up to the clergy and dedicated afresh, or now first converted to the purposes of Christian worship; and, tenanted by the various population of her martial citizens from every Western nation, Jerusalem presented the novel aspect of an European settlement. After the occupation of the city, the earliest care of the leaders of the Crusade was given to the duty of securing their conquest. The establishment of a feudal kingdom in Palestine was obviously suggested by the familiar example of the same form of polity in the Western monarchies, and by the necessity of organizing a martial system of tenures for the defence of the Christian state and the protection of the Holy Sepulchre. On the eighth day, therefore, after the capture of the city, the princely and noble chieftains of the crusading host assembled to confer, by their free voices, the feudal sovereignty of Jerusalem, with its future dependencies, upon one of their body. The accidents of war had diminished the number of those great leaders of the European chivalry who, by their hereditary rank, the strong array of their retainers, or the influence of personal character, were entitled to aspire to this honour. Boemond and Baldwin were already seated in the Principalities of Antioch and Edessa, and had withdrawn themselves from immediate participation in the crowning glories of the Holy War; the great Count of Vermandois and the Count of Chartres had, with deeper reproach, altogether deserted the sacred expedition; and although, in chivalric fame, Tancred was at least their equal, the princes of sovereign rank who remained with the army were four only in number: the two Roberts, of Normandy and of Flanders, the Count of Thoulouse, and the Duke of Brabant. Of these princes, if we may believe our Anglo-Norman writers, the crown of Jerusalem was offered first to the brave but prodigal son of the Conqueror, and declined by his modest distrust of his own merits, by his less praiseworthy indolence, or by his preference of his European Duchy. If, on the other

[1] In the Mosque of Omar, no fewer than seventy massive lamps of gold and silver were found by Tancred, and surrendered to the prescribed uses of religion and charity; but not, if we may believe Malmsbury (p. 443), before the costliness of the prize had seduced the hero, in a moment of unwonted frailty, to forget the usual purity of his virtue. He attempted to secrete the spoils for his private profit, until he was driven, either by the reproaches of his own conscience, or dread of public censure, to make restitution of his booty to the Ecclesiastical Treasury.

hand, we credit the Provençal chroniclers of the Crusade, the same proffer and refusal of the regal dignity must be ascribed to the Count of Thoulouse.[1] But the tale of Robert's election is entirely discredited by the silence of every immediate chronicler of the Crusade; and the grasping ambition and selfish cupidity ever displayed by the Count of Thoulouse, both before and after the fall of Jerusalem, are not only incompatible with the disinterestedness imputed to him by his adherents, but are expressly stated by a better authority[2] to have occasioned the rejection of his claims. Between Robert of Flanders and his friend the Duke of Brabant, if there existed any rivalry in pretension, there was at least no equality of merit; and, in opposition to the intrigues of the wily and jealous Provençal, the general voice of the assembly proclaimed Godfrey of Bouillon as the most deserving, both by his prowess and piety, amongst all the princely champions of the Cross, to receive the crown of Jerusalem and the guardianship of the Holy Sepulchre. The spirit of Godfrey was too magnanimous to shrink from the perilous and unquiet charge which intrusted to him rather the sword of the crusader than the sceptre of a feudal king. He was immediately conducted in solemn procession to the church of the Sepulchre, and there inaugurated in his new office; but, with the pious humility which distinguished his character, he refused to have a regal diadem placed on his brows in that city, wherein his Saviour had worn a crown of thorns; and modestly declining the name with the decoration of a king, he would accept no prouder title than that of Advocate or Defender of the Tomb of Christ.[3]

Election of Godfrey of Bouillon to its throne, 23d July 1099.

But from the election of Godfrey of Bouillon may not the less be dated the foundation of the LATIN KINGDOM OF JERUSALEM. By that event, stability was given to the recent conquests of the crusaders; and Jerusalem which, after a possession of more than four hundred and fifty years since its surrender to Omar, had been wrested out of the hands of the disciples of Mohammed, was converted into the capital of a Christian state. After the worthy choice of a sovereign to defend and govern their conquests, it remained for the crusaders only to secure their maintenance and extension by regulating the martial, civil, and ecclesiastical institutions of the new kingdom. The religious zeal and the prudential policy of the conquerors were yet to be exercised in pro-

Conclusion of the FIRST CRUSADE.

[1] Raymond des Agiles, p. 179. Albert. Aquensis, p. 283. Guibert, p. 537.

[2] Willermus Tyr. 763.

[3] The title of Advocate or Defender of a church or monastery was familiar to the age of Godfrey: when, under that term, it was customary for ecclesiastical bodies to purchase the protection of some prince or powerful noble. But see Du Cange *v. Advocatus.*

viding for its defence: but their vows were already accomplished; and the great design of the FIRST CRUSADE[1] had been concluded in the triumphant recovery of the Holy Sepulchre.

[1] Robertus Mon. p. 74-77. Albertus Aquensis, p. 275-289. Baldricus Arch. p. 132-134. Raymond des Agiles, p. 175-178. Radulphus Cad. p. 320-324. Fulcherius. Carnot, p. 396-400. Guibert, p. 533-537. Willermus Tyr. p. 746-763, &c.

These references embrace the original authorities for all the details given in the text of the siege and capture of Jerusalem. But, throughout the above narrative, the present compilation is also largely indebted to the labours of our modern English historians of the same events: to the LVIIIth Chapter of Gibbon, which, though not exempt from some errors of fact and more obliquities of sentiment, offers a masterly sketch of the spirit and transactions of the First Crusade; and to the more recent and ample work of Mr Mills, who (*History of the Crusades*, vol. i. c. 1-6) has industriously exhausted the stores of the Latin chroniclers, and executed his design with equal truth and ability.

CHAPTER VI.

THE SECOND CRUSADE.

WITH SUPPLEMENTARY REMARKS ON THE STATE AND PROSPECTS OF THE LATIN KINGDOM OF JERUSALEM AFTER THE DEATH OF GODFREY.

WITHIN a short month after his election to fill the throne of Jerusalem, the pious and gallant Godfrey of Bouillon was summoned into the field to sustain that arduous office of defender of the Holy Sepulchre, which his modesty had preferred to the regal title. The Khalif of Egypt, roused to equal indignation and alarm by the intelligence of the fall of Jerusalem, had immediately despatched a great army into Palestine; and the influence of a common religion and cause attracted numerous hordes of Turks and Saracens to the the Fatimite standard. The usual exaggeration of the Latin chroniclers has swollen the Infidel host into countless myriads: their more authentic record of the Christian force shews that the bands of the crusaders had already dwindled, since the capture of the holy city, to five thousand horse and fifteen thousand foot soldiers. But the champions of the Cross, however inferior in numbers, were flushed with recent victory, and animated by the unconquerable energy of religious and martial enthusiasm. The armies met at Ascalon; and the organized and mail-clad chivalry of Europe once more triumphed over the disorderly multitudes of Egypt, Syria, and Arabia. The Fatimites fled at the first charge of Godfrey and Tancred; and the only resistance which the crusaders encountered was from a band of five thousand black Africans; who, after the discharge of a galling flight of arrows from an ambush, astonished the Latins by a novel mode of close combat with balls of iron fastened to leathern thongs, which they swung with terrific effect. But after the first moment of surprise, the desperate courage and rude weapons of these barbarians were vainly opposed to the sharp lances and physical weight of the Christian gens-d'armerie; and their destruction or flight completed the easy and merciless victory of the crusaders. Of the Infidel host, the incredible numbers of thirty thousand in the battle, and sixty thousand in the pursuit, are declared to have been slaughtered: while of the Latins scarcely a man had been killed. An immense booty, the spoils of the Egyptian camp, fell into the hands of the victors; and the standard and sword of the Khalif, being alone re-

Battle of Ascalon, Friday, Aug. 12, 1099.

served from the division of the plunder, were piously suspended by Godfrey over the altar of the Sepulchre at Jerusalem.[1]

The victory of Ascalon was the last combined exploit of the heroes of the first Crusade. Having accomplished their vow, and bidden a farewell to their magnanimous leader, most of the surviving princes and chieftains of the holy war departed for Europe. Boemond was established at Antioch, and Baldwin at Edessa; but of all his compeers, Godfrey could induce only the devoted Tancred to share his fortunes; and no more than three hundred knights, and as many thousand foot soldiers, remained for the defence of Palestine. But the terror of the Christian arms proved, for a season at least, a sufficient protection to the new state; the Musulmans were easily expelled from the shores of Lake Genesareth; and the Emirs of Ascalon, Cæsarea, and Acre, hastened to deprecate the hostility of the crusading king by submission and tribute. The remainder of Godfrey's brief reign was disturbed only by the intrigues of Daimbert, Archbishop of Pisa, who had been appointed by Pope Pascal II.[2] to succeed Adhemar of Puy as legate of the holy see, and had now been invested with the patriarchate of Jerusalem. As chief, in this double capacity, of the Latin church in the East, Daimbert audaciously claimed the disposal of those acquisitions which the heroes of the Crusade had carved out with their own good swords; and both Godfrey and Boemond condescended to receive from his hands, as vassals of the church, the feudal investiture of the states of Jerusalem and Antioch. But even this submission did not satisfy the pride and cupidity of Daimbert; he claimed the entire possession of Jerusalem and Jaffa; and Godfrey, who shrank with superstitious horror from the idea of a contest with the church, was glad to compound with the demand of the rapacious prelate,[3] by the surrender of the whole of the latter city, and a portion, including the Sepulchre itself, of the sacred capital. The patriarch further extorted the monstrous condition, that the unre-

[1] Albertus Aquensis, p. 290-294. Willermus Tyr. p. 763-773.

[2] According to the vulgar belief, Pope Urban II. died of joy on learning the conquest of Jerusalem: but as Mr Mills has observed, (*Hist. of the Crusades*, vol. i. p. 268), the decease of that Pontiff occurred only fifteen days after the capture of the city, and therefore too soon to have been produced by the receipt of the glad intelligence in Italy.

[3] Even the Archbishop of Tyre, despite of the zeal for the supremacy of the Church which he may be supposed naturally to have felt, is disgusted by the audacious pretensions of the patriarch, and relates the tale with indignant candour. Will. Tyr. p. 771. The truth is, however, that besides the intense and disinterested devotion of Godfrey to the church, and which was one of the characteristics of the age, he could not dispense with the aid of the Pisans and Genoese, who were wholly under the control of Daimbert, nor venture upon a quarrel with the Holy See, whose emissary the patriarch was. He had no alternative, therefore, but to act as he did act, or to abandon his newly acquired kingdom.

served dominion of all Jerusalem should escheat to his see, in case Godfrey died without issue. That event occurred too shortly for the happiness of a people, whom the good prince governed with paternal benevolence; and to the sorrow, not only of the Christian inhabitants of Palestine, but even of their Musulman tributaries, he breathed his last at the early age of forty years, five days preceding the first anniversary of his reign.[1]

Death of Godfrey, July 11, A.D. 1100.

On the death of Godfrey, the barons of the Latin kingdom of Palestine indignantly refused to ratify the promised cession which the patriarch demanded; and it was resolved that the unimpaired rights of the crown over Jerusalem should be bestowed with its temporal sovereignty. Tancred desired that the election should fall on his relative Boemond, Prince of Antioch; but that prince had, at this critical juncture, been made prisoner by an Armenian chieftain, whose territories he had unjustly invaded; and a general feeling that some preference was due to the claims of the house of Bouillon, decided the choice of the barons in favour of Baldwin, Prince of Edessa. Resigning his principality to his relative and namesake, Baldwin du Bourg, the brother of Godfrey, hastened to the Holy City; and, after some fruitless opposition, the patriarch solemnly crowned the new of King Jerusalem in the church of Bethlehem. The memory of the wrongs which he had sustained from Baldwin, inspired Tancred with a more excusable and lasting repugnance to his pretensions; and refusing to swear allegiance to an enemy, the Italian chieftain retired from Jerusalem to Antioch, of which he assumed the regency during the captivity of Boemond. But an accommodation was effected by the good offices of the barons; and the king and the regent of Antioch were left at leisure to provide for the security of their states against the common Musulman enemy.[2] The character of Baldwin rose with his elevation; and, on the throne of Jerusalem, he, who during the Crusade had disgusted his compeers by a selfish and treacherous ambition, displayed a disinterested and magnanimous devotion to his regal duties, which won the respect and love of his people, and proved him no unworthy successor of his brother. During a reign of eighteen years, he not only sustained with zeal and ability the arduous office of defending the Latin state from the assaults of the Infidels, but extended its limits and increased its security.

In these efforts he was much assisted by the remains of several armaments from Europe, which may be regarded as a supplement to the first Crusade. The spirit which had animated that enterprise still burned with undiminished intensity; and, in the course of a

[1] Albert. p. 294-299. Guibert. p. 537-554. Will. Tyr. p. 773-775.
[2] Albert. p. 300-308. Will. Tyr. p. 775, 776.

few years, Hugh of Vermandois, and Stephen of Chartres—the same leaders who had retired with little honour from their first expedition —the Dukes of Aquitaine and of Bavaria, the Counts of Burgundy, of Vendôme, of Nevers, and of Parma, and of other princes, severally conducted into Asia whole armies of French, Gascon, Flemish, German, and Italian crusaders, whose aggregate has been computed by a modern writer at the astonishing number of little less than half a million of men.[1] These successive hosts took the same route, and encountered the same sufferings and disasters, from the dubious faith of the Byzantine court, the incessant attacks of the Turks, and the triple scourge of the sword, famine, and pestilence, which had swept off the myriads of their precursors.[2] But a very small proportion of those who had reached the Bosphorus, survived the horrors of the passage through Asia Minor: yet the remnant which entered Syria still fed the Christian cause in Palestine with a constant supply of veteran warriors; and by their aid, and more especially by that of some maritime expeditions from the European shores, many Musulman invasions were repelled, and many conquests achieved. In the third year of his reign, Baldwin I.,[3] after reducing Azotus, was enabled to form the siege of Acre; and by the
A. D. 1104. opportune arrival of an armament of seventy Genoese galleys, filled with crusaders, in the following spring, that valuable conquest was completed after a protracted resistance. Beritus and Sarepta were also reduced and converted into Christian lordships; and Sidon became the next object of assault. With an interval of four years, two fleets of Scandinavian crusaders, who had
A. D. 1115. performed the long voyage from the Baltic through the Straits of Gibraltar to the Syrian shores, co-operated with the Christian forces of Palestine in the siege of that city; and

[1] Mills. *Hist. of Crusades*, vol i. p. 290, note.

[2] Both the Counts of Vermandois and of Chartres, who found themselves compelled by the public contempt of a chivalrous age to return to Palestine, perished in the attempt to redeem the fame which they had lost by the former abandonment of their crusading vows. The great Count of Vermandois died at Tarsus of wounds received in battle with the Turks of Cilicia; and the Count of Chartres only survived his second march into Palestine to be taken prisoner and murdered in the frontier warfare by the Egyptian Musulmans. He had been driven to engage in the supplementary Crusade by the high-spirited reproaches of his Countess Adela, daughter of our Norman conqueror, who had sworn to allow him no peace until he should repair his dishonour. He was father to Stephen, our English usurper. Orderic. Vital. p. 790-793. Will. Tyr. p. 781-787. Albert. p. 315-325. Anna Comnena, lib. ix. p. 331.

[3] In the preceding year, the King of Jerusalem had narrowly escaped captivity or death, through a rash assault which he ventured upon the Egyptian invaders of Palestine with a vanguard of only a few hundred horse. His followers were overwhelmed by superior numbers and almost all cut to pieces; and it was on this occasion that the Count of Chartres was taken and murdered. The story of Baldwin's escape presents one of the few gleams of generous sentiment which relieve the

although the first attempt was repulsed, the second proved successful.[1]

All these acquisitions were incorporated into the kingdom of Jerusalem. But a more important extension of the Christian territories in Syria had meanwhile been effected, and added to the number of distant principalities. The veteran Count of Thoulouse prevailed upon some of the French princes whom, in the supplemental Crusade, he had guided with the remains of their forces through Asia Minor, to subjugate Tortosa, on the coast of Syria, for his benefit. The nucleus of a new State was thus formed, which Raymond employed his Provençal troops in extending: but he died before he could accomplish the reduction of the city of Tripoli, the object of his ambition, and the destined capital of his Oriental dominions. Some years afterwards, that conquest was effected for his eldest son Bertrand, by the King of Jerusalem, seconded by all the Latin princes of the East, and a Pisan and Genoese fleet. Tripoli, with its surrounding district and dependencies, was then erected by Baldwin into a county for the house of Thoulouse; and this new state, which, although feudally subject to the crown of Jerusalem, partook in extent and dignity rather of the character of a sovereign principality than of a mere fief, contributed much by its position between the territories of Antioch and Palestine to secure and cement the communication and strength of the Christian power.[2] But the affairs of Antioch were perpetually embroiled by the restless ambition of its prince. During his captivity in Armenia, the government of that state was ably administered by Tancred: but after obtaining his release, Boemond, by his refusal to ackowledge the feudal superiority of the Eastern Emperor Alexius, involved himself in a new war, in which he was assisted by the Pisans. The Byzantine arms prevailing by land, Boemond sailed to Europe to plot a diversion against the Grecian territories of his ancient enemy; and having succeeded by his martial reputation in assembling a

FOUNDATION OF THE COUNTY OF TRIPOLI. A. D. 1109.

dark picture of a fanatical and savage warfare. Upon some former occasion, Baldwin had captured a noble Saracen woman, whose flight was arrested by the pangs of childbirth, and, after humanely rendering her every attention, had released her and her infant in safety. The husband was serving in the Musulman ranks, when Baldwin, after the slaughter of his followers, with difficulty reached a castle, whither the victors immediately pursued him. The place was surrounded, and the capture of the King would have been inevitable, if the grateful Emir had not secretly approached the walls at midnight, announced his design of delivering the preserver of his wife and child, and, at the hazard of his own life, conveyed him in safety from the castle, which Baldwin had scarcely quitted when it was stormed, and the whole garrison put to the sword. Will. Tyr. p. 787, 788. For the details of this romantic incident, see Michaud, vol. i. p. 279.

[1] Albert. p. 345-365. Will. Tyr. p. 791-805.

[2] Will. Tyr. p. 791-796.

large army of crusaders in France and Italy, he landed at Durazzo. Alexius was then glad to conclude an accommodation with him; and the crusading forces pursuing the usual route through the Byzantine territories to Palestine, the Prince of Antioch returned to Italy, where he died in the following year. After his decease, the noble-minded Tancred continued to rule the Syrian principality, until his chivalrous career was appropriately terminated by a mortal wound which he had received in battle; and after some uninteresting revolutions in the government of Antioch, the eldest son of Boemond, who bore his name, finally arrived in Asia, and successfully claimed the principality as his inheritance.[1] Meanwhile, the isolated state of Edessa, surrounded on all sides by Armenian and Turkish enemies, was only preserved from destruction by the heroic valour of its count, Baldwin du Bourg, and his relative, Joscelyn de Courtenay, a member of a noble French house, which was rendered more illustrious by his exploits in the East, than by the subsequent alliance of a collateral branch with the royal blood of France, and a succession of three emperors to the Latin throne of Constantinople.[2]

By the death of his kinsman, Baldwin I., the Count of Edessa was called to receive the crown of Jerusalem. On the junction of new bands of crusaders from Europe, Baldwin I. had been encouraged to revenge the incessant attacks of the Fatimite Khalifs of Egypt, by an invasion of that country; and his career of victory on this expedition was cut short only by the hand of death.[3] Leav-

[1] Radulphus Cad. p. 327–330. Fulcher. p. 419, 420. Albert. p. 340–354. Will. Tyr. p. 792-807. Anna Comnena, lib. xiv. p. 329-419.

[2] The adventures and vicissitudes of fortune which Joscelyn de Courtenay underwent in the East, as well as his chivalrous deeds, might form the groundwork of a tale of romance. He had originally accompanied the Count of Chartres from Europe in the supplementary Crusade, and settled at Edessa with his relation Baldwin, together with whom he was taken prisoner in a defeat which the crusaders sustained from the Emir of Aleppo. After five years' captivity, the friends were released by the stratagem of some Armenian partizans, who, entering the fortress in which they were confined in the disguise of monks and traders, surprised and slew the Turkish garrison. Baldwin then bestowed a portion of the Edessine territories in sovereignty upon Courtenay. But upon some jealousy, Joscelyn was treacherously lured to Edessa by his benefactor, put to the torture, and compelled to resign his domains. Indignant at this treatment, Courtenay withdrew to Jerusalem, where his services against the Infidels were rewarded by Baldwin I. with the Tiberiad for a fief. Notwithstanding the wrongs by which his patron had cancelled former benefits, Joscelyn generously promoted his elevation to the throne of Jerusalem, and received the county of Edessa from his gratitude. Baldwin a second time falling into the hands of the Infidels, after he had become king, Joscelyn obtained his liberation among the consequences of the fall of Tyre. The death of the hero at an advanced age was a worthy termination of his exploits. Being unable to sit on horseback, he was carried in a litter to the field; the Musulmans fled at the very report of his presence; and he died giving thanks to Heaven that the mere fame of his ancient prowess sufficed to scatter the enemies of God. Will. Tyr. p. 853.

[3] At El-Arish, supposed to be the ancient Rhinocorura, a frontier town of Syria

ing no issue, he, with his last breath, recommended his cousin Baldwin Du Bourg for his successor; and after the retreat of the crusading host into Palestine, which was the immediate consequence of the dejection produced by his death, the Latin prelates and barons were induced, by respect for his memory, and the claims of consanguinity, as well as by the advice of Joscelyn de Courtenay, to confirm his choice. Baldwin du Bourg was therefore elected without opposition to fill the vacant throne, and immediately recompensed the services of Courtenay by resigning to him the possession of the county of Edessa. The principal event in the reign of Baldwin II. was the reduction of Tyre. The Doge of Venice, Ordelafo Falieri, who had led the navy of his republic on a martial pilgrimage to the coast of Palestine, was induced, after bargaining for the possession and sovereignty of one-third of that city,[1] to co-operate in the undertaking; and by a siege of five months the difficult conquest was achieved. Tyre was erected into an archbishopric under the partriarchate of Jerusalem; and by the capture of a city, which, though fallen from its ancient grandeur, was still the most opulent port on the Syrian coast, and had formed the last stronghold of the Musulmans in Palestine, the Latin power may be said to have attained its greatest consolidation and security.[2]

Baldwin II. King of Jerusalem. A. D. 1118.

A. D. 1124.

When the kingdom of Jerusalem had thus acquired its utmost extent, it embraced all the country of Palestine between the sea-coast and the deserts of Arabia, from the city of Beritus on the north to the frontiers of Egypt on the south: forming a territory about sixty leagues in length and thirty in breadth; and exclusive of the county of Tripoli, which stretched northward from Beritus to the borders of the Antiochan principality. The whole territory, both of the kingdom and county, was occupied by the warriors of the Cross, upon the strictest prin-

Extent and state of the Latin Kingdom.

and Egypt, in the year 1118, on his return from an expedition against the Soldan of Egypt. On his deathbed he requested that his body might be deposited beside that of his brother Godfrey at Jerusalem.

[1] All the maritime republics of Italy, with their characteristic mercantile cupidity, extorted great commercial advantages as the price of their services to the crusaders. At Acre, the Genoese obtained a street and many privileges in return for the aid of their fleet in the siege (Will. Tyr. p. 791); the Pisans, by treaty with Tancred, were rewarded in like manner for their services to the state of Antioch, with the property of a street both in that capital and in Laodicea (Muratori, *Antiq. Ital. Med. Ævi*, Diss. 30); the Venetians, in addition to their settlement at Tyre, received by stipulation a church and street at Jerusalem; and throughout the Christian possessions in Palestine and Syria generally, the three republics contended, often with bloodshed, for the right of establishing places of exchange, and enjoying the common or exclusive privileges of trade. Sabellicus, *Hist. Venet.* dec. i. lib. vi. Marini, *Storia Civ. e Polit. del Commercio de' Veneziani*, vol. iii. lib. i. cap. 4-6, &c.

[2] Albert. p. 365-377. Fulcher. p. 423-440. Will. Tyr. p. 805-846, *passim.*

ciples of a feudal settlement, with all the subdivisions and conditions of tenure which belonged to that martial polity. Its adoption was suggested[1] not more by every feeling and custom of the age which the conquerors had brought with them from Europe, than by the obvious necessity of such a state of perpetual preparation for the public defence against the incessant assaults of their Infidel enemies; and it is almost needless to repeat, that under no other form of settlement, probably, could the Latin conquests have been preserved by the scanty array of their resident defenders in so unremitting a warfare with the myriads of Turkish and Egyptian Musulmans. At its highest computation, indeed, the feudal force of the kingdom of Jerusalem would appear very inadequate to its protection. The four great fiefs of Jaffa, Galilee, Cæsarea, and Tripoli, with the royal cities of Jerusalem, Tyre, Acre, and Naplousa, and the other lordships in chief of inferior extent, which composed the whole kingdom, owed and could furnish the services of no more than two thousand five hundred knights or mounted men-at-arms; and their followers, with the contingent of the ecclesiastical and commercial communities, all of which were bound to render aid to the king on lower feudal tenures than the knights' fees, constituted a militia, for the greater part probably of archers on foot, not exceeding twelve thousand in number.[2] It may be in-

[1] The institution of the feudal code of Jerusalem dates from the first year of the Latin conquest, and its compilation was directed by Godfrey de Bouillon himself; who, with the advice of the patriarch and barons, appointed several commissioners among the crusaders most learned in the feudal statutes and customs of Europe to frame a body of similar laws for the new kingdom. Their digest was solemnly accepted in a general assembly of prelates and barons; and under the title of the *Assises de Jérusalem*, became thenceforth the recognised code of the Latin state. The original instrument, which was deposited in the Holy Sepulchre, and revised and considerably enlarged by the legislation of succeeding reigns, is said to have been lost at the capture of Jerusalem by Saladin: but during the last agony of the expiring state, the provisions of the code, which had been preserved by traditionary and customary authority, were again collected in a written form, A.D. 1250, by Jean d'Ibelin, Count of Jaffa, one of the four great barons of the kingdom; and a second and final revision was prepared in Cyprus, A.D. 1369, by sixteen commissioners, for the use of the Latin kingdom in that island. From a MS. of this Cypriot version, in the Vatican library, was published at Paris, A.D. 1690, by Thaumassière, the edition of the *Assises de Jérusalem*, to which we are indebted for our acquaintance with this "precious monument," as a great writer has justly termed it, "of feudal jurisprudence." But for the history of the Code, see *Assises de Jérusalem apud* Thaumassière, *Preface*. Consult also Gibbon, xi. 91-98 for a summary, and L'Esprit des Croisades, iv. 484.

[2] Gibbon (ch. lviii.) has fallen into an error in estimating the number of knights' fees in the whole kingdom of Jerusalem, exclusive of Tripoli, as six hundred and sixty-six, and appears to have confounded the contingent of the four royal cities, which alone, according to the *Assises*, furnished that number, with the total knightly array of the realm. He cites Sanutus, indeed, (*Secreta Fidelium Crucis*, lib. iii.) as stating the number of knights' fees in each of the great baronies of Jaffa, Galilee, and Cæsarea, at one hundred only, but the very superior authority of the *Assises* rates them expressly at five hundred each. *Assises*, c. 324-331.

ferred, that the whole population of martial colonists from Europe could scarcely supply even this provision, scanty as it was, for the public defence; and the policy or the domestic wants of the conquerors encouraged the settlement in Palestine of the native Christians of Syria and Armenia, and even of Musulman tributaries for the cultivation of the soil and the supply of mechanical labour. From the commingling of blood between the crusaders and all these people in the enfeebling climate of the East, was produced a spurious and effeminate race, contemptuously designated by the writers of their age as *Pullani*, or *Poulains*, who had so utterly degenerated from the valour of their European fathers, as to fill the land without contributing to the strength of the state.[1]

But the feudal army of the kingdom of Jerusalem, and the casual reinforcement of new crusaders from Europe, formed not the only defences of Palestine. The union of fanatical and martial ardour gave birth to two famous orders of religious chivalry, which were specially enrolled under the banners of the Cross; and the Christian cause in the East was long sustained by the emulous valour, though not unfrequently injured by the less worthy rivalry, of the Knights of the Hospital of St John and of the Temple of Solomon. The origin of both these remarkable institutions, which rose to celebrity by martial achievement, may be traced to purposes simply of pious and practical benevolence. Long before the era of the Crusades, some Italian merchants purchased a license from the Musulman rulers of Jerusalem to found in that city an hospital, together with a chapel, which they dedicated to St John the Eleemosynary—a canonized patriarch of Alexandria—for the relief and wayfaring entertainment of sick and poor pilgrims. By the alms of the wealthier Christian visitants of the Sepulchre, and by charitable contributions which the merchants of Amalfi zealously collected in Italy, and as religiously transmitted to Jerusalem, the establishment was supported; and its duties were performed by a few Benedictine monks, with the aid of such lay brethren among the European pilgrims as were induced to extend their penitential vows to a protracted residence in the Holy Land.[2] Perhaps through the habitual respect of the Mohammedan mind for charitable foundations, the Hospital of St John might escape, but certainly it was suffered to outlive, the storms of Egyptian and Turkish persecution; and when Jerusalem fell into the hands of the crusaders, the house was joyfully opened for the reception and cure of the wounded warriors. The pious Godfrey and his companions were edified by the active and self-denying benevolence of the brethren of the hospital, who not only devoted themselves to the care of the suffering, but were

Institution of the Order of St John of Jerusalem, 15th Feb. 1113.

[1] Vide Du Cange, *Gloss. v. Pullani.*
[2] Will. Tyr. p. 934, 935.

contented with the coarsest fare, while their patients were supplied with bread of the purest flour. By the grateful munificence of Godfrey himself, the hospital was endowed with an estate in Brabant, its first foreign possession; many of the crusaders, from religious motives, embraced its charitable service; and the Society speedily acquired so much respect and importance, that the lay-members, separating from the monks of the Chapel of St John the Almoner, formed themselves into a distinct community, assumed a religious habit,—a long black mantle with a white cross of eight points on the left breast—and placed their hospital under the higher patronage of St John the Baptist. By the patriarch of Jerusalem, their triple monastic vows of obedience, chastity, and poverty, were accepted; and a bull of Pope Paschal II. confirmed the institution, received the fraternity under the special protection of the Holy See, and invested it with many valuable privileges.[1]

A.D. 1113.

The next transition of the Order to a military character is less accurately recorded; but the change may be referred in general terms to the reign of Baldwin II.: since the services in arms of its brethren under that prince are acknowledged in a papal bull.[2] In fact, the constant jeopardy in which the Latin State was placed by the assaults of the Infidels admitted, as we have seen, of no exemption to any community in the kingdom, whether lay or ecclesiastical, from actively contributing to the public defence; and the martial habits and feelings of the crusaders of knightly rank who had enrolled themselves in the fraternity of the Hospital, would naturally suggest the honourable preference of a personal to a deputed service. The revenues of the Order, by the increase of its endowments, were already far more than sufficient to supply the charitable uses of the Hospital; and it was magnanimously resolved to devote the surplus to the defence of the state. The former soldiers of the Cross resumed their military, without discarding their religious garb and profession; the union of chivalric and religious sentiment, however discordant in modern ideas, was equally congenial to the spirit of the age, and proper to the great cause of the Crusades; and thenceforth the banner and the battle-cry of the knights of St John were seen and heard foremost and loudest in every encounter with the Paynim enemy. The government of the Order was vested in the grand-master and general council of the knights, all of whom were required to be of noble birth; a distinct body of regular clergy was provided for the offices of religion; and a third and inferior class of sergeants, or serving brethren, both swelled the martial array of the knightly fraternity, and discharged

[1] See the Statutes of the Order in Vertot, *Hist. des Chevaliers de St Jean de Jérusalem. Appendix.*

[2] *Ibid.*

the civil duties of the Hospital.[1] The renown which the Order acquired in the fields of Palestine soon attracted the nobility from all parts of Europe to its standard; admiration of both its pious and chivalric purposes multiplied, throughout the West, endowments of land and donations of money; and the rents of nineteen thousand farms, administered by preceptories or commanderies, as the principal houses were termed, which the knights established in every Christian country, supplied a perpetual revenue to their hospital in Palestine, and served to maintain its regular military force.[2]

The institution of the Order of the Temple of Solomon was of later date than the adoption of a military character by the friars of St John; and the Templars in their pristine state of humility and poverty owed more obligations to the Hospitallers, by whom they were originally fed and clothed, than their successors, in the days of their pride and power, cared to acknowledge or strove to repay. The original design of their association differed from that of the Hospital, in having united from the outset the martial with a charitable profession. Even after the conquest of the Holy Land by the crusaders, the roads to Jerusalem from the ports and northern frontiers of Palestine continued to be infested by bands of Turks, who indulged at once their thirst of plunder and their hatred of the Christian name, by the robbery and murder of the numerous defenceless pilgrims from Europe. The dangers which beset these poor votaries to the shrine of the Holy Sepulchre from the cruelty of the Infidels, roused the pious compassion and chivalric indignation of Geoffroy de St Aldemar, Hugh de Payens, and other French knights in Palestine, who bound themselves mutually by oath to devote their lives to the relief and safe conduct of all pilgrims. As their association partook of a religious character, they followed the example of the fraternity of the Hospital by assuming the monastic vows and garb; and when Baldwin I. marked his approbation of their purpose by assigning them part of his own palace for a residence at Jerusalem, the title which they adopted of the poor soldiery of Christ and of the Temple of Solomon, was suggested by the contiguity of their quarters to the site of that sacred edifice. The maintenance which they at first received from the charity of the Hospital of St John was soon more independently provided by the respect which was won for their Order throughout Christendom through the grateful report of the pilgrims; with the increase of their means and numbers they aspired to extend their humbler service of guarding the roads of Palestine to the more glorious adventure of offensive warfare against the Infidels; and, thenceforth, in wealth, privileges, and power, and in heroic enterprise, the history of their rise differs little from that of

A. D. 1118.

[1] Vertot *ubi suprà.* [2] Mathew Paris, *Hist. Major.* p. 544.

the Hospitallers. The constitution of the two Orders was similar; and the number of preceptories and estates possessed by the Templars in every kingdom of Europe,[1] were immense sources of influence and opulence, second only in degree to those of the elder fraternity.[2] But in honourable estimation and martial renown, no superiority could with justice be claimed by either Order; and admission into the ranks of both was sought with equal avidity by the flower of the European chivalry. In externals, the knights of the Temple were distinguished from their rivals by their use of a long white cloak or mantle, with a straight red cross on the left breast. The banner and seal of the Order in the maturity of its splendour also bore a cross gules in a field argent: for its earlier and well-known device, presenting the singular emblem of two men on one horse, although intended by the pious humility of its founders to commemorate the original poverty of the brotherhood, was not long permitted to survive the condition which it had expressed.[3]

During the reign of Baldwin II. the safety and extension of the kingdom of Palestine were largely indebted to the prowess of the knights of the Hospital and Temple: and before the decease of that monarch, the two Orders had become the most powerful champions of the Latin power. As Baldwin II. had no sons, he obtained the consent of his nobles and prelates to nominate, as his successor, Foulques Count of Anjou, whom he had married to his eldest daughter Melisinda. In his youth, Foulques had visited A. D. 1131. Palestine as a crusader, at the head of one hundred knights and men-at-arms, and had left so favourable an opinion of his chivalric qualities on the mind of Baldwin that, nine years afterwards, when he had become a widower, the king invited him from France to receive the hand of the princess. Dazzled by the prospect of a royal alliance and a matrimonial crown, the Count abandoned his extensive French fiefs to his son;[4] and on his arrival in the Holy Land, his nuptials with Melisinda were solemnized, and he was im-

[1] In England, both Orders early acquired large possessions. The principal preceptory of each was established in London: that of the Hospitallers at Clerkenwell, and of the Templars in Holborn, whence it was removed into Fleet Street. Stow, lib. iv. p. 62. Dugdale, *Origines Jurid.* c. 57.

[2] Both Hospitallers and Templars were prohibited from possessing any private property; but their vow of poverty, by a convenient interpretation, was only personal, and did not extend to their enjoying in common the enormous wealth of their Orders.

[3] For the rise of the Order of Templars see, *passim*, the XIIth book of William of Tyre. Also Knyghton, p. 2382, Brompton, p. 1008, and Matt. Paris (*Hist. Minor.*) p. 419, &c.

[4] That son was Geoffroy Plantagenet, the husband of the Empress Matilda, and father of our Henry II. It is strange that William of Tyre, the eulogist of Foulques, should represent him as sixty years of age when he arrived in Palestine for the second time to celebrate his nuptials with Melisinda; for the learned Benedictine authors of *L'Art de vérifier les Dates* (Article Comtes d'Anjou) prove that he was

mediately acknowledged as the heir to the throne. The death of Baldwin, which shortly ensued, gave him the undisputed possession of the crown; and during a reign of thirteen years Foulques, without performing any brilliant achievement, sufficiently emulated the courage and virtues of his predecessors in the defence and government of the kingdom. His decease left the state in the hands of his widow Melisinda, and their son Baldwin III., then only thirteen years old, who were crowned together; and it was soon after the martial sceptre of the house of Bouillon had thus devolved upon a woman and a minor, that the Christian power in the East received the first disastrous shock from the Musulman arms. Since the death of Joscelyn de Courtenay, the defence of the principality of Edessa had been feebly sustained by his son, who inherited neither his valour nor ability. But its safety was more fatally compromised by the selfish indifference or still more criminal treachery of the princes of Antioch, who coolly witnessed the danger of a state which, by its position beyond the Euphrates, formed the great advanced post of the Latin settlements in Syria; and which, therefore, every motive of honour and policy should have impelled them to succour. Profiting by the disunion of the Christians, Zenghi, the Turkish Emir of Mosul or Aleppo, whose martial activity and skill had already rendered his power formidable during the life of Joscelyn de Courtenay, suddenly entered the State of Edessa with an overwhelming force; laid siege to its capital; and before the levies of the kingdom of Jerusalem could march to its relief, took the city by storm.[1]

A. D. 1144.

The intelligence of the fall of Edessa startled the Christian residents in Palestine from lethargic indifference to an alarming discovery of the renovation of the Turkish power on that frontier; and the first burst of shame and consternation excited among the guardians of the Holy Land by the disgraceful loss and impending danger, was naturally followed by earnest solicitations for succour from Europe. Throughout every country of Western Christendom, the appeal was received with a general enthusiasm little inferior to that which, half a century before, had stimulated the great design of the first Crusade. The martial and religious feelings of Europe were provoked to indignation by the report of the triumph of the Infidels; and this universal spirit was already

A. D. 1145.

born only A. D. 1092; and his reign in Palestine commenced A.D. 1131. His family had long been famous for their passion of making pilgrimages to the Holy Land; and one of them, who travelled thither before the era of the Crusades, having bound his servants by oath to do whatsoever he should require, compelled them publicly to scourge his naked back before the altar of the Sepulchre, while in penitential cries he implored the pardon of Heaven for his sins. Malmsbury, p. 307.

[1] Will. Tyr. p. 844-893. For the exploits of Zenghi, see also De Guignes, *Hist. Gén. des Huns*, vol. ii. lib. xiii., and the Arabic writers therein abridged.

prepared for a second mighty effort of fanaticism, when it was roused into action by the master mind of the age. The report of the calamity which had befallen, and of the increasing perils which threatened, the Christian cause in Palestine, affected his ardent temper with powerful emotions of religious zeal; and his resolution to preach a new Crusade was supported by the private friendship and the public wishes of Pope Eugenius III., as well as by the respect and influence which his virtues and talents had deservedly acquired throughout Europe. Not less than the distinguished part which he had already filled in ecclesiastical affairs, do the nobility of his birth, the uniform sanctity of his life, and the really great attainments of his genius and learning, place him at an immeasurable height of personal dignity above the obscure and ignorant fanatic who had first lighted up the flame which he now rekindled. But St Bernard could only emulate the successful mission, though he might slight the memory,[1] of the Hermit Peter; the empassioned oratory of the profound theologian could not produce more astonishing results than the rude eloquence of the Solitary of Amiens; and in the relation of its effects, the preaching of the second Crusade forms but a copy of that of the first.

THE SECOND CRUSADE, 1146.

Louis VII. of France, by his firmness in repressing the rebellious feuds of his turbulent vassals, had securely established the royal authority; and the tranquil condition of his kingdom left him at liberty to gratify, in a foreign and sacred enterprise, the thirst of glorious adventure natural to a young and successful monarch. But even the strong desire of chivalrous achievement was secondary in the mind of this religious prince to motives of piety, however mistaken; and feelings of deeply cherished remorse for his involuntary share in the horrible catastrophe at Vitry, and of less reasonable compunction for a long disregard of the Papal anathemas, powerfully impelled Louis to offer that atonement, which a false superstition deemed most acceptable to heaven, by embarking in the great warfare against the Infidel assailants of the Holy Land. When, therefore, St Bernard announced his mission, it was eagerly promoted by the French king; and in the great assembly of his nobles and people which he convoked at Vezelay, the same spectacle was repeated, which had been witnessed at the Council of Clermont before the First Crusade. From the innumerable multitudes which filled the plain and covered the neighbouring heights of Vezelay to their summit, cries of "the Cross, the Cross! it is

[1] In one of his extant epistles, St Bernard speaks contemptuously of his predecessor the Hermit, as *vir quidam, Petrus nomine, cujus et vos (ni fallor), sæpe mentionem audistis, &c.;* (a certain man, by name Peter, of whom, if I mistake not, ye have often heard mention made) and attributes to his misconduct the destruction of the people in the first Crusade. *Opera Sancti Bernardi, Ep.* 363. Ed. Mabillon, Venet. A. D. 1750.

the will of God!" rent the air and interrupted the vehement appeal of the preacher; and before the assembly broke up, Louis himself, with his Queen, the too famous Eleanor of Aquitaine, and a host of the nobility and knighthood of his realm, had been signed with the sacred emblem of their vows. From France, St Bernard with indefatigable zeal proceeded into Germany; and his course from the Rhine to the Danube, and from the recesses of the Swiss mountains to the plains of Northern Italy, was everywhere signalised by the same successful exertions of his fervid zeal and impetuous eloquence. At his soul-stirring exhortations, the great feudatory princes of Bavaria, Bohemia, Carinthia, Piedmont, and Styria, with a crowd of inferior chieftains, assumed the Cross; and the conversion of the Emperor Conrad III., after some struggle between the sense of political interest and of religious duty, completed the triumph of the pious orator.[1]

St Bernard preaching the Sacred Crusade at Vezelay in Bourgoyne, 31st March 1146.

The personal motives of St Bernard were disinterested, pure, and elevated: his zeal was equally free from all alloy of gross fanaticism, selfish ambition, or worldly vanity; and its mistaken direction was the only error which he shared with the most virtuous and devout of his contemporaries. But the intrinsic greatness of his mind is not the less perceptible through this fatal delusion; and in nothing is his superiority to the spirit of the age in which he lived more conspicuous, than in the wisdom and humanity which tempered his enthusiasm. The first of these qualities was signally displayed in his refusal to accept the command of the intended expedition to the Holy Land, as a station which he felt and confessed his own unfitness to fill from want of martial experience and bodily health. His humane exertions to avert from the Jews in France a repetition of the horrid persecution which their fathers had suffered from the fanaticism of the first crusaders, attest his liberality, and were extended to the protection of that unhappy people, with earnest and consistent benevolence, in Germany and other countries. He sternly silenced, by the exertion of his delegated authority from the Pope, the preaching of a fanatical German monk, who had endeavoured to provoke a general massacre of the Jews; and his injunctions in circular letters to the crusaders to abstain equally from the murder and spoliation of an unoffending people, breathe the genuine Christian precepts of mercy and jus-

[1] Odo de Diagolo (*apud* Bouquet, *Recueil des Hist. François*), vol. xii. p. 91—93. Otto Frisingensis (*apud* Muratori, *Script. Rer. Ital.*) vol. vi. c. 37. These two writers, the first a Frenchman, and the latter a German, who himself accompanied the emperor Conrad to Palestine, form—together with the anonymous author of the *Gesta Ludovici Regis VII.* (in Duchesne, vol. iv.)—our chief contemporary authorities for the transactions of their respective countrymen in the Second Crusade.

tice. The doctrines thus inculcated, indeed, were so new to his age, that fully to appreciate the virtuous and truly pious efforts of St Bernard in his labour of charity, they must be contrasted with the monstrous opinion then prevalent among all orders of society, that to shed the blood and despoil the wealth of Infidels was an allowable vengeance, and even a positive duty, against the enemies of God. The practical application of this inhuman and impious belief to the plunder and slaughter of a rich, usurious, and defenceless race, offered too tempting a prey to the cupidity of the bigoted populace and the yet more malignant instigation of numerous debtors, to be wholly averted even by the eloquent and powerful denunciations of the preacher whose voice had awakened all Europe to arms. Notwithstanding the anathemas of St Bernard, the Jews were in many places robbed and murdered; and in Germany especially they were saved from extermination only by the imperial protection.[1]

The presence of Louis VII. and of the Emperor Conrad III.—the first great monarchs of the West who had assumed the Cross—seemed to invest the great enterprise in which they had engaged with a dignity superior even to that of the former Crusade. The armies which the two sovereigns prepared to lead to the relief of Palestine comprised the national chivalry of France and Germany, with numerous auxiliaries from England[2] and Italy; and if the statements of contemporary writers may be credited, these united forces equalled in number the prodigious hosts of the first Holy War. The Emperor and the king were each at the head of seventy thousand mailed cavalry; their heavily-armed infantry exceeded two hundred and fifty thousand; and the clergy, other defenceless pilgrims, camp followers, women, and children, might swell the aggregate of the crusading multitudes to nearly a million of souls.[3] From Ratisbon and Mayence, their places of rendezvous, both the German and French armies successively pursued the same route through Hungary and Bulgaria to Constantinople, which had been traversed by their predecessors in the first Crusade. Manuel Comnenus, grandson of Alexius, was now on the Byzantine throne: but the timid and treacherous policy of that court was unchangeable; and in the apparent friendship and secret hostility with which the Greek Emperor alternately assisted and harassed the march of the crusaders, he faithfully copied the example of his ancestor. He

A. D. 1147.

[1] Pfeffel, *Hist. d'Allemagne*, vol. i. p. 309.

[2] The recent cessation of the civil wars of Stephen's reign induced many of the English nobility to assume the Cross, and among them Roger de Mowbray and William de Warenne. Ricardus Hagulst. p. 275, 276. Huntingdon, p. 394, also says that *multi de gente Anglorum*, (many Englishmen), accompanied the French host; and his account is curiously confirmed by the Byzantine Chronicler Cinnamus, p. 29.

[3] Will. Tyr. p. 902. Cinnamus, p. 31, and the authorities cited in Du Cange (*ad Cinnamum.*)

engaged by treaty, that they should be received hospitably, and supplied with provisions upon equitable terms: yet, in the bread which his subjects sold to them, poisonous ingredients were frequently mingled; base coin was issued expressly from the imperial mint to defraud the strangers in the interchange of trade; the sick whom the crusading hosts were obliged to leave behind on their march were often murdered; their stragglers were cut off; the bridges on their route were broken down; their columns were galled with flights of arrows from ambush in every forest; and all the impediments of a desultory though unavowed warfare were cowardly opposed to their progress. When therefore the German army thus harassed arrived before the walls of Constantinople, Conrad, though he abstained from hostile retaliation, indignantly refused an interview with the Greek emperor, and crossing the Bosphorus, pursued his march through Asia Minor. But the French king, on his arrival at the Byzantine capital, accepted the apologies and entertainment of Manuel, and suffered himself to be beguiled by the blandishments of his perfidious host, until he was roused from inaction by the appalling intelligence of the destruction of the German army.[1]

In the march through Asia Minor, the Emperor Conrad was betrayed by his Greek guides into the hands of the Sultan of Iconium, who had assembled immense hordes of Turcomans to oppose his passage. While purposely misled into the most dangerous mountain passes of Lycaonia, the Germans were suddenly attacked on all sides; and the heavily armed chivalry were unable either to reach their more lightly equipped assailants on the heights, or to protect the defenceless crowd of footmen from the Turkish arrows. By a desperate effort Conrad succeeded, indeed, with a portion of his horse, in cutting a retreat through the Musulman hordes: but he was compelled to abandon the infantry and unarmed pilgrims to their fate; and nine-tenths of the whole German host are computed to have been destroyed by the shafts and scimitars of the Infidels, or to have perished of hunger and thirst in this calamitous expedition. When Conrad, with the remnant of his followers, had effected his retreat to Nice, where the French king, after crossing the Bosphorus, had established his camp, no doubt was left of the foul treachery of Manuel, who had not only delayed the advance of Louis by false reports of the success of his German confederates, but was also found to have maintained an intelligence with the Sultan of Iconium. As the Greek emperor is charged with this guilt, not merely by the Latin writers, but on the contemporary testimony of one of his own subjects,[2] some praise is due to the magnanimous or prudent forbearance which induced the crusading monarchs to sacrifice every natural im-

[1] Will. Tyr. p. 901-903. Cinnamus, p. 30–32.
[2] Nicetas, p. 33.

pulse of vengeance, to the fulfilment of the sacred objects of their enterprise. Now advancing in concert through Asia Minor, but turning aside from the former route of the crusaders to the sea-coast of Lydia, Conrad and Louis reached Ephesus with their forces: but there the destitution of equipments for a longer march, to which his Germans had been reduced by their defeat, obliged Conrad to transport them by sea to Palestine; and the French army alone resumed its route by land. On the banks of the Meander, Louis and his chivalry encountered and overthrew the Turkish hosts with so tremendous a slaughter, that piles of Musulman bones in the next age still whitened the scene of destruction. But the confidence inspired by this victory served only to lure on the negligent crusaders to their ruin. In their continued march, the vanguard had already passed the mountains between Pisidia and Phrygia, when the rereward commanded by Louis in person, while entangled in the defiles, was suddenly assailed by innumerable swarms of Turks, who, covering the surrounding precipices, from thence, with fragments of rock, crushed and hurled whole squadrons of the French gens-d'armerie into the yawning gulfs below. The surprise was so complete and dreadful, that the whole rearguard was routed and destroyed before order could be restored; and the king himself, after performing prodigies of valour, was saved only, under favour of the darkness, by climbing a tree, and with difficulty escaped, almost unattended, to the camp of the vanguard. After this disaster, the hope of penetrating into Syria by land was abandoned; the sea-coast was again sought; and the army reached the port of Attalia in Pamphylia. There, after incurring new horrors and losses from famine and disease, the king succeeded in procuring some Greek vessels to transport his bands of nobles and knights to Antioch: but he was reluctantly compelled, by the want of sufficient shipping, to abandon the inferior crowd of infantry and pilgrims on the shore. After his departure, the guard which he had left for their protection, proved insufficient to resist the incessant attacks of the Turks; the people of Attalia not only shut the gates of the city against them, but massacred the defenceless sick and wounded; and the whole wretched multitude perished, either by the swords of the Infidels, or the more unnatural cruelty of the perfidious Greeks.[1]

When the German emperor and the French king had at last reached the shores of Palestine by sea, even the shattered remnants of their hosts supplied so considerable a reinforcement to the Christian power in Palestine, that in a general council at Acre, whither the two monarchs repaired to meet the king of Jerusalem and his barons, it was resolved to undertake some enterprise worthy of the imperial and royal dignity. But though the recovery of the princi-

[1] Will. Tyr. p. 903-906. *Gesta Ludovici*, p. 395-400. Nicetas, p. 33-37.

pality of Edessa had formed the original design of the Crusade, that object was now either abandoned from conviction of the difficulties attending so distant an expedition, or postponed to more pressing considerations of immediate danger or local interest. The vicinity of Damascus rendered the continued possession of that important place by the Infidels more perilous to the safety of the Latin kingdom than the loss of the remoter city of Edessa; and the three sovereigns of Germany, France, and Jerusalem, led their national chivalry and the Knights of St John and the Temple, to the siege of that great stronghold of the Turkish power in Syria. But Damascus was strongly fortified and skilfully defended; the valour of the Christians was misdirected by ignorance, or paralyzed by discord and treason; and after a miserable failure, variously attributed to all these causes, the crusading army withdrew from the walls, and retreated in shame and dishonour to Jerusalem. Thence, in despair of the efficacy of further exertions, Conrad and Louis, with an interval of a year between their several departures, both returned to Europe with the broken array of the chivalry; and the Christian cause in Palestine was again deserted, save by the scanty bands but enduring courage of its habitual defenders.[1]

Such was the abortive issue of the second Crusade. The mightiest efforts of the congregated force of Europe had been exhausted in Asia Minor; and the presence of the greatest monarchs of Christendom in Palestine had served only to expose the weakness of their vaunted power to the eyes of the triumphant Infidels. The sacrifice of the myriads of their followers had absolutely failed to achieve a single advantage for the cause in which two great armies had perished; and after the fruitless hopes of succour which had been excited by their approach, and disappointed by their failure, the guardians of the Holy Sepulchre were abandoned to sustain the tempest of Musulman warfare with diminished confidence and increasing danger. Meanwhile, from the distant banks of the Euphrates, the gathering power which had already swept away the Christian bulwark of Edessa, and was destined eventually to overwhelm the Latin kingdom of Palestine, was continually enlarged with portentous vigour. Before the death of Zenghi, the victorious Emir or Atabec[2] of Aleppo, his dominions had already swelled into a considerable empire; and, by its still further extension under his son, the great Noureddin, who added the sovereignty of Damascus to that of Aleppo, and consolidated the Musulman power in Syria under a single ruler, the frontiers of the Latin States became completely enveloped by the conquests of this formidable enemy.[3]

A. D. 1149.

[1] Will. Tyr. p. 906–914. *Gesta Ludovici*, p. 401-409. Otto Fris. c. 40-47, &c.

[2] This title, signifying father or protector of the sovereign, seems to have been extorted by the Turkish chieftains from their nominal lords, but real slaves, the Khalifs of Bagdad. D'Herbelot, *Bib. Orientale*. Art. *Atabec*.

[3] De Guignes, lib. xiii.

CHAPTER VII.

THE THIRD CRUSADE.

NOTWITHSTANDING the failure of the second Crusade, and the increasing power of the Turks, Baldwin III., supported by the feudal array of his kingdom, and the knights of the military orders, continued throughout the remainder of his reign to uphold the Christian cause in Palestine with courage and energy. In order to protect the northern frontiers of the Latin States from the designs of Noureddin, the king stationed himself at Antioch; and though unable to save the remnant of the Edessene territory, he succeeded in rescuing the Christian garrisons and inhabitants under a safe escort from the impending horrors of Turkish slavery. Being recalled from Antioch to repel a new invasion, in which the troops of Noureddin from Damascus had penetrated to the gates of Jerusalem, he came up with the Infidels, who had already been compelled to retreat by the bravery of the military Orders; and inflicted on them, near Jericho, so total a defeat, that the whole Turkisk host was either slaughtered or drowned in the waters of the Jordan. On the southern frontiers of Palestine, the arms of the Christian prince were subsequently still more successful against the Egyptian Musulmans; and his reduction of the important city of Ascalon, after an obstinate siege, added a new possession and bulwark to the king-
A. D. 1153. dom of Jerusalem. By these exploits, and by the generous spirit with which he devoted his last years to the active defence of his people, Baldwin redeemed the reproach of some irregularities of personal conduct which had clouded his youth; without any high degree of ability, his character was graced by many noble and chivalric qualities; and he died respected even by his Infidel enemies, and deeply lamented by his own subjects.[1] As he left no children, he was succeeded by his brother Almeric, whose equal mediocrity of talent was unrelieved by the same virtues, and whose temper presented an unpleasing contrast of avarice and overweening ambition. By these passions, the new king, disregarding
A. D. 1162. the pressure of nearer and more imminent danger from the power of Noureddin, was tempted to engage in repeated projects for the distant conquest of Egypt, which, as fruitlessly exhausting the

[1] Will. Tyr. p. 915–954. De Guignes, lib. xiii.

strength of the Christian kingdom, may be numbered among the accelerating causes of its downfal.

Obeying the usual vicissitudes of the Saracen dynasties, the Fatimite Khalifs of Egypt had for many generations sunken into abject slavery to their own Vizirs; and at the period before us, the supreme authority in the Seraglio of Cairo was disputed between two powerful rivals, Shawer and Dargham. The latter prevailing, Shawer fled to the court of Noureddin; and that prince, glad of any occasion for extending his influence, openly protected the fugitive, and despatched a body of troops under Shiracouch, the most famous of his Turcoman generals, into Egypt, to reinstate him in the Vizirship. The expedition was successful; Dargham was slain in battle; but Shawer, in nominally recovering his power over the helpless Khalif of Egypt, found that he was only himself a slave to the lieutenant of Noureddin. To rid himself of this new yoke, the Egyptian Vizir had recourse to the king of Jerusalem; and Almeric, who had already engaged in hostilities to exact a tribute from Egypt, eagerly received his overtures. The power of Noureddin was far superior to that of the Frankish monarch: but the proximity of Palestine to Egypt enabled the Christian forces to reach Cairo by a direct march from their own frontiers; while from Damascus the interposition of the Latin States would oblige the Turkish cavalry to make a long circuit over the burning deserts of Arabia. This advantage of situation made it easy for the king of Jerusalem, on the invitation of Shawer, to march an army into Egypt, and to besiege Shiracouch in Pelusium, before Noureddin was able to succour his lieutenant. After a long and gallant defence, the Turkish general was compelled to capitulate: but Noureddin meanwhile had made a formidable diversion by pouring his troops into the territory of Antioch; and Almeric, thus prevented from reaping the fruits of his victory, returned by rapid marches to the defence of the Latin State. At his approach, Noureddin made an artful demonstration of retiring: but his retreat was only the prelude to a sudden attack upon the exulting and negligent forces of Almeric; and the Christians, before they could recover from their surprise, were routed near Artesia with immense loss. After this ominous event, the severest defeat in the open field which the Christian forces in Palestine had sustained since their conquest of Jerusalem, Noureddin was at leisure to resume his designs upon Egypt; and the veteran Shiracouch was ordered to lead a second and more numerous army into that country. But Almeric, stimulated by ambition and avarice, had made such vigorous efforts to repair the disaster of Artesia, that he again appeared on the Egyptian frontiers with a chosen body of the Christian chivalry, before Shiracouch had reached the banks of the Nile. The Turkish army was exhausted by a calamitous march

A. D. 1163.

across the desert; the Christian knights were fresh and vigorous, and their valour and energy, though feebly supported by their Egyptian allies, triumphed over the superior military skill of Shiracouch. After a campaign in which the ability of the Turkish general was admirably displayed, he was a second time obliged to conclude a capitulation with Almeric and the Vizir Shawer, by which he engaged to evacuate Egypt; and both the Christian and Turkish armies returned to their own states.[1]

A. D. 1167.

The cupidity of the king of Jerusalem was, however, after so successful an expedition, more than ever attracted by the wealth and defenceless condition of Egypt; and obtaining, through a family alliance which he had at this epoch concluded with the Greek emperor, Manuel Comnenus, the promised aid of the Byzantine navy, he resolved to attempt the total subjugation of the country which he had protected from the Turks. A pretence for this aggression was found or framed on the report of a secret negotiation between the Vizir Shawer and Noureddin; and Almeric, drawing together one of the most numerous and best appointed armies which had ever been assembled under the Christian banners in Palestine, suddenly crossed the Egyptian frontiers, attacked Pelusium, sacked that city with horrible cruelty, and from thence advanced to the gates of Cairo. But his perfidy and the ferocious conduct of his followers roused the unwarlike Egyptians to desperation; and while the people of Cairo prepared for a vigorous defence, and implored the distant aid of their ancient Turkish enemies for their deliverance, the Vizir Shawer baited the avarice of the king of Jerusalem by the gift of an hundred thousand pieces of gold, and the promise of nine times that amount as the price of peace. The greedy Almeric suffered himself to be amused by these negotiations, until Shiracouch with a large army appeared on the frontiers, and the crafty Vizir then throwing off the mask, joined the Turks with his troops, and recommenced hostilities. The Christian army was now unable to cope with the united forces of the Egyptian and Syrian Moslems; the Greek emperor had failed in rendering the promised co-operation of his navy: and the king of Jerusalem closed his iniquitous scheme of conquest by a disgraceful retreat into Palestine. But the Egyptian Vizir immediately fell a victim to his own tortuous policy. For, now jealous of the influence which the victorious Turk had acquired over the feeble mind of the Khalif, he conspired against the life of so dangerous a rival; and Shiracouch, anticipating his treachery, caused him to be seized and put to death, and himself to be invested with the dignity of Vizir.[2]

[1] Will. Tyr. p. 955-974. De Guignes, lib. xiii.
[2] Will. Tyr. p. 974-980.

The new ruler of Egypt survived his elevation only two months; and his death prepared the rise of his nephew, the famous Sallah-u-deen or Saladin. This scourge of the Christian fortunes in Palestine had attended his uncle in all his expeditions into Egypt; and in the second of those campaigns had particularly distinguished himself by a skilful and resolute, though unsuccessful, defence of Alexandria. But the political genius and ambition of the young Curdish chieftain had remained concealed from the world, and perhaps from himself, in the pursuit of licentious pleasures; and on the death of Shiracouch, when the haughty pretensions of elder leaders to the vizirship alarmed the jealousy of the feeble Khalif of Egypt, the apparent weakness of Saladin induced that sovereign to nominate him to the vacant dignity. If the disgust and disaffection of the disappointed Emirs at first rendered Saladin the powerless servant of the Khalif, his skilful use of the royal treasures soon purchased for him the return, and won the affections of his former rivals; and the new vizir, from the minister, easily became the master of the Khalif, and the real lord of Egypt. A single bold measure, favoured by the mortal illness of the Khalif Adhed, was now sufficient to complete the Turkish conquest of that country. One of the followers of Saladin, taking possession of the principal pulpit of Cairo, substituted the name of the Khalif of Bagdad for that of the Egyptian sovereign in the public prayers, as the true commander of the faithful; the people from indifference or fear silently acquiesced in the change; and the green emblems of the sect of Ali were everywhere displaced by the black ensigns of the Abassidan tenets. The natural death of Adhed, who expired in ignorance of the event, in a few days completed this great political and religious revolution, by which the Fatimite dynasty of Egypt was extinguished, and that country, after a schism of two centuries, was restored to the orthodox communion of Islamism. The Abassidan Khalif of Bagdad, whose dignity as the spiritual chief of that faith was still revered, and whose nominal functions of temporal sovereignty were dictated by his Turkish masters, was made to sanctify the usurpation of Saladin, as the vizir of the Sultan of Damascus in Egypt; and as long as Noureddin lived, the youthful conqueror was overawed by his power, and, though not without some symptoms of impatience, affected a duteous submission to his will. But when the death of the Sultan[1] released him

[1] The character of Noureddin is among the brightest in Mohammedan history: for political ability and valour were the least of his great qualities. A Musulman writer declares that the catalogue of his virtues would fill a volume; and among these, his justice, clemency, and piety extorted a still stronger testimony even from his Christian foes, who had sufficient reason to fear and detest so powerful and deadly an enemy. Thus William of Tyre, after numbering him among the bitterest persecutors of the Christian name and faith, adds, *princeps tamen justus, vafer,*

from the necessity of further dissimulation, Saladin threw off the mask; gradually extended his influence and dominion over Syria and parts of Arabia and Armenia; and deposing the young and helpless sons of Noureddin, finally united the Musulman States from the Nile to the Tigris under his single empire.[1]

A. D. 1173.

By every motive of religion and policy, the new and puissant Lord of Syria and Egypt was urged to attempt the expulsion of the detested enemies of his faith from the intervening territory of Palestine; but he was long obliged to suspend his ultimate designs against the Christians, by the more immediate necessity of consolidating his dominion over his Musulman opponents. Meanwhile, the Latin kingdom, through its intestine disorders, was fast falling into a state of weakness, which promised to deliver it an easy prey to so vigorous an assailant. On the death of Almeric, which shortly followed that of Noureddin, the crown of Jerusalem devolved on his son, Baldwin IV.: but this prince was afflicted with leprosy, and felt himself so unequal to the toils of government, that he committed the regency of the kingdom to his sister Sybilla and her second husband Guy de Lusignan, a French Knight,[2] to whom she had given her hand after the death of her first lord, a Count of Montferrat. But Lusignan was destitute both of talent and courage; his despicable character and unmerited elevation provoked the scorn and insulted the pride of the Barons of Palestine; their disaffection was fomented by the intrigues of Raymond II., Count of Tripoli, a man himself capable of every perfidy; and the whole kingdom was distracted by the selfish conflict of factions. To terminate their struggle the royal leper was at length compelled to make a new settlement of his realm, by

A. D. 1173.

providus, et secundum gentis suæ traditiones religiosus. (Nevertheless he was a just, crafty, and far-seeing prince, and religious according to the traditions of his race.) A trait of the frugal and rigid integrity with which he abstained from applying the public treasures to his domestic uses, has often been repeated from the pages of D'Herbelot. To some expensive request from the best beloved of his wives, this absolute lord of the gorgeous East would only reply, "Alas! I fear God, and am no more than the treasurer of his people. Their wealth I cannot appropriate; but three shops in the city of Hems are yet my own, and those you may take, for those alone can I give." *Bibliothèque Orientale*, Art. *Noureddin.*

[1] Will. Tyr. p. 980-995. *Bib. Orient.* Art. *Salaheddin.* Also Bohadin, *Vita Saladini* (Schultens), p. 1-10. Abulfeda, (*in Exerpt* Schultens), p. 1-13. De Guignes, lib. xiii. (vol. ii. p. 201-211.)

[2] Lusignan was a native, or at least a subject, of the French domains of our Henry II., who banished him for the treacherous murder of the Earl of Salisbury, on which he assumed the Cross, the usual resource of malefactors, and came to seek his fortune in Palestine. So contemptible was the estimation in which he was held even by his own kindred, that when his brother heard of his subsequent elevation to the throne of Jerusalem, he ironically exclaimed, "Surely, since the Barons of Palestine have made *him* a king, they would have made me a god if they had known me." Hoveden, p. 514.

which, abdicating the crown in favour of his infant nephew, Baldwin V., the son of Sybilla by her first husband, he committed the person of his young successor to the protection of his relative Joscelyn de Courtenay, titular Count of Edessa,[1] the custody of the fortresses of Palestine to the two military orders, and the general regency of the kingdom to the treacherous Count of Tripoli. Baldwin IV. survived this disposition only three years; his own decease was quickly followed by the suspicious death of his nephew; and Sybilla, supported by the patriarch and the grand-master of the Templars, who hated Raymond of Tripoli, obtained the joint coronation of her worthless husband and herself as king and queen of Jerusalem. The proud and contemptuous refusal of many of the barons to acknowledge Lusignan for their sovereign produced a civil war, in which the Count of Tripoli, under pretence of supporting the rival claims of Isabella, sister of Sybilla, to a share in the succession, allied himself with Saladin; and these disorders were scarcely appeased by the address of Sybilla and the submission of most of the insurgent nobles, when the fatal tempest of Musulman war burst upon the disunited and devoted state.[2]

As long as Saladin was occupied in establishing his authority over Egypt and Syria, the peace of the Latin kingdom had not been much disturbed by the incursions of the Infidels; and some indecisive hostilities had been terminated by a truce. But just at the crisis when the Turkish conqueror was prepared to attempt the work of destruction which he had probably long meditated, the Christians themselves were the first to disturb the hollow pacification, which might alone have deferred the hour of their ruin; and a just occasion of war was afforded by the aggressions of a predatory baron, Reginald de Chatillon,[3] who surprised a frontier castle belonging to the Musulmans on the borders of the Arabian desert, intercepted and plundered their caravans be-

A. D. 1186.

[1] This Joscelyn de Courtenay was the grandson of the hero, and the last of the three Counts of Edessa, who bore the same name. After the loss of the Edessene territory, and the marriage of his sister with Almeric, the royal favour had invested him with extensive fiefs in the kingdom of Palestine; but leaving no son, the male line of the Asiatic branch of the Courtenays became extinct on his death. *Lignages d'Outremer*, c. xvi.

[2] Will. Tyr. p. 995, *ad fin.* Plagon (continuator of William of Tyre, in Martenne, *Vet. Scriptorum Coll.* vol. v.), p. 583-590. Bernardus Thesaurarius (*apud* Muratori *Scrip. Rer. Ital.* vol. vii.), c. 140-147.

[3] The history of this man constitutes in itself a romance; and its details would be considered incredible if narrated by any modern writer of fiction. He was of obscure birth, and a native of Chatillon-sur-Indre, and, following Louis the Young into Asia, was attached to the troop of Raymond of Poictiers, Prince of Antioch. On the death of Raymond, he was selected by his widow, Constance, as her husband, and thus became Prince of Antioch. This choice filled the Western barons with disgust, and, as his after conduct showed, did no credit to the discrimination of the lady. On the death of Constance, he married the widow of Humphrey of Touron, Lord of Carac, and, possessing no quality of a knight but personal courage, he became in that capacity something like a licensed bandit. His fate is told above. See Michaud. i. 403.

tween Egypt and Mecca, and insolently defied the vengeance of the Sultan. Saladin demanded redress of the King of Jerusalem for these outrageous violations of the existing peace: but the government of Lusignan was either too feeble or too corrupt to punish the lawless marauder; and on a refusal of justice, Saladin invaded Palestine at the head of eighty thousand Turcoman horse and foot. The siege of the castle of Tiberias was the first signal operation of the Musulman host; and for the relief of so important a fortress the whole strength of the Christian states was hastily collected. But, including the array of the military Orders, the King of Jerusalem could now assemble under his standard no more than twelve hundred knights and twenty thousand foot; and the disproportion of his numerical force was aggravated by his own incapacity and cowardice, as well as by the discord and treason[1] which prevailed in his camp.

Battle of Tiberias. A. D. 1187.

On the plain of Tiberias the hostile armies drew out for a conflict, of which the event was to decide the fate of the Christian kingdom. Few intelligible particulars are related of the sanguinary battle which followed: but those few attest the superior skill of Saladin, who, in the first day's encounter, drove his opponents into a situation destitute of water; by setting fire during the night to some neighbouring woods, increased their intolerable sufferings from the drought and heat of a Syrian summer's night; and on the following morning overwhelmed and massacred their exhausted and fainting host. Not only was the slaughter of the cavaliers and soldiery exterminating, but all the principal leaders of the Christian host were the victims or prizes of this fatal field: the grand-master of the Hospitallers was mortally wounded and died in his flight; and the chief of the rival Order of the Temple, together with the Marquis of Montferrat, Reginald of Chatillon, the worthless Lusignan himself, and many of his nobles and knights, became the captives of Saladin. The scene which ensued is too characteristic of manners to be omitted in this place. When the trembling Lusignan, and Chatillon, the guilty provoker of the war, were conducted to the tent of the conqueror, Saladin generously reassured the craven king of his safety by the proffer of a cup of iced water, the Eastern pledge of hospitality. Lusignan wished to pass the

[1] By some of the Latin writers, the destruction of the Christian army is ascribed to the treason of the Count of Tripoli, the enemy both of Lusignan and of the Grand Master of the Temple. Mr Mills (*Hist. of the Crusades*, vol. i. note L) considers the previous favourable mention of the Count by William of Tyre, and the silence of Ralph Coggeshal, whose chronicle is contained in the fifth volume of Martenne, and who was in Palestine at the time of the battle of Tiberias, as a satisfactory refutation of the charge. But the earlier alliance of the Count of Tripoli with Saladin (Bernardus Thesaur. c. 140) is undisputed; and his sacrifice of the Christian cause to party or personal hatred on that occasion, is surely sufficient to warrant the worst inference from his subsequent conduct.

cup to Chatillon; but the Sultan sternly declared that the impious marauder, who had so often insulted the prophet of Islam, must now either acknowledge his law, or die the death which his crimes had merited. With more virtue than his life had promised, Chatillon spurned the condition of apostasy; and a blow from the scimitar of the ferocious Sultan himself, was the immediate signal for his murder. With less excusable cruelty, while he spared his other noble prisoners, Saladin, in his fanatical hatred of the religious Orders, or his dread of their prowess, offered the same alternative of apostasy or death to the knights of St John and of the Temple who had fallen into his hands. To a man, these devoted champions of the Cross, two hundred and thirty in number, proved the sincerity of their faith; and the victory of the Moslems was stained by the cold-blooded murder of the whole body.[1]

The disastrous effects of the battle of Tiberias were immediately felt throughout the Latin kingdom: for all the principal fortresses had been drained of their garrisons to swell the ranks of the army; and Tiberias itself, Cæsarea, Acre, Jaffa, and Beritus, rapidly fell before the arms of the conqueror. Tyre was alone preserved through the heroic efforts to which the citizens were inspired by the firmness of a young cavalier, son to the captive Marquis of Montferrat. But Saladin would not suffer any secondary object to arrest his great design upon the Christian capital; and turning aside from the walls of Tyre, he marched to the siege of the Holy City. Jerusalem was already crowded with fugitives from every quarter of Palestine; but the number of warriors within its gates was small, and their commander was a timid woman. Queen Sybilla, herself distracted with sorrow and apprehension, was more solicitous for her own safety and that of her captive consort than for the public defence; and dismay and discord reigned within the place. The first summons of Saladin for its surrender was indeed rejected; but when the siege was formed, the resistance was feeble or ineffectual; and in fourteen days, the Turks, despite of the sallies and efforts of the garrison, had advanced their works and engines to the foot of the rampart, and undermined the walls. A desire to capitulate was then expressed; but Saladin, in his fury at the refusal to accept his proffered terms, had sworn to execute a dreadful vengeance upon the Christians for the Moslem blood which their ancestors had shed at the capture of the city in the first Crusade. He now therefore received the proposal of a capitulation with bitter contempt; and he only listened to the suggestions of mercy, when his burst of passion was spent, and the suppliant Christians left him

[1] Bernardus Thesaur. c. 147-151. Contin. Will. Tyr. p. 590-600. Jacobus a Vitriaco, *Hist. Hierosol.* p. 1117, 1118 (*in Gestis Dei per Francos.*) Hoveden, p. 636-367. D'Herbelot, Art. *Salaheddin* (vol. iii. p. 176, 177, &c.) Bohadin, p. 40-68. Abulfeda, p. 32.

to dictate the terms of surrender. He then consented to spare the lives of the inhabitants, and promised a safe-conduct for the queen, her nobles, and soldiery, to Tyre, but declared that the remaining population of Jerusalem should become slaves, unless they were ransomed at the rate of ten crowns of gold for each man, half that sum for each woman, and a single piece for every child.

As soon as these terms had been accepted by the submission of the vanquished, Saladin exhibited traits of a generous humanity which might have been little anticipated from the cruelty with which he had recently stained the victory of Tiberias; and his conduct at Jerusalem well merits the eulogy of an enemy, that he was in nothing but in name a barbarian. He not only performed his promises with a religious fidelity, but exceeded their fulfilment by a full measure of benevolence. When the weeping female train of the queen issued from the gates of Jerusalem, his spirit melted even unto tears at the spectacle of their misery: he advanced to meet the mourners; attempted to console the princess with the courteous sympathy of a warrior of chivalry; released the husbands and children of all her train without ransom; and even dismissed them laden with presents. Nor did his generosity end here: for he accepted a price very much beneath the stipulated sum for the freedom of the Christian poor; and even liberated so many of his other captives gratuitously, that the total number who remained in bondage did not much exceed ten thousand, out of a population which is said to have amounted to one hundred thousand. These better feelings of his nature achieved a more difficult triumph over even the fanaticism which was usually his master passion: for learning the humane attentions which the knights of the Hospital bestowed upon the sick, he allowed several brethren of an Order, which he detested and found ever in arms against him, to remain in the city a sufficient time for the accomplishment of their pious and charitable offices.[1]

When the queen and her train had been safely dismissed, the magnanimous victor made his entry into Jerusalem in triumphant and splendid procession. The great Mosque of Omar, on the site of Solomon's Temple, which had been converted into a Christian church, was immediately consecrated anew to the worship of Islam, after its pavement and walls had been washed with Damascene rose water; the golden cross which surmounted the dome of the church of the Sepulchre was taken down, and for two days dragged through the streets; and after a possession by the Christians of eighty-eight years, Jerusalem was again defiled by the religion and empire of the votaries of Mohammed. Nazareth, Bethlehem, Ascalon, Sidon,

[1] Bernardus, c. 151-167. Cont. Will. Tyr. p. 601-613. Hoveden, p. 637-645. D'Herbelot, *ubi supra*. Bohadin, p. 68-75. Abulfeda, p. 39-43.

quickly followed the fate of the capital; the principality of Antioch was only spared on the ignominious condition of tribute to the Sultan; and of all the possessions of the Christians in Palestine, the seaport of Tyre was almost the only place of importance which was saved from the wreck of their fortunes. But to that city all the Christian garrisons which capitulated had been permitted to retire: the whole remaining strength of the Latin chivalry of Palestine was contained within its walls; and when the Turkish army a second time appeared before the place, it was again so bravely defended under the guidance of Conrad of Montferrat, that the conqueror of Jerusalem was compelled to retire from a fruitless siege. The grateful people resolved to bestow the sovereignty of their city upon their brave leader; and when Guy of Lusignan, having obtained his liberation, attempted to enter the place, they refused to admit him within the walls, or to acknowledge further allegiance to the man, on whose incapacity and cowardice they laid the ruin of the Christian cause. Lusignan, indeed, had only obtained his release by a solemn renunciation of his crown to Saladin; and the Sultan, satisfied with this vain confirmation to the title of conquest, had returned to enjoy his glory at Damascus; when he was roused from a brief season of repose by the alarming report that the nations of Europe, burning with ardour to avenge the shame of the Christian defeat, and the loss of the Sepulchre of Christ, were again about to precipitate themselves upon the shores of Palestine.[1]

The news of the fall of Jerusalem had filled all Western Christendom with horror and grief. By the superstitious piety of the age, the apathetic indifference which had permitted the hallowed scenes of human redemption again to be profaned with the triumph of the enemies of God, was deeply felt as an offence, which merited and would provoke the wrathful judgments of Heaven. But after the first shock of the intelligence, the general consternation and despair were at once succeeded by a burst of enthusiasm, equally congenial to the fanatical and martial state of society. All the principal sovereigns of Europe,[2]—except those of Spain, who found sufficient exercise for their zeal against the Musulman power in that

[1] Bernardus, c. 167-177. Coggeshal, p. 811, 812. *Hist. Hierosol. (in Gestis Dei,* &c.) p. 1150-1169.

[2] Henry II. of England and Philippe-Auguste of France met and received the Cross together near Gisors; and the English king appears to have been earnest in his intention of undertaking the Crusade, until prevented by the second rebellion of his sons. At a great council which he assembled at Gidington, in Northamptonshire, it was agreed that a tenth of all rents and moveables should be levied from the clergy and laity of the realm for the service of the expedition; and by this means the king obtained seventy thousand pounds from his Christian subjects; while he extorted the enormous sum, for those days, of sixty thousand more from the Jews in his dominions, at the rate of a fourth of all their possessions. Gervase, p. 1529. Hoveden, p. 644. This tax of one-tenth, under the name of the Saladine tithe, was imposed by general consent throughout Europe; and though originally proposed to

peninsula—immediately vowed to lead their national forces to the recovery of Jerusalem: but even their earnest preparations were too tardy for the popular impatience; and myriads of their subjects, thronging from every country to the ports of the Mediterranean, took shipping at their private charge, and hastened to the shores of Palestine. The chief means of transport, were, as usual, supplied by the maritime republics of Italy; but numerous bands of pilgrims, embarking from the ports of the Baltic, the North Seas, and the British Channel, from thence accomplished the whole maritime passage to the Asiatic coast.[1]

By the arrival at Tyre, in quick succession, of all these crusaders, led by many noblemen and prelates of distinction, the imbecile king of Jerusalem soon found himself at the head of a numerous army; and when he was encouraged or impelled by the renovated strength and ardent zeal of his followers to advance from Tyre and lay siege to Acre, the numbers of the Christian host before the walls of that important city rapidly swelled to one hundred thousand men.

Siege of Acre. A. D. 1189.

The danger of a fortress which, by its position between the sea and the great central valley of Palestine, may be regarded as the maritime key of the whole country, roused Saladin from his inaction; and while the strength of the fortifications and the valour of a numerous Musulman garrison, defied all the efforts of the crusaders, the Sultan himself, arriving in the adjacent plain at the head of a mighty host, enveloped their beleaguer and harassed them with perpetual though desultory assaults. The Christians, in their turn, were reduced to the necessity of standing on the defensive; their camp was diligently fortified; and such was the strength and completeness of the works with which they surrounded it, that in the hyperbolical language of the East, the Musulmans declared not even a bird could penetrate the lines. By sea the contest was maintained with equal obstinacy; for the naval forces of the combatants were so nicely balanced, that, by each successive reinforcement, either party was enabled to relieve the garrison of Acre, or to refresh the wants of the besiegers. The latter indeed suffered so dreadfully from famine, disease, and the incessant vicissitudes of combat, that above three hundred thousand crusaders are computed to have perished before the walls and in the plain of Acre; and the losses of the Musulmans from the same causes were probably inferior only in degree. But, on both sides, this frightful consumption of human life was continually fed by new arrivals; and during nearly two years the strength of Christendom and Islam was

last only for one year, was perpetuated, by the cupidity of the Papal See, into a claim upon the tenth of all ecclesiastical benefices.

[1] Bernardus Thesaur. c. 177, 178. Benedictus Abbas Petrobergensis, p. 495, 496. Hoveden, p. 636-640. *Hist. Hierosol.* p. 1170.

concentrated and exhausted in an indecisive conflict before the single city of Acre.[1]

Meanwhile, the great monarchs of the West were gathering their national powers for the third Crusade. Foremost in preparation, as in dignity among them, was the Emperor Frederic Barbarossa, in whom age had no power either to quench the thirst of glory or to chill the fire of religious enthusiasm. But the chivalrous devotion of Frederic was regulated by those prudential qualities of a great commander, which had been matured in forty years of warfare; and while he boldly resolved to take the same route through the east of Europe and Asia Minor, which had been found so disastrous to former hosts of crusaders, his provident and skilful arrangements shewed how attentively he had studied the tremendous lessons of their failure. No individual was permitted to join in the sacred enterprise who was unable to furnish the means of his own support for a whole year; and the march from the confines of Germany to the shores of the Hellespont was conducted with the strictest regularity and discipline. The numbers and composition of the host were worthy of the imperial name and power. Besides his own son, the Duke of Swabia, Frederic was attended by the Dukes of Austria and Moravia, by above sixty other princes and great lords of the empire, and by fifteen thousand knights, the flower of the Teutonic chivalry. Their mounted attendants swelled the total array of cavalry to sixty thousand; and the infantry, exclusive of unarmed pilgrims, numbered one hundred thousand men. Throughout their passage over the Greek dominions, the German host encountered a repetition of precisely the same course of treacherous hostility, under the hollow semblance of amity, which the Byzantine court and people had pursued in the previous Crusades: but the vengeance of his troops was generally restrained by the magnanimous or prudent forbearance of Frederic; and though he resented the perfidy of the reigning Emperor of the East, Isaac Angelius, by refusing to visit Constantinople as a guest, he peaceably transported his formidable host across the Hellespont. The subsequent passage through Asia Minor was a yet severer trial of Frederic's patience and ability: but his genius surmounted every obstacle of climate and warfare; and the march of the Imperial army was effected with far superior order, success, and reputation, to that of any preceding host of crusaders. The sufferings of a route through burning and waterless deserts admitted indeed of little mitigation; and thousands of the Germans sank under fatigue, agonizing thirst, and the perpetual assaults of the Turcoman hordes, which hung upon their flanks and rear. But the firmness of the Teutonic array repulsed every attack,

[1] Bernardus Thesaur. c. 179. *Hist. Hierosol.* p. 1170-1172. Bohadin (*in vitâ Saladin.*), p. 180. Vinesauf, *ubi infra*, p. 427.

and prevented any general disaster; and Frederic not only defeated the Sultan of Iconium, but stormed his capital and compelled him to sue for peace. Having thus overborne all opposition, the aged hero pursued his way in unmolested and triumphant ardour; until he lost his life in the little Cilician stream of the Calycadnus, either by a fall from his horse, or by imprudently bathing in the icy waters of that mountain torrent. The consequences of this event proved how largely his followers had been indebted for their success to the greatness of his personal qualities. The Infidels, recovering from the terror inspired by his name and actions, immediately renewed their hostilities on the report of his death; and thenceforth the German army was incessantly harassed by attacks, and nearly disorganized by famine, sickness, and the efforts of the enemy. Thus, although Frederic's son, the Duke of Swabia, who succeeded to the command, was neither deficient in courage nor ability, so dreadful were the losses of the crusaders that, before they reached the Syrian confines, their numbers were reduced to one-tenth of their original force. Their array was still, however, sufficiently formidable, on their arrival at Antioch, to deliver that principality from the oppression of Saladin, whose troops retired at their approach; and from thence the gallant Duke of Swabia, with unbroken spirit, led the remains of the German army to reinforce the crusaders before Acre; but it was only to perish himself of disease, with some thousands of his devoted and way-worn followers, under the walls of that city.[1]

A. D. 1190.

The arrival of the German chivalry before Acre was followed by the memorable institution of a martial Order of Religious Knighthood, which, emulating the design of the fraternities of St John and of the Temple, and surviving the original object of its creation for the defence of Palestine, was fated to perform no inconsiderable part in the subsequent history of Northern Europe. Above half a century before the loss of Jerusalem, a German crusader and his lady had founded hospitals in that capital for poor pilgrims of both sexes of their nation; and when subsequent endowments had enriched these houses, the male brethren were moved by the example of the two great Orders, to devote themselves to military as well as charitable services. But their efforts had obtained little distinction, and their fraternity was dissolved by the expulsion of the Christians from Jerusalem. Its purposes were now recalled to the national attention by the private charity of some individuals among the German army, who supplied the want of regular hospitals, by opening their tents before Acre for the reception of their sick and wounded countrymen; and a number of knights joining their benevolent

[1] *Hist. Hierosol.* p. 1156-1163. Godfridi Monachi *Annales*, p. 348 356. Tageno p. 407-416. (Both in the second volume of Struve's edition of the *Rerum German Scriptores* of Freher.)

association, the Duke of Swabia seized the occasion to incorporate them for the national honour, into a regular Order of religious chivalry, in avowed imitation of those of the Hospital and Temple. A Papal authority approved the design, invested the new Order with the same privileges as its elder co-fraternities, and ordained the rule of St Augustin for its government. A white mantle with a black cross was appointed for the garb of the brotherhood, who were divided into three classes of noble cavaliers, priests and sergeants, all exclusively of German race; and thenceforth, under the title of the Teutonic Knights of St Mary of Jerusalem, the Order worthily aspired to an equality in duties and honour with the two great martial fraternities of Palestine.[1]

While the German army was still threading its toilsome march through the deserts and mountain passes of Asia Minor, the sovereigns of France and England had availed themselves of the maritime position and resources of their states to escape the same dangers and fatigues by a naval passage to the Syrian shores. Both Philippe-Auguste and Richard Cœur de Lion were in the full pride of youthful ambition, impatient for chivalric distinction, and actuated far more by the thirst of glory, than by the religious spirit of the age. Interchanging vows of eternal friendship, which were as passionately broken in the first moment of jealous excitement, they had agreed to combine their forces for the sacred expedition; and on the plain of Vezelay in France, they reviewed a gallant and well-equipped host, which amounted to one hundred thousand men of both nations, and of all arms. Conducting their march in concert as far as Lyons, the two monarchs separated at that city, after naming the port of Messina in Sicily as the place of reunion for their combined armaments: Philippe leading the French forces to embark at Genoa; and Richard proceeding to Marseilles with his army, there to expect the arrival of his fleet[2] from England. But his impatience would brook no delay; and finding that his own navy had not reached that port, he immediately hired a few vessels for the conveyance of his suite, sailed for the Italian coast, and after rashly exposing himself to several dangerous adventures,[3] crossed

[1] Jacobus a Vit. p. 1083.

[2] Before his departure from Normandy, Richard promulgated a code of regulations for the government of his fleet, which, as illustrative of the rude principles of marine jurisprudence adopted in that age, would be worthy of a place in our naval history. A murderer was to be tied to the corpse of his victim and cast with it into the sea; or if the crime were committed on shore, to be buried in the same grave with the dead body. A simple blow was to be punished by the immersion of the offender thrice in the sea; but if blood were drawn, by the loss of his right hand; abusive language by a fine. A thief was to have his head shaved, tarred and feathered; and in that state to be set on shore at the first opportunity. Hoveden, p. 666.

[3] On one occasion, when travelling in Southern Italy with a single attendant, he entered a cottage to seize a falcon which he heard was detained there: for it seems

into Sicily. Meanwhile the English fleet, after touching at Lisbon on its way, and successfully assisting in the defence of Santarem against a Musulman army, reached the Mediterranean in safety, received the land forces on board at Marseilles, and entered the port of Messina some days before the arrival either of Philippe or Richard himself.[1]

In Sicily both monarchs wintered with their forces; and here several circumstances arose to foment into hatred, those feelings of ambitious rivalry which naturally sprang from their conflicting pride and pretensions. Against Tancred, the reigning king of Sicily, Richard had several causes of resentment for the detention in prison of his sister Joan, relict of William II. the late sovereign of the island, and a refusal either to restore her dower, or to pay legacies which her husband had bequeathed to the English crown. To enforce redress for these injuries, Richard had recourse to very violent proceedings: seized a castle, on his sister's release, for her residence, took military possession of other posts, and allowed his troops to commit many excesses. While the French king was interposing as a mediator, the citizens of Messina were provoked to attack the English, and after a bloody engagement, in which the latter prevailed, Richard allowed them to sack the city, and planted his banners on its walls. Philippe was justly offended at an outrage, which in effect, as he resided in Messina, left him a prisoner in the hands of an ally who was also his vassal; and Richard was at last induced to appease him by withdrawing his troops. The submission of Tancred to all the demands of the English monarch restored the general peace; and Richard generously sent Philippe twenty thousand ounces of gold, as the moiety of the sum which he compelled the Sicilian prince to pay in satisfaction of his claims. He also loaded both English and French knights with presents; and on Christmas day feasted the whole chivalry of the two nations, and dismissed every individual with some largess apportioned to his rank. His prodigal dissipation, by such means, of the treasures which had been wrung from his subjects before his departure on the Crusade, exalted his popularity in both armies far above that of his more provident or less wealthy rival; and formed an additional source of jealousy to Philippe. A new ground of quarrel between the two monarchs was soon created by the intelligence that Richard,

that no "base churl" might without offence possess a bird trained for the exclusive sport of the chivalric Order. The peasants presumed to resist his violence; and in the broil, as he struck one of them, who had drawn a dagger upon him, with the flat of his sword, the weapon broke; and he was compelled to defend himself with stones until he effected his retreat to a neighbouring monastery. Hoveden, p. 672.

[1] Hoveden, p. 664-673. Galfridi à Vinesauf, *Itinerarium Regis Anglorum Richardi, &c. in Terram. Hierosol.* (*apud* Gale. *Scriptores Hist. Anglican.* vol. ii.), p. 247-308.

disregarding his engagement to marry Alice or Adelais, sister of Philippe, was about to espouse the Princess Berengaria, daughter of Sancho, king of Navarre, who, in effect, soon after arrived in Sicily, escorted by the queen-mother, Eleanor of England. After much dispute, Philippe at last consented to release Richard from his contract upon his promise to pay ten thousand marks, and to restore Alice with the castles which had been assigned as her dower.[1]

Their feuds being thus terminated by a hollow reconciliation, Philippe, on the return of spring, was the first to depart with his forces from the Sicilian shores, and arrived without accident at the Christian camp before Acre: but Richard was less fortunate or prudent. Off the coast of Crete, his fleet was dispersed by a storm; and at Rhodes his fiery temper was roused by intelligence that two of his vessels, which had been wrecked on the shores of Cyprus, were plundered, and the crews detained in captivity. To revenge this injury he sailed for Cyprus; and having in vain demanded reparation of Isaac, a prince of Comnenian race, who had revolted against the Byzantine throne and seized the government of the island, the English monarch disembarked his troops, took Lymesol, the tyrant's capital, by storm, and being assisted by the defection of the islanders, compelled him to surrender at discretion. The English prince made an ungenerous use of his victory: for he threw the fallen usurper into chains, which, with a mockery of respect, were forged of silver; grievously taxed the Cypriots, who had welcomed him as their deliverer; and asserted the title of conquest to the lordship of their island. After celebrating at Lymesol his nuptials with Berengaria, which had been deferred in Sicily on account of the season of Lent, Richard finally sailed for Acre. The numbers of his land forces have not been recorded; but the magnitude of the whole armament may be estimated by the enumeration of his fleet, which consisted of fifty galleys of war, thirteen large store-vessels, and above one hundred other transports filled with horses and men. On the short voyage from Cyprus to the Syrian shore the English navy intercepted an enormous troop-ship of Saladin, having on board, according to the Latin chroniclers, for the reinforcement of the garrison of Acre, the incredible number of fifteen hundred men, and well supplied with stores of the Greek fire. The great bulk and lofty sides of this vessel long defied the attacks of the light galleys of the Christians: but she was at length carried by boarding; her hull being either scuttled, during the conflict, by the desperation of her own crew, or pierced by the beaks of the English galleys, she sank with all her stores; and every soul of the Infidels, except thirty-five, was either massacred or drowned.[2]

[1] Hoveden, p. 673-688. Vinesauf, p. 308-316.
[2] Hoveden, p. 688-692. Vinesauf, p. 316-329. Bohadin, p. 166. But the

A few days afterwards Richard disembarked his army before Acre; and his arrival was greeted in the Christian camp with enthusiastic rejoicings. Notwithstanding the previous junction of the king of France and his forces, the operations of the long protracted siege had continued to languish; but the English monarch had no sooner landed his battering engines than, despite of an illness under which he was labouring, he caused the attack to be pressed with the utmost vigour; and as well by his personal example as by prodigal rewards, animated the whole crusading host with a new spirit. Every effort of Saladin to rout the besiegers or relieve the place was repulsed; and at length, after an heroic resistance, finding their defences shattered on every side and their numbers daily diminished, the exhausted and despairing garrison obtained the reluctant permission of the Sultan to capitulate. Upon condition that Saladin should restore the wood of the true cross which he had taken in Jerusalem, release fifteen hundred chosen Christian captives, deliver up Acre, and ransom the garrison by the payment of two hundred thousand pieces of gold, the monarchs of France and England agreed to spare the lives of all the Musulmans in the place. Upon these terms the city was surrendered; and the banner of the Cross was again planted on its ruined walls. The garrison and inhabitants, with the exception of some thousand hostages, were permitted to depart unmolested; and the Sultan immediately broke up his camp and withdrew from the vicinity of the captured fortress. His subsequent failure, from reluctance, or more probably from inability, to pay the ransom of the prisoners within the stipulated period, was the signal for a tragedy horribly characteristic of the barbarous and fanatical spirit of crusading warfare. The Musulman hostages, to the number of above five thousand, being led out from the city to the French and English camps, were slaughtered in cold blood; and Richard himself, in a letter still extant, boasted of the massacre as an acceptable service to heaven. The Sultan was not slow to revenge this cruelty in the blood of his Christian captives; and on both sides repeated butcheries continued to darken the mutual hatred of the combatants.[1]

Surrender of Acre, 1191.

Musulman historian rates the troops on board this great store-ship at only six hundred and fifty, still indicating in the vessel a bulk very unusual for the times.

[1] Hoveden, p. 692-698. Vinesauf, p. 329 346. Bohadin, p. 180-188. Hoveden, indeed, declares that the massacre of the Christian captives by Saladin preceded that of the Turkish hostages by Richard: but Bohadin says otherwise; and it is not probable that the Sultan would thus have provoked the destruction of his people, whom he had wished to save. The expressions in Richard's letter, as given in Hoveden (p. 698) are (Thus, as in duty bound, we put them to death), *Sic ut decuit, fecimus expirare;* and no writer in that fanatical age seems to have imagined that even the cold-blooded slaughter of Infidels could be otherwise than meritorious and acceptable to heaven. The old romance of *Richard Cœur de Lion* goes yet a step further: for it exaggerates the glorious deed into the murder of 60,000 Infidels;

The capture of Acre was hailed by the Christians as a glad omen of the recovery of the Holy Sepulchre. But these sanguine anticipations were shortly chilled by the retirement of the king of France from the Crusade. The causes of this secession, for which severe illness afforded some plea, have been sought in feelings of jealousy at the superior glory won during the siege of Acre by the liberality and prowess of his royal associate. The eminent political abilities of Philippe-Auguste, indeed, though they placed him in sober estimation at an immeasurable distance above his irrational and fiery rival, were of little weight in the fields of Palestine; the martial qualities by which he was himself distinguished, would sustain no comparison with the transcendent personal heroism of the "Lion-hearted" Plantagenet; and he who, in the annals of Europe, figures as the ablest monarch and most renowned conqueror of his age, is discerned only through the wild romance of the Crusades as the envious or recreant deserter from a holy war. But the withdrawal of Philippe was produced less by any inconsistency in his own character, than by the intemperate conduct of Richard. The reckless spirit with which the English king had already wasted so much of the season for action in Sicily and Cyprus, and the intolerable arrogance of pretensions that would brook no control, alike foreboded any but a happy issue to the confederacy of which he was so puissant a member; and unless the king of France had been prepared to submit unconditionally to his capricious and haughty dictation, their separation might alone avert an open rupture, and the total ruin of the Crusade. The real disgrace of Philippe was his subsequent perfidy in attacking the dominions of his absent rival, contrary to the solemn oath which Richard exacted from him on his departure: but the interests of the Crusade itself were promoted by his abandoning to his rival the undivided possession of the supreme command; and, as an evidence of his sincerity in the cause, he left with Richard ten thousand of his best troops under the conduct of the Duke of Burgundy.[1]

After the retirement of the French king, Richard prepared to resume the design of the war,[2] and still found himself able to muster

and the author, imagining that the subject deserved to be associated with pleasurable emotions, thus prefaces the tale of the butchery with a poetical descant on the charms of the vernal season:—

"Merry is, in time of May
When fowlis sing in her lay
Floweres on apple trees and perry
Small fowles sing merry
Ladies strew her bowers
With red roses and lily flowers," &c.
Ellis. *Specimens of Metrical Romances*, vol. ii. p. 273.

[1] Hoveden, p. 697. Vinesauf, p. 344. That Richard, however, was greatly incensed at his rival's desertion is evident from the intemperate expressions of his letter.

[2] He had some difficulty in inducing his army to quit the licentious pleasures of

nearly thirty thousand English, French, and German warriors under the standard of the Cross. He conducted the advance of this combined force from Acre in a southerly direction upon Jaffa, along the sea-shore; and in the order of his march no inconsiderable share of military skill and discipline is observable. Nearest to the coast, and in communication with the English fleet, which attended the expedition with supplies of provisions and stores, were the camp-train and followers; while the army itself, covering these accessories, moved in five divisions: the Templars in the van, the Hospitallers closing up the rear; and the archers and other light-armed foot on the left or outward flank to check with their missiles the desultory but galling onsets of the Turkish cavalry. By day, clouds of these horsemen hovered around the front, flank, and rear of the Christians, and harassed their march with incessant assaults: by night, Saladin encamped in their vicinity, and broke the repose of the wearied soldiery with frequent alarms. But the firm array, the unshaken valour, and the patient[1] determination of the Europeans, exhausted all the artifices of Asiatic warfare. The daily march was accomplished in compact array, and with a slow but resolute advance; at sunset the army regularly halted; and thrice during the night the loud voices of the heralds, breaking the deep silence of the camp with solemn injunction to remember the Holy Sepulchre, roused the slumbering sentinels of the religious host to watchfulness and prayer. At length Saladin, reinforced by new swarms of the Moslems from all parts of his empire, and finding every desultory attempt to arrest the progress of the Christians unavailing, resolved upon one mighty effort to accomplish their total destruction. On the morning of the sixteenth[2] day after the advance of the crusaders from Acre, the brazen kettle-drum of the Sultan sounded the attack; and the whole Infidel host was suddenly precipitated, in one tremendous charge, upon the Christian array. So rapid and furious was the onset, so vastly superior were the numbers of the assailants, and so overwhelming the force and weight of the shock, that the small squadrons of the crusaders, enclosed within their own infantry, were for a time crushed together from all sides by the pressure. Galled by

Acre: a city so abounding, according to Vinesauf, *vino peroptimo et puellis pulcherrimis* (in choicest wines and fairest damsels), that by deep potations the countenances of the gravest warriors in the host had contracted a disgraceful rubicundity.

[1] The heroic fortitude of the crusaders is attested by the unsuspicious evidence of an enemy and an eye-witness. Many of them who had received several Turkish arrows at a time in their chain-mail, the thick cloth lining of which alone protected them from wounds, marched on, while these shafts bristled on their backs, with a firm step and calm demeanour. Bohadin, p. 189.

[2] Not the eleventh, as the exact Gibbon (c. lix.) with unusual inaccuracy has stated: for Richard commenced his march from Acre on the 22d of August, and the battle of Azotus was fought on the 7th of September. Hoveden and Vinesauf, *in locis*.

the Turkish arrows, the chivalry impatiently demanded permission to extricate themselves by a charge: but the fiery Plantagenet, now alone calm, cool, and collected, and foreseeing a decisive victory, restrained the impetuosity of his knights, until he observed that the quivers of the Infidels were emptied and their strength exhausted. Then, causing the infantry to open out, he led and let loose the Christian chivalry in all directions upon the wavering enemy. The whole Turkish host, unable to resist the vigour and strength of these steel-clad squadrons, broke and fled to the adjacent hills. So successful and sanguinary were the charge and pursuit, that above twenty Emirs and seven thousand of the flower of the Turkish cavalry were slain on the field; and the result justified the boast of Richard, that in forty campaigns, the veteran Sultan had never sustained so severe a defeat.[1]

After this signal victory the crusaders, without further molestation by the Infidels, pursued their triumphant march to Jaffa; and Saladin having wisely destroyed the works of fortresses which he was hopeless of preserving, they took possession both of that city and Cæsarea, with other dismantled castles in their vicinity. It is said that Richard desired at once to have followed up his success by advancing against Jerusalem, but was prevented by the factious opposition of the French barons, who, seconded by the wish of the army to repose from their fatigues, insisted upon the necessity of first rebuilding the fortifications of Jaffa and its dependencies.[2] However this might have been, two months were consumed in restoring these works, and in vain negotiations with Saladin,[3] before the crusaders again moved forward towards Jerusalem. They penetrated without serious opposition to Ramula within a short distance

[1] Hoveden, p. 698. Vinesauf, p. 346-360.

[2] During this cessation of active hostilities, Richard, while pursuing the sport of falconry, with his usual imprudence, beyond the precincts of the Christian lines, was attacked by a party of Saracens, and only escaped captivity or death through the generous devotion of a Provençal knight named Guillaume de Pratelles, who drew off the attention of the enemy by feigning to be the king, and as such surrendered himself. Richard proved not ungrateful: for his last care in Palestine was to ransom his preserver. Vinesauf, p. 372.

[3] In the course of these negotiations, which were more than once interrupted and resumed, Richard and Saladin seem to have seriously entertained a singular project for an accommodation of the Christian and Moslem interests by means of a marriage between Saphadin, or Malec-al-Adel, the brother of the Sultan, and the widowed queen of Sicily, sister of the English king, who had accompanied him to Palestine. With his Christian bride, the Musulman prince was to receive from his brother the sovereignty of Jerusalem: but the whole design, according to Bohadin, though agreeable to both Saladin and Richard, was frustrated by the repugnance of both Asiatics and Europeans to so unnatural an alliance. Bohadin, p. 209. During the negotiations, however, the two armies mingled in constant and amicable intercourse; and frequent kindnesses were interchanged between their sovereigns. When Richard was ill, Saladin sent him the choicest fruits, and the yet greater refreshment of snow during the burning heats of summer. Hoveden, p. 693.

of the holy city. But here the inclemency of the season, want of provisions, and the consequent and alarming increase of sickness, arrested their march; and Richard himself admitted the present hopelessness of success. The army, therefore, fell back to the coast; and the winter was spent by the soldiery in repairing the walls of several of the conquered fortresses, and by their leaders in treacherous intrigues or violent dissensions. At length, on the return of spring, Richard so far succeeded in restoring unanimity, as to assemble all the Christian forces in Palestine under his standard; and at their head again he advanced towards Jerusalem. The general enthusiasm of the army was kindled by the renovated hope of success; the chieftains and soldiery joined in a solemn oath that they would not quit Palestine until the Sepulchre of Christ should be redeemed; and when the army reached the valley of Hebron, and arrived even in sight of the Holy City, the accomplishment of their vows seemed at hand. The Moslems were filled with consternation; numbers fled from Jerusalem; and even Saladin despaired of preserving his proudest conquest.[1]

But, at this critical juncture, the Sultan was delivered from his apprehensions by the unexpected retreat of the crusading host. The causes of this failure are variously ascribed by the Christian chroniclers to the contemplated difficulties of a siege, to the envious or treasonable defection of the Duke of Burgundy and his French followers, and to the indecision of Richard himself. But the best attested account is that which refers the abandonment of the enterprise to the act of the king.[2] Whether he was swayed by his usual impulses of caprice, urged to hasten his return to Europe by repeated intelligence of the dangerous machinations of his faithless brother and rival, or secretly conscious that the resources of the Crusade were unequal to the capture of Jerusalem, it is vain to inquire. But he suddenly paused in his operations; and, when its walls were within his view, proposed the appointment of a council, selected from among the barons of Palestine and the chiefs of the military Orders, to decide upon oath if it were preferable to engage in the siege of the Holy City, or to make a diversion against Damascus or Cairo. To the general surprise and disappointment, the council decided upon the expediency of deferring the enterprise before them; and Richard, amidst the discontent of the whole army, commenced a second and final retreat to the sea-coast. Yet, whatever were the motives of necessity or inconstancy which dictated this resolve, he poignantly felt the mortification or shame of his failure; and when one of his followers led him to a height from

A.D. 1192.

[1] Hoveden, p. 698-714. Vinesauf, p. 360-409. Bohadin, p. 188-237. Abulfeda, p. 50-52.

[2] Vinesauf, p. 409. Bohadin, p. 237.

whence he might take his last view of Jerusalem, he hid his face in his shield, exclaiming, that he who was unable to rescue, was unworthy to look upon the Sepulchre of Christ.[1]

Saladin was not slow to reap his advantage on the retreat of the crusaders; and finding that Richard had continued his march from Jaffa to Acre, he poured down from the hills with his troops on the former city, and assaulted the place so unexpectedly, that numbers of the Christian garrison and inhabitants were slain in the streets, and the remainder only saved their lives by shutting themselves up in some of the towers. They had already been reduced to sue for a capitulation, when Richard arrived off the port to their succour. He had prepared to embark for Europe before he heard of their danger: but fired with indignation that Saladin should have renewed the offensive while his foot was still on the strand of Palestine, he threw himself into a galley, and, followed only by a few knights and archers in six other vessels, sailed for Jaffa, leaving his army to retrace their march after him along the coast. When his small squadron had approached the shore, finding that some of the garrison still held out, he plunged into the sea; his attendants, inspired by the heroic example, quickly followed, and the opposing Moslems on the beach were so dismayed by the fury of the attack, that they fled before this handful of assailants, and abandoned Jaffa to its deliverers. Though Richard, including the rescued garrison, had with him only fifty-five knights, of whom but ten were mounted, and two thousand foot soldiers, he displayed his contempt for the Infidels by encamping without the gates; and in this situation, on the morrow of his arrival, the Turkish cavalry, recovering from their surprise, and ascertaining the scantiness of his force, attacked him with overwhelming numbers. He not only sustained their repeated charges, but each time rushed into the thickest of their squadrons at the head of his ten knights, and everywhere carried death and confusion into their ranks. Never had even he performed such prodigies of valour and personal strength; whole squadrons of the quailing Infidels fled before his single arm; and the Musulman writers themselves are the most admiring witnesses and warmest eulogists of these incredible exploits.[2] Night put an end to the

[1] Howeden, p. 715. Vinesauf, *ubi suprà.*

[2] This concurrent testimony of Christian and Mohammedan writers compels history to ascribe to Richard feats of personal heroism, which might otherwise be dismissed as the dreams of romance. Such was the admiration which he extorted from his enemies, that Saphadin, during his last action before Jaffa, observing him dismounted, sent him two Arabian horses, on one of which he continued the conflict until nightfall. Some time before, the same Turkish prince had solicited and obtained, at the hands of the Christian hero, the honour of knighthood for his son. But the most striking proof of the reality of his astonishing prowess, is the enduring terror in which his very memory was held by the Moslems; for, above half a century after his fiery spirit had been quenched in the grave, "his tremendous name

unequal combat: but so hopeless was Saladin of prevailing against the hero, that he raised the siege of Jaffa without any further attempt.[1]

This was the last and most brilliant achievement of the Lion-hearted king on the shores of Palestine; and with it ended the Third Crusade. The exertions of Richard brought on a fever which increased his longing desire to return to Europe; and the awe inspired by his prowess and victory facilitated his overtures for a renewal of former negotiations. Saladin himself was weary of fruitless hostilities, and languishing under a bodily decline, which in a few months bowed him to the grave. Richard consented to dismantle the fortifications of Ascalon, which as the key of Egypt from the Syrian frontiers, was in the hands of the Christians an object of jealous disquietude to the Sultan; and the latter on his part agreed to leave them in unmolested possession of Tyre, Acre, and Jaffa, with all the maritime territory between the first and last of those cities; to abstain also from attacking the territories of the prince of Antioch and Count of Tripoli, and to grant all Christian pilgrims free access to the holy places of Jerusalem. Upon these terms the two monarchs concluded a truce between the nations of their respective faiths for three years and three months; and Richard, embarking at Acre, bade a last adieu to the scene of his glory, and commenced that homeward voyage, of which we are in another place to relate the calamitous issue.[1]

Political state of Palestine during the Crusade.

Such was the termination of the Third Crusade. Its grand object in the recapture of Jerusalem had not been accomplished: but the total ruin with which the affairs of the Latin kingdom were threatened by the fatal defeat at Tiberias had been averted; the tide of Musulman conquest was arrested; and a great part of the sea-coast of Palestine, with its chain of fortresses, remained in the hands of the Christians. The recovery or preservation of this territory, which for eighty years deferred the final triumph of the Moslems, was chiefly attributable to the heroic achievements of the English king; and but for his intemperance and caprice, even greater advantages might have been reaped from his splendid exploits. Yet it may be doubted whether his want of complete success was not full as much produced by the political vices of the Latin states, as by the errors of his own conduct. The factions nursed in Palestine during the feeble reign of the leper Baldwin

Dissensions of the Christians.

was employed by Syrian mothers to silence their infants; and if a horse suddenly started from his way, his rider was wont to exclaim, 'Dost thou think King Richard is in the bush?' *Cuides tu que ce soit le roi Richart?*" Gibbon, ch. lix. from Joinville.

[1] Vinesauf, p. 412-421. Bohadin, p. 238-249. Abulfeda, p. 52.

[2] Vinesauf, p. 422. Bohadin, p. 260.

IV. had grown into uncontrollable strength and violence; their quarrels were embraced by the crusaders from Europe; and even while the victories of Saladin threatened to involve all parties in a common ruin, the dissensions of the Christians were more dangerous to the general cause than the arms of their Infidel enemies. The conflicting pretensions of aspirants to the Latin throne of Palestine supplied a constant subject of disunion. By the death of his consort Sybilla and her children, during the siege of Acre, the worthless Lusignan had lost his only title to a matrimonial crown; and he found a formidable competitor in Conrad, the gallant prince of Tyre, who had espoused Isabella, or Melicent, sister of the late Queen. From their personal enmity, the king of England supported the cause of Lusignan, and the French monarch that of Conrad and his consort. After the departure of Philippe, Richard, to suppress a civil war, found it necessary to recognise the royal title of Conrad, and consoled Lusignan with the crown of Cyprus: but this accommodation was scarcely concluded, when Conrad was murdered in the streets of Tyre by two of the Hassassins, or followers of a fanatical Mohammedan chieftain, whose systematic employment of the dagger against their enemies introduced a new term into the languages of Europe. By the partizans of Conrad, his murder was imputed to the instigation of Richard; and this charge was made the plea for new dissensions: but all evidence of the open and fearless impetuosity of Plantagenet's temper is opposed to the belief that, if he had sought the life of Conrad, he would have stooped to so perfidious and dastardly a mode of gratifying his enmity.[1] The widow of Conrad accepted the hand of Henry, Count of Champagne, who in right of this marriage was recognised, both by the public voice and the assent of Richard, as king of Jerusalem; and his undisputed assumption of the visionary title at length removed one of the means by which the factions of Palestine had aggravated the disasters of the Christian cause.[2]

Conrad of Montferrat, king of Jerusalem.

His murder.

Henry of Champagne, king of Jerusalem.

But the Christians in Palestine were indebted for their safety

[1] Bohadin, indeed (p. 225), asserts that the murderers, who were taken and put to the torture, confessed that they were employed by the king of England; but both Vinesauf (p. 377) and Hoveden (p. 717) agree in reporting the declaration of the Hassassins, that they had killed Conrad in revenge for an injury which he had offered to their chief; and this version of the tale has great internal probability. Richard, in fact, since his reconciliation, had nothing to gain by the crime; and Conrad himself so little suspected him as, on his death-bed, to desire his widow to commit the fortress of Tyre to the keeping of the English prince. No conclusion, either of the innocence or guilt of Richard, is fairly to be drawn from the exculpatory letter from the chief of the Hassassins, an evident forgery subsequently produced at his trial before the Imperial German Diet. Rymer, *Fœdera*, vol. i. p. 71.

[2] For these political transactions in Palestine during the Third Crusade, see chiefly Vinesauf, p. 324, 377, 392.

after the Third Crusade, far less to any union among themselves than to the death of their formidable enemy. Saladin[1] only survived his treaty with Richard a few months; and on his decease the great empire which he had consolidated was almost immediately dissolved. In its division, three of his numerous sons erected distinct thrones at Cairo, Damascus, and Aleppo; but most of his veteran soldiery preferred to range themselves under the standard of his brother Saphadin; and at their head that prince carved out for himself, at the expense of his nephews, a considerable sovereignty in Syria.

Transactions in Palestine during his reign.

Death of Saladin, and division of his empire. A. D. 1193.

[1] The really great qualities of Saladin have sometimes been too absolutely lauded: for, as Mr Mills has well observed (*Hist. of Crusades*, vol. ii. p. 82), his character was but a "compound of dignity and baseness." He had established his throne over the Moslems by treachery and bloodshed; and his first successes against the Christians had been stained by atrocious cruelty. But his government of his own people, after his power was secure, was mild and equitable; as a Musulman, in his latter years, he was eminently pious, just, and charitable; and we have seen that, even towards enemies, he was sometimes capable of the most magnanimous and generous conduct. He is perhaps the brightest exemplar in history of an Asiatic hero; and his virtues, like the dark traits which obscured them, exhibit the genuine lineaments of his clime and race.

CHAPTER VIII.

THE FOURTH CRUSADE.

At this stage of the narrative considerable difficulty is felt by the historian in arranging chronologically the series of events that crowd so rapidly upon him, and it must be understood that the opening sentences of this chapter relate to incidents that preceded by years what it is customary to call the Fourth Crusade.

At the expiration of the three years' truce which the English king had negotiated, the dissensions of the Infidels revived in the Christians the fond hope of reconquering Jerusalem; and at the instigation of the military orders, a new Crusade[1] was proclaimed by Pope Celestin III. Throughout France and England, from whatever causes, the appeal was heard with indifference: but in Germany the design was promoted by some momentary schemes of ambition which the Emperor—the execrable Henry VI.—appears to have cherished of aggrandizing himself in the East; and, supported by his influence, the preaching of the clergy in that country was so successful, that the Cross was enthusiastically taken by many princes and prelates of the empire, and by vast numbers of nobles and persons of inferior rank. Thus composed, three great armaments, all from Germany, successively reached the port of Acre, and raised the most confident anticipations among the Latins in the East of a decisive triumph over their Infidel enemies. But the Musulmans both of Egypt and Syria, forgetting their civil feuds in the common danger of their religion and empire, rallied around the standard of Saphadin; and though the combined chivalry of Germany and Palestine gained some victories in the field, these successes were always either marred by their dissensions, or counterbalanced by the elastic spirit of Turkish hostility, which started into new and vigorous action, as often as misconduct or exhaustion relaxed the efforts of the Chris-

[1] As the exhortation of the Pope to the nations of Europe to engage in this design was general, some writers have dignified the abortive result with the title of the Fourth Crusade; and numbered the subsequent expedition, which was directed against the Byzantine Empire, as the Fifth of Nine. But the more usual, which seems also the more convenient division, restricts the term of distinct Crusades to Seven, or at most Eight, great efforts, which were either produced by some signal occasion, such as the loss of Edessa or Jerusalem, or else productive of some considerable event.

tians. By the death of the Emperor, the German princes and prelates were recalled through political interests to Europe; and at their departure they left the Latin possessions in Palestine only slightly enlarged by their aid. The general superiority, however, which their arms had asserted over the Musulman power was useful in sustaining the dignity and safety of the Christian state; and though the nominal capital of the kingdom was still unrecovered, the German victories had given security to the throne of Henry of Champagne, whose real sovereignty extended over great part of the sea-coast of Syria. To these considerable fragments of the Latin monarchy of Palestine, Cyprus was soon after added, on the death of Henry, by the union of his queen, thus widowed for the third time, with Almeric of Lusignan, the successor of Guy in the sovereignty of that island; and on the solemnization of this marriage at Acre, Almeric and Isabella assumed, in 1197, the joint title of King and Queen of Jerusalem and Cyprus.[1]

The exhortations of Pope Celestin III. had failed to reanimate the religious zeal of the chivalry of France: but a fresh impulse was given to their fanaticism when Innocent III., three years afterwards, ascended the Papal throne. The convenient precedent of the Saladine tithe might suggest to that celebrated Pontiff a tempting occasion for again taxing the clergy of Europe under the pretext of a new Crusade: but perhaps the single motive of filling the papal coffers by this disgraceful expedient has been too confidently attributed to Innocent, in whom the ambitious desire of extending the spiritual and temporal dominion of the Holy See was at least as strong as any mere cupidity of gold. But whatever were his objects, he entered on the design of again arming Europe against the Infidels with all the energy which distinguished his character. He wrote himself to the sovereigns of Christendom, exhorting them severally either to take the cross in person, or at least to contribute their forces and treasures to the sacred enterprise; and his legates were despatched throughout the kingdoms of the West to levy on all ecclesiastical bodies the fortieth part of their revenues, and to obtain the pecuniary subscription and personal services of the laity by the promises of indulgences and pardon for their sins. So productive were these efforts, that the free offerings of the princes and people exceeded the total amount imposed on the clergy; but the most powerful auxiliary of the papal design was a fanatical priest named Foulques, of Neuilly, near Paris, who professed to atone for a life of sin by dedicating its remains to the service of heaven; and who, without the rude originality of the Hermit Peter, or the learning and dignified vir-

[1] For all these transactions in Palestine, see Bernardus Thesaur. p. 813-818. *Chron. Sclavorum*, lib. iv. v. vi. (in Freher, *Rerum Script. German.* vol. ii.) Cont. Will Tyr. lib. ii. Abulfeda, lib. iv. &c.

tues of St Bernard, yet with a success little inferior to that of either, by the vehemence of his exhortations, and by his pretended revelations of the divine will, now kindled the flame of religious enthusiasm throughout Flanders and France.[1]

When the fame of his preaching and his miracles had already prepared the public mind of those countries for the sacred enterprise, the martial and fanatical zeal of the French nobility was roused into action by the example which was offered to them at a great tournament in Champagne. There Thibaut, the youthful Count
1200. of that province, and his cousin Louis, Earl of Blois, both of them nephews, by a common relationship, to the monarchs of France and England, and the former brother to the late King Henry of Jerusalem, resolved to exchange the martial sports for the sterner duties of chivalry, and solemnly devoted themselves and their fortunes to the service of the Cross. Their spirit was enthusiastically caught by the assembled knighthood; their vows were embraced on the spot by Simon de Montfort, Lord of Mante, and a numerous band of the noblest chevaliers of France; and when intelligence of the inspiring design reached the court of Baldwin, Count of Flanders, brother-in-law of Thibaut, that Prince, with a great body of Flemish knights, hastened to enrol himself in the holy cause. Meanwhile, in Italy and in Germany, the papal exhortations and promises of spiritual rewards had not been without their desired effect. In the former country, Boniface, Marquis of Montferrat, brother of the murdered Conrad of Tyre, and in the latter, the Bishop of Halberstadt, both seconded by great numbers of knightly and plebeian warriors, assumed the Cross; and the King of Hungary, with his subjects, sealed the sincerity of their faith by the same test.[2]

The French nobles did not suffer the ardour of their followers to cool by inaction. To forward the enterprise and arrange its details, the three Counts of Champagne, Blois, and Flanders, with their principal associates, met twice in deliberation at Soissons and at Compeigne; and the result of their councils was a resolution to avoid the disasters which the fatal experience of former Crusades

[1] Foulques did not live to contemplate the full consequences of his preaching. He died before the crusading armament sailed from Venice. Du Cange on Villehardouin, No. xxxvii. His denunciations were of the usual kind, and such as custom had made familiar to the ears of that generation; and his oratory is described by contemporaries as plain, but impressive. Addressing Cœur de Lion, he said, "You have three daughters to dispose of in marriage, Avarice, Pride, and Luxury." "Well," replied Richard, "I give my pride to the Templars, my avarice to the monks of Citeaux, and my luxury to the bishops."—Rigord, Historiographer to Philippe Auguste.

[2] *Vita Innocent. III.* (*apud* Muratori, *Script. Rer. Ital.* vol. iii.) p. 506-526. *Histoire de la Prise de Constantinople, par* Geoffroy de Villehardouin, Ed. du Cange, Paragraph No. i.

had shown were the inevitable attendants of a land expedition to Palestine, and to imitate the maritime passage of Philippe Auguste and Richard Plantagenet. But as the barons of the inland province of Champagne could not command the same means of naval transport as those sovereigns, they determined upon attempting to purchase the aid of one of the maritime republics of Italy, who throughout the Crusades had been wont to hire out their services both as the common carriers and allies of the Western pilgrims. Among these states, Venice had already attained a preponderance of power and resources; and to that city, with full powers to negotiate on their behalf, the French barons despatched six chosen deputies, and in the number Geoffroy de Villehardouin, marshal of Champagne, to whose pen or dictation we are indebted for a simple and expressive narration of the whole Crusade.

The ducal crown of Venice was at this time worn by Enrico Dandolo, who at the extraordinary age of ninety-three years, and in almost total blindness, still preserved the vigorous talents, the active heroism, and the ambitious or patriotic spirit of his youth. He received the noble envoys with honour; and, after the purport of their embassy had been regularly submitted to the councils of the state, invited them to meet the assembled citizens in the Place of St Mark. There, before a multitude of more than ten thousand persons, the haughty barons of France threw themselves upon their knees to implore the assistance of the commercial republicans in recovering the Sepulchre of Christ. Their tears[1] and eloquence prevailed; the price of the desired aid had been left by the envoys to the assessment of the Doge and his immediate council; and for the sum of eighty-five thousand silver marks—less than L.200,000 of our modern English money, and therefore not an unreasonable demand—the republic engaged to transport four thousand five hundred knights, nine thousand esquires and men-at-arms, with their horses and equipments, and twenty thousand foot soldiers, to any part of the coasts of the East which the service of God might require, to provision them for nine months, and to escort and aid them with a fleet of fifty galleys; but only on condition that the money should be paid before embarkation, and that whatever conquests might be made should be equally divided between the barons and the Venetian state.[2]

[1] These doughty champions of chivalry were, as Gibbon has observed, by habit great weepers. *Mult plorant*, &c. is the phrase of Villehardouin on almost every occasion of excitement. This name, which afterwards became so conspicuous in the annals of the East, took its rise from a village, or castle, in the diocese of Troye, between Bar and Arcy. The elder branch of the family, to which the marshal belonged, expired in 1400, and the younger, which acquired the principality of Achaia, merged in the family of Savoy. Michaud, ii. 46.

[2] Andreæ Danduli, *Chron. Venet.* (in *Script. Rer. Ital.* vol. xii.) p. 320-323, in which the original treaty is given. Villehardouin, No. xiii. xiv.

On the return of the envoys to France, these terms received a joyfulapproval from their associates; but several untoward circumstances arose to obstruct the performance of the treaty. The young Count of Champagne, the ardent promoter and destined chief of the enterprise, was already stretched on a death-bed; and on his decease some time was lost before the mutual jealousy of the French barons, which prevented their electing one of their own body to succeed him, was reconciled by the choice of a foreign leader in the person of the Marquis of Montferrat. Many of the nobles and their followers had, meanwhile, in inconstancy or impatience, wholly deserted their engagements, or found their own passage to Acre: so that when at length, nearly two years after the tournament in Champagne, the Marquis Boniface mustered the French, Italian, and Flemish confederates at Venice, their numbers fell short of expectation, notwithstanding the junction of some German crusaders; and they were utterly unable to subscribe the stipulated cost of the enterprise. Though the Marquis and the Counts of Blois and Flanders made a generous sacrifice of all their valuables, above thirty thousand marks were yet wanting to complete the full payment; and as the Republic, with true mercantile caution, refused to permit the sailing of the fleet until the whole amount of the deficiency should be lodged in her treasury, the enterprise must have been abandoned, if the Doge had not suggested an equivalent. He proposed that, upon condition of the crusaders assisting in the reduction of the strong city of Zara, on the Dalmatian coast, which had revolted from the Republic, their payment of the remaining sum should be postponed until the conclusion of the Holy War; and despite of his years and infirmities,[1] he engaged on their assent himself to take the Cross, and to lead the naval forces of his republic.

1202.

The confederate barons gladly acceded to this expedient, when another obstacle was opposed to its adoption, which had nearly frustrated the whole enterprise: the people of Zara had placed themselves under the sovereignty of the King of Hungary; and the Pope, through his legate, positively forbade the crusaders to turn their arms against the subjects of a prince who had himself taken the Cross. But the Venetians, who entertained little reverence for the authority of the Holy See, succeeded in persuading their more scrupulous allies to disregard the prohibition of Innocent; the desire of honourably discharging their obligations prevailed with the French barons over their fear of the Papal displeasure; and, although the Marquis of Montferrat, their leader, abstained from

[1] Notwithstanding the expresssion of Villehardouin, that the venerable Doge had lost his sight by a wound, it may be doubted whether he was totally blind; for the statement of his descendant and chronicler, much more probable in itself, is only that he was *visu debilis*. Danduli, *Chron.* p. 322.

accompanying them, they sailed to Zara with their followers in the Venetian fleet, which was commanded by the venerable Doge, as he had promised, in person. Zara was deemed in that age one of the strongest cities in Europe: but the inhabitants, after a siege of only five days, were terrified or compelled into a surrender; and though their lives were spared, the city was pillaged with great cruelty, and both its houses and defences razed to the ground. In his first burst of indignation at their disobedience, Innocent excommunicated both the crusaders and Venetians; and when the French barons sent a deputation of their number to Rome to express their penitence, he assured them of pardon for their sins, only upon condition of their making restoration of their booty to the people of Zara, and withdrawing from all alliance with the more stubborn republicans, who still set his spiritual censures at defiance. The fanatic De Montfort alone, whose subsequent share in the Crusade against the Albigenses has given a horrible celebrity to his name, showed full obedience to the papal mandate by wholly abandoning his associates; but the rest of the French nobles and their troops continued to winter with the Venetians at Zara, where, after its surrender, the Marquis of Montferrat joined them; and it was during this season of repose that an entirely new destination was given to the combined armament.[1]

To explain the occasion of a change of purpose in the crusaders, which produced one of the most singular and memorable enterprises in history, it is now necessary to revert to the state of the Byzantine empire: the annals of which, during the thirteenth century, have been purposely reserved for a brief and rapid notice in this place. Our retrospect will ascend to the reign of the first Alexius: the crisis of whose fortunes was involved and has been described in the transactions of the earliest Crusade. Following closely on the triumphant career of the Latins through the Lesser Asia, Alexius richly gathered the fruits of victories, which they were impatient to abandon for the ulterior objects of their great enterprise; and as the Turkish forces were successively withdrawn from the shores of the Propontis and Ægean sea to the defence of the interior, the emperor restored to the Byzantine dominion the whole circuit of the sea-coast from Nice to Tarsus, or from the Bosphorus to the Syrian gates. Even in the interior of Asia Minor, the Sultan of Nice, after the loss of that capital, had been compelled to remove the seat of his throne from thence to Iconium, above three hundred miles from Constantinople; and amidst the exhaustion of the Turkish power in its struggle with the crusading invaders, Alexius, by policy and arms, so diligently improved his advantage, that, before his decease, the Greek Empire, which, at the outset of his

[1] Danduli, *Chron. ubi suprà; Vita Innocent. III.* p. 529-531. Villehardouin, No. xx.-liv.

reign, was straitened and shaken on all sides by hostile pressure, and seemed to rock to its foundations, had not only assumed an aspect of renovated strength, but expanded with offensive force against its former assailants.[1]

In the succeeding reign of his son John, termed in derision the Handsome, or Calo Johannes, a prince more honourably distinguished both for his pacific virtues and warlike qualities, internal concord and happiness were preserved by a mild and vigorous administration; while the dignity of the empire was asserted, and its security increased, by twenty-five years of victorious contest with the Turks. From the Latin princes of Syria, the Greek Emperor won equal respect by the powerful assistance which, in the interval between the First and Second Crusades, he rendered them in repelling the Infidels, and by the vigour with which he obliged Raymond, the reigning prince of Antioch, to do homage to him for his possessions. Manuel, the second surviving son of John, who was preferred in the succession to an elder brother both by parental and popular favour, inherited his father's martial spirit with his throne; but did not emulate the worth of his private life and civil government. During an active reign of thirty-seven years, the ambition of Manuel, rather than the necessity of his position, involved his empire in continual wars, not only with the Turks and Hungarians, its natural enemies on the Asiatic and European frontiers, but also with the ancient foes of his house, the Normans of the two Sicilies. In the hostilities, indeed, which kindled anew the quarrel of the preceding century, Manuel was not the first aggressor. Reviving the magnificent design of Robert Guiscard for the subjugation of the Byzantine empire, Roger, King of Sicily, upon pretext of some slight shown to his ambassadors at Constantinople, despatched a great armament into the Ionian and Ægean seas; and the Normans, disembarking from their ships, reduced Corfu and other islands, and overran the continent of Greece. Manuel was at the time absent from his capital; but his return and revengeful activity soon terminated the triumph of the invaders. With the powerful co-operation of the Venetians, his navy outnumbered that of the Normans, and swept the seas of their galleys; his troops, which he led in person, overpowered the garrisons which they had left in Greece; and a single campaign sufficed to clear the empire of its audacious assailants. It was then that the ambitious hopes of Manuel rose with his success; and the glorious issue of a just and defensive war suggested dreams of aggrandizement, which embraced the sovereignty of Italy, and the reunion on his brows of the imperial crowns of the East and West.[2]

1118.

1143.

[1] Anna Comnena, *Alexiad*, lib. ix.-xiv.

[2] Johannis Cinnami *Historia*, lib. ii. iii. Nicetas Choniates, *in Manuel Comnen.* lib. i.-iii. *ad.* c. 6. (Both in *Scriptor. Byzant.*)

With the plea of punishing the Norman invaders of his states, a Byzantine army, under the command of Palæologus, a leader of noble birth and approved valour, was landed upon the shores of southern Italy; and favoured by the declining health and death of the Sicilian king, and by the affection of the people for the ancient community of language and faith which had bound them to the Greek empire, the whole of Apulia and Calabria was rapidly re-annexed to the Byzantine dominion. From this epoch, throughout the subsequent contests between the Western Emperor, Frederic Barbarossa, on the one side, and the papacy and Lombard republics on the other, the intrigues, the blandishments, and the gold of Manuel, were unsparingly employed to extend his influence in Italy, and to promote his visionary scheme of wresting the sovereignty of the whole Peninsula from the German usurper of the Roman title. To the Pope he threw out the lure of terminating the schism of the Latin and Greek churches; to the Lombard cities he was prodigal both of money and promises: but the intrinsic weakness of the Greek empire was unequal to the prosecution of his ambitious design; its weight was severely felt in the balance of Italian politics; and when the Pope and the Lombard republics had terminated their great struggle with Barbarossa, the subsidies and the negociations of Manuel were alike disregarded. In southern Italy fortune was equally capricious to the Eastern Empire; the death of his brave lieutenant Palæologus was followed by the loss of his transient conquests; and, in a truce concluded with William the Bad, the successor of Roger on the Sicilian throne, in which that Prince acknowledged himself the vassal of the Byzantine throne, the dignity and pretensions of Manuel were only saved by his abandonment of the Italian soil. In other quarters the warlike reign of
1156. Manuel was signalized by victories both over the Hungarians and Turks, though in his last years its splendour was clouded by a severe defeat which he sustained from the Infidels in the Pisidian mountains. To his own subjects, even his more successful wars were productive of heavy burdens; his private life was licentious, and his political character was stained, as we have seen, with the reproach of pretended friendship and treacherous hostility to the Latins in the Second Crusade.[1]

With the death of Manuel ended the greatness of the Comnenian race. His infant son and successor, Alexius II., was oppressed by a perfidious guardian and daring usurper of his own blood, Andronicus, himself a grandson of the first Alexius, who, after deposing and murdering his imperial ward, himself terminated a tyrannical and bloody reign of less than three years by an ignominious and cruel death. The popular insurrection in which he fell was headed

[1] Cinnamus, lib. iv.-vi. Nicetas, *ad fin. Manuel.*

by Isaac Angelus, another member, by descent in the female line, of the Comnenian family. The leader or tool of the insurgents was raised to the throne, and under his feeble reign of ten years, the empire crumbled into ruin. A revolt of the Bulgarians was provoked by his tyranny in seizing their flocks and herds to supply the wasteful pomp of his nuptials: and his tame acquiescence in their assertion of independence, severed their country from the Byzantine crown, after a possession of nearly two centuries, and established the second kingdom of Bulgaria under a race of their ancient princes. The inglorious and indolent reign of Isaac was frequently, and perhaps justly, threatened by abortive conspiracies; but his worst and successful enemy was his own ungrateful brother Alexius, whom he had redeemed from a Turkish prison, and who repaid the obligation by surprising his security, depriving him of his eyes, consigning him to a dungeon, and seating himself on his throne. The son of the deposed prince, who was named also Alexius, a boy only twelve years of age, was spared by the pity or contempt of his uncle; and he had subsequently contrived to escape into Italy, when the news of the assembly of a great crusading armament at Venice, inspired his youthful hopes that its leaders might be induced, by adequate offers, to defer the ultimate object of their enterprise for a season, and to direct their powerful arms to the restoration of his father. The entreaties of the young prince for their aid were supported at Venice by ambassadors from his protector, the Duke of Swabia, who had married his sister: but it was at Zara, during the inaction of winter, that the friends of Alexius were permitted more successfully to negociate a treaty with the Latin barons and Venetian republic, which was eventually to deliver the imperial inheritance of his house into the detested hands of foreign and barbarous spoilers.[1]

To induce the Venetians to accept the overtures of the young Greek prince, there were not wanting many motives both of passion and policy. The alliance between their state and the Emperor Manuel Comnenus in the last age, had been converted, by his protection of Ancona, the commercial rival of the republic, into deadly enmity; in revenge for a general confiscation of the property of the Venetians in his ports, to which Manuel was provoked by their insolence, their fleets had ravaged the Byzantine islands and coasts; and though the Emperor, by a final submission to their demands, had appeased the haughty republic, the hatred of the people of Constantinople, during the license of subsequent revolutions, had repeatedly exposed the Venetian merchants in that capital to spoliation and massacre.[2] The arms of the republic, or the dread of her

[1] Nicetas, *in Andron. Comnen.*, *in Isaac Angel.*, *in Alex. Angel.*, *ad* lib. iii., &c.
[2] Cinnamus, lib. vi. c. 10. Nicetas, *in Manuel.* lib. ii. c. 5; *in Alex. Man. Filio*, c. 11; *in Isaac.* lib. ii. c. 10.

vengeance, generally, indeed, obtained indemnification for these outrages; but repeated broils cherished mutual national antipathy; and when the Pisans availed themselves of the temper of the Greeks to supplant the Venetians in their commercial relations with the empire, the exasperation of the latter people had reached its height. By assisting young Alexius, their republic would therefore both revenge her wrongs and regain her commercial advantages in the East. The politic Dandolo was not slow to anticipate the benefits which would accrue to his country from such an alliance; and he eagerly employed all his influence with the confederate barons to engage them in the design.[1]

For its adoption even as a means of advancing the ultimate object of the Crusade, some plausible arguments might be adduced. As the possession of Egypt was supposed to form the principal support of the Turkish arms in Palestine, the original design of the crusaders had been to attack the Infidels at that source of their power. But it was now contended by the Venetians, that any loss of time in deferring the projected invasion of Egypt would be richly repaid to the profit of the Crusade, by the advantages likely to arise from the command of the Byzantine resources, which young Alexius offered as the price of his father's restoration. The proposals, indeed, of the imperial exile, were of the most tempting nature: for he engaged not only to pay two hundred thousand marks among the crusaders as soon as his parent should be re-established on the throne; but also to put an end to the schism of the Greek and Latin churches by submitting his empire to the spiritual dominion of the Roman See; and either to combine personally with the crusaders, at the head of the Byzantine forces, in the subsequent expedition against Egypt, or in default of his own presence, to send ten thousand men at his charge for one year, and to maintain five hundred knights during his life for the defence of Palestine.[2] These promised benefits to the cause of the church and the Crusade might at first have a powerful influence in winning assent even among the more devout leaders of the war: but it must be doubted whether the motives of their subsequent conduct were equally pure and disinterested; and since the diversion of their arms against Zara had familiarized the minds of the crusading host to the postponement of their vows, it may be suspected that the successful siege and sack of that city had but awakened their appetite for a more splendid achievement and a richer booty.

The influence of such feelings is detected in their second and more deliberate contempt of the prohibition, which Innocent III.

[1] Nicetas, *in Alex.* lib. iii. c. 9, expressly accuses the Doge and Venetians as the instigators of the French crusaders.

[2] Villehardouin, No. xlvi. *Chron.* Danduli, lib. x. c. 3.

now fulminated against their design. The Byzantine usurper, anticipating the proposal of young Alexius, had, by a solemn embassy to Rome, offered to place the religious affairs of his empire under the government of the Latin papacy, and requested the presence of a legate from Rome; and the ambitious Innocent, hoping thus to secure the submission of the Greek church, as the price of keeping the reigning tyrant on the Byzantine throne, promised him protection against his enemies. The pontiff, therefore, proceeded positively to interdict the crusaders from espousing the cause of the imperial exile, or arrogating to themselves any authority for the redress of wrongs among Christians, or the suppression of schism, for which it was the province of the Holy See alone to provide. But, by the Venetians, the commands of the Pope were immediately treated with such open disregard, that the cardinal legates, whom he had despatched to Zara to enforce them, hopelessly quitted the place and sailed direct for Palestine; and their example was followed by a number of barons and other crusaders, including many most renowned for their devout and warlike spirit, who conscientiously dreaded to incur the papal censures, by turning their arms against the Eastern Empire: while not a few disguised, under the same pretext, their secret dread to engage in an enterprise so perilous and disproportioned to the assembled force of the confederates. Since, indeed, submission to the Papal authority was identified with every pious sentiment of the age, it is impossible not to conclude that, in the minds of the remaining leaders and soldiery, the temptations of glorious or gainful adventure had triumphed over religious considerations; and chiefly through the personal persuasions, as it is said, of the Venetian Doge, the proposals of young Alexius, despite of the impending thunders of the Vatican, were finally accepted by the Marquis of Montferrat, the Counts of Flanders, Blois, and St Paul, with eight other great French barons, and the majority of their followers.[1]

However apparently inadequate for the conquest of an ancient empire, the armament wherewith the Doge of Venice and the confederate barons now sailed for Constantinople, was of its kind the most complete and formidable which the world had yet witnessed. The fleet was composed of fifty great galleys of war, one hundred and twenty flat-bottomed horse transports, called *palanders* or *huissiers*,[2] two hundred and forty vessels filled with troops and warlike engines, and seventy store-ships laden with provisions. On

[1] Villehardouin, No. xlv. xlvii. lii. *Vita Innocent III.* p. 533. *Ejusdem Epistolæ*, No. xlvii. &c.

[2] The origin of the former term for such a description of naval transport has been lost; the latter is derived from the *huis*, or door in the side of the vessel, which was let down as a drawbridge for the purpose of shipping and landing the horses. Du Cange, on Villehardouin, No. xiv.

board this navy of nearly five hundred sail—of which the enumeration conveys so magnificent an idea of the wealth and power of the great republic—there were embarked, under the confederate barons of the Crusade, six thousand cavalry, composed of two thousand knights with their esquires and sergeants, or mounted attendants, and ten thousand foot: besides the Venetian sea and land forces, of which the numbers might be loosely estimated at twenty thousand more.[1] Although the Byzantine usurper was early apprised of the destination and force of this hostile armament, he made not a single effort to oppose its course; the crusaders were permitted successively, during a tardy navigation, to refresh themselves and their horses, and to replenish their provisions on the coasts aud islands of Greece; and they finally approached the port of Constantinople itself without having encountered an enemy. The Byzantine navy, which, it is said, had but lately numbered sixteen hundred vessels of war, might have sufficed to harass, and even to destroy, on its passage an armament, so encumbered with horses and stores: but the Greek admiral, Michael Struphnos, brother-in-law of the usurper, had, in the baseness of his avarice, broken up the hulls of the shipping, that he might sell, for his private profit, the masts, rigging, and iron work; and the port of Constantinople now contained only twenty galleys. The shores of the Propontis might have furnished abundant timber for the construction of a new navy: but the eunuchs of the palace, to whom the charge of the imperial forests was intrusted for the purposes of the chase, would not suffer a tree to be felled for the public defence. To this and every other object of patriotism, the whole nation indeed was alike insensible: for the unwarlike and degenerate Greeks, as a race in whom the despotism of centuries had extinguished every spark of generous shame, beheld in cowering apathy the approach of a detested enemy; and without favouring the cause of the younger Alexius, the people both of the capital and provinces were equally indifferent to the danger of the tyrant who filled their throne.[2]

If that usurper himself, or his adherents, had been capable of exerting even the passive courage of a defence, the natural strength and resources of the capital might have defied the efforts of assailants, whom the able-bodied inhabitants outnumbered at the lowest estimate as ten to one. When the Venetian navy arrived before the walls of Constantinople, and the gorgeous city, which the ad-

[1] According to Sanuto, *Vite de Duchi de Venezia*, (in *Script. Rer. Ital.* vol. xxii.) p. 528, the land forces of the Republic in the expedition were four hundred and fifty cavalry and eight thousand foot. But after the first siege of Constantinople, Villehardouin (No. cliii.) estimates the total combined army of French and Venetians at only twenty thousand men.

[2] Villehardouin. No. lvi. lvii. Rhamnusius, *De Bello Constantinopolitano*, &c. lib. i. p. 33. Nicetas, (*in Alexio*), lib. iii. c. 9

miration of the crusaders deemed well worthy of being the mistress and queen of the world, burst in all her magnitude and splendour upon their astonished gaze, there was no heart so stout, is the simple and emphatic confession of the noble companion and chronicler of the adventure, but recoiled with dread at the spectacle of her massive ramparts and gigantic towers; for never surely had so great an enterprise been essayed.[1] But with the awe which the bravest might not feel ashamed to confess, was not the less mingled a magnanimous spirit which rose with the danger; and each warrior, looking upon his arms, reflected with unshaken resolution that the hour was at hand in which these must serve the need, and would suffice to insure the event, of glorious achievement. As a strong wind swept the armament past the walls of the majestic capital towards the opposite shore, the fleet was there brought to anchor; and the chivalry disembarking, took possession of the Asiatic suburb of Chrysopolis, the modern Scutari, and during nine days reposed in an imperial palace and gardens. This interval of inaction was marked by some negotiations, in which the Byzantine usurper offered to expedite their march through Asia Minor against the Infidels, but menaced them with destruction if their purpose was hostile to his state; while the Doge and barons sternly replied, that they had entered the empire in the cause of Heaven to avenge the wrongs which he had committed, and boldly admonished him that if he hoped for mercy he must descend from the throne which he had unjustly seized.[2]

After this declaration, they prepared to cross the Bosphorus to the European shore,—the whole body of the chivalry being divided into six corps or battles, two composed of Flemish knights with their attendant archers under Count Baldwin and his brother, three of French crusaders led respectively by the Counts of Blois and St Paul, and the Lord of Montmorency, and the sixth or reserve of Italians and Germans under the Marquis of Montferrat. The knights and sergeants embarked in the palanders, with their horses ready saddled and caparisoned; the Venetian galleys took them in tow; and, in this order, they stood across the strait towards the European suburb of Galata, which commands the entrance of the port. The Greek cavalry were drawn out on the beach in far superior force to oppose their landing: but when the knights, as soon as the water reached only to their girdles, leapt from the vessels, lance in hand, the enemy immediately fled; and the horses being brought on shore, the cavaliers mounted, pursued the flying squa-

[1] *Et sacheiz que il ne ot si hardi cui le cœur ne fremist, et ce ne fut merveil, car oneques si grande affaire ne fut enterpris*—(and know that no one was so bold that his heart did not tremble; and no wonder, for never was so great an enterprise undertaken.) Villehardouin, No. lxvi.

[2] Villehardouin, No. lviii.-lxxxi.

drons, and captured the imperial camp without striking a blow. On the following morning, after a faint sally by the Greeks, the assailants entered the town of Galata with the fugitives, the chain which from thence secured the mouth of the harbour was broken; and the whole Venetian fleet entering the port of Constantinople in triumph, the remains of the imperial navy either fell into their hands, or were driven on shore and burnt.[1]

Though the port was thus captured, the gigantic works, by which the city itself was completely enclosed and separated from the suburbs, might still bid defiance to the efforts of the crusaders: but their courage and confidence were unbounded. Though their numbers were insufficient to observe more than a single front of the walls, they determined to commence a regular siege; and this magnanimous resolution presents the singular and amazing example of the investment of the largest and strongest capital in the world by a few thousand men. The perils and the hardihood of this extraordinary enterprise were enhanced by the privations under which it was prosecuted. Of flour and salt provisions, the confederates had a supply but for three weeks left; clouds of Greek cavalry confined their few foragers to the camp; and their only fresh meat was obtained by the slaughter of their own horses. Delay was therefore far more to be dreaded than the resistance of the enemy; and the preparatory operations of the siege were urged with superhuman exertions. The possession of the harbour determined the point of attack; and against the walls on that side two hundred and fifty great projectile and battering engines were planted. When by incredible labour the ditch had been filled up, and some impression made upon the defences, the French and Venetians agreed to attempt a simultaneous assault: the former from their approaches against the land faces; the latter from their galleys upon the fronts which overlooked the port. Standing upon the raised deck of his vessel, with the gonfalon, or great banner of St Mark, floating over his head, the venerable Doge himself led the naval attack; and such was the ardour excited by his presence, his voice, and his example, that the line of galleys was boldly rowed to the beach under the walls; by ladders from the foot of the ramparts, and by drawbridges let down upon their battlements from the masts of the loftier vessels, the defences were surmounted; and the banner of the Republic was planted on one of the twenty-five towers which were carried by the assailants.

But meanwhile the attack on the land side had been less successful; every gallant effort of the French chivalry to scale the walls through the imperfect breaches had been repulsed by the assistance of some Pisan colonists and the valour of the Varangian,

[1] Villehardouin, No. lxxxii. Nicetas (*in Alexio*), lib. iii. c. 10.

or Anglo-Saxon and Danish guards, ever the firmest support of the Byzantine throne;[1] and the numerous cavalry of the Greeks, pouring from the gates, threatened to surround and overwhelm the scanty array of the exhausted crusaders. The Doge learning their danger, after setting fire to the quarter of the city which he had entered, and which was thus reduced to ashes, drew off his triumphant forces to the succour of his fainting allies; and the pusillanimous Greeks, without daring a closer or prolonged encounter, disgracefully retired within the shelter of their walls. The confederates passed the succeeding night in eager rather than anxious suspense: but such was the terror with which the usurper Alexius was seized at the balanced success of the conflict, that, under cover of the darkness, he basely fled from his capital with a part of the imperial treasures. On the discovery of his absence, the trembling nobles of the palace drew his blind and captive brother Isaac from the dungeon to the throne; and, when morning dawned, the leaders of the crusaders were astonished by an embassy from the restored emperor, announcing the revolution, desiring the presence of his son, and inviting them also to receive his grateful acknowledgments.[2]

The first proceeding of the confederates, on the receipt of this message, was to depute two barons and two Venetians to wait upon the emperor with their felicitations, and with a less welcome demand for the fulfilment of the engagements which his son had contracted in his name. While he admitted that their services were entitled to the highest recompense which was his to bestow, Isaac heard with consternation the extent of the conditions which he was required to ratify: the payment of two hundred thousand marks of silver, the employment of the imperial forces in the service of the Crusade, and the submission of the Greek Church to the spiritual authority of the Pope. But the immediate subscription of the emperor to these onerous terms was peremptorily insisted upon, and, however reluctantly, obtained. On the return of the envoys to the camp, young Alexius was permitted to make his triumphant entry into the city, attended by the Latin chiefs; and the joint coronation of the aged emperor and his son, which was joyfully celebrated, seemed to announce a peaceful con-

Isaac and his son Alexius restored.

[1] On the subject of the Anglo-Saxon emigrations which filled the ranks of the Varangian guards of the Byzantine throne, there is some difference of opinion. Du Cange, indeed (Notes on Villehardouin, No. lxxxix. &c.), labours to prove that these Varangians came from the northern continent of Europe only: but the words of Villehardouin are explicit, *Anglois et Danois*. It is not probable that a French knight could have confounded their race; and his statement is in agreement with the fact, that impatience of the Norman tyranny had, ever since the epoch of the Conquest, driven multitudes of the bolder spirits among the oppressed English to seek a more honourable existence in foreign countries.

[2] Villehardouin, No. lxxxii.-xcix. Danduli, *Chron.* p. 321, 322. Nicetas (*in Alexio*), lib. iii. *ad fin.* *Vitæ Innocent. III.* c. 91, p. 533, 534.

clusion to the recent struggle. This fallacious promise of concord between two nations so mutually obnoxious as the Latins and Greeks, was of short duration. To satisfy the rapacious demands of their deliverers, the emperors, in the low state of the Byzantine treasury, were compelled to make many grievous exactions from their subjects: the warlike Franks cared not to conceal their insolent disdain for a pusillanimous people; and, above all, the veneration of the Greeks for the peculiar forms and doctrines of their faith—the only symptom of virtuous feeling which, discernible as it is throughout the long annals of their degradation, may command some share of our respect—was outraged by the undisguised design of subjugating their church to the Papal yoke. From the very altar of the Cathedral of St Sophia, the Patriarch of Constantinople was compelled, at the dictation of the crusaders, to proclaim the spiritual supremacy of the Roman Pontiff; and the people were required to subject their consciences to the doctrines and discipline of a church which they had ever been taught to regard with horror as schismatic and heretical. By these measures, their political and religious antipathy was extended to the young emperor as the ally and creature of the detested foreigners; and the conduct of Alexius himself did not tend to win the favour, or to command the respect, of his offended subjects. While the boisterous orgies and rude freedoms, which marked the social intercourse of the Western Nations, shocked the superior refinement or ceremonial pride of the Greeks, the young emperor, regardless alike of the difference in national manners, and of his own dignity, continued to visit the quarters, and to share in the debaucheries and gaming of the Franks. In one of these carousals, he suffered the diadem to be snatched in sportive or contemptuous familiarity from his head, and exchanged for the coarse woollen cap of some low reveller; and the contempt, as well as the aversion of his subjects, was not unjustly provoked against the unfeeling or thoughtless boy, who could thus basely, in the eyes of insolent barbarians, sully the lustre and dishonour the majesty of his imperial crown.[1]

Through all these causes, Alexius soon found that he had become so odious to his countrymen as to render the continued presence of his Latin allies indispensable to the security of his throne; and he endeavoured, by the promise of further rewards, to induce them to postpone their departure, and the prosecution of their crusading vows, until the following spring. He found them little loth to accede to his terms. On the first restoration of Isaac, indeed, the Latin barons had given some signs of pursuing the original purpose of their confederacy, had sent a defiance to the Sultan of Egypt, and had deprecated the anger of the Pope at their repeated disobedience

[1] Nicetas, *in Isaacum et Alexium Angelos*, c. 1-3. Villehardouin, No. xclx.-ci.

by entreaties for pardon, and by assurances that thenceforth their arms should be devoted exclusively to the sacred service of Palestine. The Venetians also had condescended to solicit a reconciliation with the Holy See; and Innocent was so well satisfied with the prospect of bringing the Greek Church under his dominion, and so rejoiced to recognise the slightest symptom of penitence in those stubborn republicans, that he extended absolution to them, as well as to their more submissive baronial confederates. But, in truth, both the Doge and his noble allies were by this time almost equally ready to disregard the Papal displeasure and the objects of the Crusade for their personal profit; and Alexius seems to have experienced little difficulty in purchasing their continued services until the spring, as soon as he had quieted their consciences by repeating the condition, that he would then accompany them to Egypt with the recruited forces of his empire.[1]

Great part of Constantinople burned.

To occupy the interval, and enforce the recognition of his disputed authority over the imperial territories, the Marquis of Montferrat, with a body of the confederate chivalry, successfully conducted the young prince in an expedition through the Thracian provinces; but, during this absence, the hatred of the people of the capital was fatally aggravated by the misconduct of the Latins. Though, for the prevention of feuds, a separate quarter had been assigned to the strangers in the suburb of Galata or Pera, some Flemings and Venetians, during a visit to the city, attacked a commercial colony of Musulmans, which had long enjoyed the protection of the Byzantine emperors. The Infidels, though surprised, defended themselves bravely: the Greek inhabitants assisted them, while some Latin residents aided the aggressors; and, during the conflict, the latter set fire to a building, from whence the flames spread with such frightful rapidity, that, before they could be extinguished, a third part of the magnificent city was reduced to ashes. During eight days, the conflagration raged over above a league in extent from the port to the Propontis: immense quantities of merchandise and other valuable property were destroyed, and thousands of families were reduced to beggary. The Latin chiefs expressed their vain sorrow for a calamity which, as produced by the unbridled license of their followers, it should rather have been their care to prevent; but the suffering and exasperated Greeks were little disposed to credit their sincerity. Moreover, as some of the Italian settlers in the capital had instigated or shared the outrage, the vengeance of the sufferers was specially directed against the ingratitude of these foreigners who had long been naturalized among them; and to the number of fifteen thousand persons, the whole body were compelled to abandon

[1] *Vita Innocent. III.* p. 534. Villehardouin, No. ci.-ciii.

their dwellings, and to consult their safety by flight to the suburban quarters of the crusaders.[1]

From this epoch, the national animosity of the Greeks and Latins mutually increased to a deadly height; and, when the young emperor returned to his capital, he found the rupture incurable, and his own position such, that he was scarcely permitted to choose between the party of his subjects and that of his allies. By the Greeks, he was more than ever abhorred as the tool of their oppressors; by the Latin chiefs, without consideration for the difficulties which oppressed his government, his hesitation in fulfilling the pecuniary conditions of the alliance was resented with suspicion and menaces. Not deigning to admit the public distresses which the late conflagration had grievously aggravated, as any excuse for delay in the collection and payment of their promised reward, the confederate leaders suddenly adopted the most violent counsels; and an embassy was sent, in the name of the Doge of Venice, and of the barons of the army, to defy the two emperors in their own palace. After fearlessly delivering their haughty message, the envoys mounted their horses, and returned to the quarters of the confederates; and hostilities, to which the two emperors were the only reluctant parties, as they were also the first victims, immediately commenced on both sides.[2]

Renewal of hostilities.

Such was the unhappy condition of the nation and the times, that the only man among the Greeks who had courage and ability to undertake the defence of his country, was placed in the odious light of a traitor and an usurper. Alexius Angelus Ducas, surnamed Mourzoufle, from his shaggy eyebrows, a prince allied by blood to the imperial house, had been the chief instrument in urging the vacillating young Emperor to resist the haughty demands of the Latins; and in the war of skirmishes which now ensued, his personal valour and energy were invidiously contrasted with the weakness or reluctance of his sovereign. The seditious populace of Constantinople demanded the deposition of Isaac and his son, whom they stigmatized as the secret friends of the invaders; and after the prudence of several members of the nobility had induced them to decline the proffered dignity of the purple, a young patrician, named Nicholas Canabus, was tempted by his vanity to accept the Byzantine crown. But the valour of Ducas had meanwhile gained the suffrages of the Varangian guards; the imperial puppet of the hour was displaced without resistance; Isaac and his son were persuaded to seek safety in flight, and were betrayed into a dungeon, in which the former soon expired of grief and terror; and the more

Revolution in Constantinople.

A.D. 1204.

[1] Nicetas, *in Isaac. et Alex.* p. 272-274. Villehardouin, No. cvii.-cviii.
[2] Villehardouin, No. cix.-cxii. Nicetas, *ubi suprà.*

deserving patriot or successful conspirator was unanimously called to the throne. From the hour in which Ducas assumed the insignia of empire, a new impulse was given to the Byzantine counsels: the walls of the capital were guarded with active discipline; many sallies were at least boldly directed; two attempts, frustrated only by the intrepidity and skill of the Venetian sailors, were made to burn the Latin fleet; and if it had been possible to nerve the hearts of the Greeks in the national cause, its ruin might yet have been averted by the spirit of their leader. But in every encounter before the walls and in the adjacent country, Ducas was deserted by the cowardice of his new subjects; he found it necessary to negotiate with the invaders; and when they insisted on the restoration of the deposed emperor, he attempted to remove that obstacle to an accommodation, since Isaac was already dead, by the murder of his remaining prisoner Alexius.[1]

Second siege of Constantinople,

When the intelligence of this event reached the camp of the crusaders, the causes of resentment which had separated them from the young ally and companion of their voyage, were forgotten in commiseration and horror at his untimely and cruel fate. They passionately swore to revenge his death upon a perfidious usurper and nation;[2] and the crime of Ducas served only to exasperate the enmity, while it inflamed the ambition, of these formidable assailants. Conceiving themselves now released from all obligations of forbearance towards a race so inhuman and treacherous as the Greeks, and easily adopting the convenient doctrine that it was a religious duty to punish their murder of a prince by the conquest and dismemberment of his empire, the Doge and confederate barons proceeded to sign a treaty of partition by which, in the hardy confidence of valour, and undaunted by the disparity of their force to the perilous magnitude of the enterprise, they anticipated the result of their astonishing achievements. It was agreed that, after liquidating, out of the booty to be captured, the pecuniary claims of Venice for the expenses of the armament, the remainder should be equally shared between the troops of the crusaders and the republic; that the existence of the empire should be preserved, and one of the confederate barons raised to its throne, but with only a fourth of its present territories for the support of his title; and that, of the remaining three-fourths, one moiety should be surrendered in full

[1] Villehardouin, No. cxiii.-cxix. *Vita Innocent. III.* p. 534, 535. Nicetas, *in Isaac. et Alex.* c. 4, 5, *in Mourzuflum*, c. 1.

[2] Yet if Nicetas (p. 280) may be credited, in preference to the Latin authorities who do not notice such a transaction, the crusading barons, by the advice of the Doge of Venice, were still willing to have granted peace to the usurper for fifty thousand pounds of gold: but mutual distrust broke off the negotiation.

sovereignty to Venice, and the other divided into imperial fiefs among the nobles of the Crusade.[1]

The winter had been consumed in desultory conflicts or in necessary preparation; but, with the return of spring, the confederates having completed the arrangement of their daring project, proceeded to put it into execution. To prevent a repetition of the failure in the last attack upon the walls from the separation of their forces, it was determined that the assault of the capital should be attempted from the port alone; and the Venetian fleet being distributed into six divisions, to correspond with the former arrangement of the chivalry into as many *battles*, one body of knights embarked in the palanders of each squadron with their horses and followers. In this order the whole armament crossed the harbour, and assaulted the same line of defences, against which the Venetians had before successfully exerted their efforts. But, though the depth of water permitted the vessels to approach near enough to the walls for the combatants on the ramparts and on the drawbridges and rope ladders, which were let down from the upper works of the galleys, to fight hand to hand; the insecure footing of the assailants on these frail and floating machines, and the firm vantage-ground and superior numbers of the besieged, rendered the combat so unequal, that the former, after astonishing feats of valour, were finally repulsed at every point. Instructed but not intimidated by this failure, the Venetians now undertook to supply their allies with the means of approaching the walls in steadier array; the large vessels were strongly lashed together in pairs to increase their stability and impulsive force; and three days having been spent in preparation and refreshment, the assault was again given with resistless vigour and happier fortune.

From sunrise to noon, the slow advance of the heavy line of vessels was retarded by vollies of missiles which were showered from the walls; the recent success of the Greeks had animated their spirit into a courageous resistance; and the issue of the conflict still hung in dangerous suspense: when a strong breeze, suddenly springing up from the north, all at once drove the double galleys with propitious violence against the walls. The names of the two linked vessels—the Pilgrim and Paradise—having on board the martial Bishops of Soissons and Troyes, which first touched the walls, were repeated with loud shouts as an omen of divine aid; the panic-stricken Greeks fled from their posts; four towers, with a long line of rampart, were escaladed and carried; and three gates being burst open, the

and capture of the city. April 12.

[1] *Epistola Balduini, in Vitâ Innocent. III.* p. 536. Danduli, *Chronicon (in notis,)* p. 326.

knights led their horses on shore from the palanders, mounted, and swept through the streets of Constantinople in battle array. In the mazes of a vast capital, indeed, their cavalry might have been useless, their feeble numbers might have been lost and overpowered; in the hands of a brave people, every house might have been defended, every church and palace and massive building converted into an impregnable fortress. So conscious were the victors of their danger, that they immediately began to fortify the first quarters which they had seized; passed the night under arms; and setting fire to the streets in their front, produced a new conflagration, which in a few hours consumed another portion of the city equal in extent, according to the confession of their chronicler, to any three towns in France. But these precautions were needless against an enemy whom neither patriotism nor despair, neither the ruin of their country and fortunes, nor the violence with which the licentious passions of a ferocious soldiery menaced their own lives and the honour of their women, could rouse to one generous or manly effort. The Emperor Ducas, finding it impossible to animate his craven subjects with any portion of his own spirit, abandoned them to their fate, and retired from the city with his family. After his flight, the brave efforts of two other illustrious Greeks, Theodore Ducas and Theodore Lascaris—the latter of whom was destined subsequently to re-establish and sustain the fortunes of his country—proved for the time equally ineffectual; a suppliant train bearing crosses and images sought the quarters, to implore the mercy of the crusaders for the fallen capital; and when morning dawned, the Latin chiefs, who had anticipated that the reduction of the whole city would still cost them at least the labour of a month, found themselves masters of the Eastern empire.[1]

Pillage of Constantinople.

But while they gladly accepted the submission, they were deaf to the abject prayers of the Greeks. Constantinople was abandoned to a general pillage, during which the miserable inhabitants witnessed and endured every extremity of horror. Yet even the brutal and licentious soldiery were surpassed in cruelty by the Latin residents who had been recently expelled from the city, and chiefly by whose revengeful malice two thousand of the unresisting Greeks were wantonly murdered in cold blood. Insult and sacrilege were added to rapine and debauchery; the churches and national worship of the Greeks were defiled and profaned; and by the followers of a crusading army was strangely enacted at Constantinople the same impious scene, which another European capital was to exhibit to modern times, of enthroning a painted strumpet in a Christian cathedral.[2] The worst vices were

[1] Villehardouin, No. cxx.-cxxx. *Epistola Balduini in Vitâ Innocent III.* p. 535, 536. Nicetas, *in Murzuflum*, c. 2.

[2] This "Goddess of Reason" of the thirteenth century was seated on the throne

freely perpetrated by the rabble of the camp and Latin suburbs; but attempts were made to control the privilege of rapine for the general benefit of the victors; on pain of excommunication and death, all individuals were commanded to bring their booty to appointed stations for a public division; and though some incurred the penalty of disobedience, and many more successfully secreted their spoils, the quantities of treasure which were collected exceeded the most greedy or sanguine expectation. After satisfying the claims of the Venetians, the value of the share which fell to the French crusaders is estimated, by their chronicler, at four or five hundred thousand marks, besides ten thousand horses; and another eye-witness declares that, by the division of the booty, the poorest of the host were rendered wealthy.[1]

But the gain of the adventurers, however enormous, bore a small proportion to the destruction and waste of property by which their victory was attended. It would be vain to estimate the wealth of ages which had been consumed in three conflagrations, or spoiled in the wantonness of a sack. But every scholar and lover of the arts must deplore the irreparable loss of those relics of the literature and sculpture of classical antiquity, which perished in the fall of Constantinople. Her libraries, still containing many precious remains of the best ages of Greece and Rome, which have not been preserved to our times, were now abandoned to the flames by the ignorant indifference of the barbarian conquerors; but their malevolence or cupidity was more actively exercised in the destruction of those beauteous monuments of which Constantine had robbed the ancient seat of empire to enrich his new capital. In the furious violence of conquest, or in mere wanton love of destruction, the statues of marble were mutilated or thrown down from their pedestals: but those of bronze were melted, with insensible and sordid avarice, to afford a base coin for the payment of the soldiery. This barbarous abuse of the right of conquest was probably the work of the rude barons of France: for the more refined Venetians, with better taste, if not with less injustice, converted a portion of their spoil into a national trophy; and removed to St Mark's Place in their capital those four celebrated horses of bronze which, at the distance of six centuries, still present the most striking memorial of the glory and ruin of the once mighty republic.[2]

to represent the office and person of the patriarch, while drunken revellers in ribaldrous songs and dances mocked the chants and ceremonies of the Greek worship. Nicetas, p. 803.

[1] Villehardouin, No. cxxx.-cxxxv. *Vita Innocent III.* p. 536-538. Nicetas, *in Murzuflum, ad fin.*

[2]
Before St Mark still glow his steeds of brass,
Their gilded collars glittering in the sun;
But is not Doria's menace come to pass?
Are they not bridled?

After the division of their booty, the leaders of the confederate host assembled to consummate the more important work of partitioning an empire. For the preliminary business of nominating one of their number to fill the spoliated throne of the Cæsars, six persons of each nation, French and Venetian, were appointed under one of the provisions of the existing treaty; and this council now balanced the claims of the Marquis of Montferrat, hitherto the chosen leader of the Crusade, and of the Count of Flanders: for though the superior merits of the Doge to either were generously suggested by the French electors, his own countrymen, with the patriotic jealousy of republican freedom, declared the imperial dignity incompatible with the office of the first magistrate of their commonwealth. The final choice of the council fell upon the Count of Flanders, determined, perhaps, by his descent from Charlemagne, his alliance by blood to the King of France, and the anticipated repugnance of the French barons to obey an Italian sovereign. As soon as this decision of the electors was announced, Baldwin was raised upon a buckler, according to the Byzantine custom, by his brother barons and knights, borne on their shoulders to the church of St Sophia, invested with the purple, and exhibited to the Greeks as their new emperor. His rival, and now his vassal, the Marquis of Montferrat, was consoled by the possession of Macedonia and great part of proper Greece, with the regal title; and the remaining barons shared, by lot or precedence of rank, the various provinces of the empire in Europe, and Asia which remained at their choice, after the stipulated appropriation of three-eighths of the whole to the Venetian republic. Besides that proportion of the capital itself, Venice thus obtained the sovereignty of Crete, of most of the islands in the Ionian and Ægean seas, and of a long chain of maritime ports on the continent from the capes of the Adriatic to the Bosphorus. While the republic, in virtue of this partition, arrogated to her venerable Doge and his successors the proud and accurate title of lords of one-fourth and one-eighth of the empire of Romania, to the new sovereign of Constantinople had been reserved in immediate sovereignty only one-fourth of the Byzantine dominions; and on all sides the narrow and inadequate limits of his throne were surrounded by vassals, who only nominally acknowledged, and by enemies who wholly denied the legality of his reign.[1]

Baldwin of Flanders, first Latin Emperor of the East.

The eagerness of the Latin adventurers to occupy their several allotments of the territorial spoil, discovered the total insufficiency of their divided strength to secure the work of conquest, which they had so daringly achieved. The dispersion of the French barons, each attended by no more than a few score of lances, over the vast

[1] Villehardouin, No. cxxxvi.-cxl. Danduli, *Chron.* lib. x. c. 3. Du Cange, *Hist. de Constantinople sous les Empereurs Français*, lib. 1.

provinces of the empire, betrayed to the subjugated nation the weakness of their conquerors, while the impolitic contempt by which the Greeks of all ranks found themselves excluded from employments and honours in the Latin court, increased their impatience to escape from a yoke, which they still wanted courage or concert to break. By degrees, therefore, from the capital and its neighbouring provinces on the European shores, the noblest born and the bravest of the Greeks withdrew into less accessible quarters of the dismembered empire to range themselves under the standards of native leaders. In Europe, for a moment after the fall of Constantinople, the imperial title was still arrogated by the two fugitive usurpers, the elder Alexius Angelus and Ducas Mourzoufle; and between them an apparent reconciliation was effected. During his short reign, Ducas had endeavoured to strengthen his pretensions to the imperial dignity by seizing the hand of a daughter of Alexius; and being now driven out of Adrianople on the advance of the Latins, he obtained, through the tender of allegiance to his father-in-law, a promise of such protection as his camp could afford. But he had no sooner placed himself in the power of Alexius, than that tyrant, even more perfidious than impotent, caused him to be deprived of his eyes and thrust from the camp. In this sightless and horrid condition, as he was endeavouring to escape across the Hellespont into Asia, Mourzoufle was arrested by the Latins; brought to trial for his own worst crime, the murder of young Alexius; and condemned to be cast, alive and headlong, from the lofty summit of the Theodosian pillar at Constantinople upon the marble pavement beneath.[1] The execution of this dreadful sentence on him was soon followed by the captivity of his betrayer Alexius, who was surprised by Boniface of Montferrat, and transported to an Italian dungeon. By the fate of these two usurpers, the principal support of the national cause of the Greeks devolved upon a young hero, who might maintain, in right of his wife, the hereditary claims, while he spurned the base qualities of the Angeli; and in whom the valour of Ducas was unsullied by the guilt of treason and murder. This was Theodore Lascaris, who had also married a daughter of Alexius Angelus; and whose gallant devotion to his country had already been signalised in the two sieges of Constantinople. Retiring, after the fall of the capital, across the Bosphorus into the recesses of Bithynia, and being joined by the most generous and congenial spirits of his nation, he there organized a resistance against the Latin adventurers, which not only prevented them from ever gaining a secure establishment in the Asiatic provinces of the empire, but prepared their expulsion from their European conquests. But the

Fall of Mourzoufle and Alexius Angelus.

[1] Villehardouin, No. clxi.-clxv. Nicetas, *in Balduin*, p. 393.

fate both of the Latin and Greek dynasties, which for sixty years were to dispute the sceptre of the Eastern empire, will reclaim our attention hereafter; and the connection of the History of the Crusades with the revolutions of Constantinople closes at the period before us.

End of the Fourth Crusade, 1204.

In the division and enjoyment of a conquered empire, the confederate barons who had embraced the service of the Cross now seemed as completely to have forgotten the original object of their expedition, as if it had never been undertaken for the deliverance of the Holy Sepulchre; and the vain trophies of a victory, not over Paynim but Christian enemies—the gates and chain of the harbour of Constantinople—sent by the new Emperor of the East to Palestine,[1] were the only fruits of the Fourth Crusade which ever reached the Syrian shores.

[1] Nicetas, *in Balduin.* p. 383.

CHAPTER IX.

THE LAST FOUR CRUSADES;

INCLUDING A SKETCH OF THE BYZANTINE EMPIRE DURING THEIR PROGRESS.

From the first hour of its establishment, the Latin Empire of the East was foredoomed to a hopeless condition of weakness and decay. The appropriation of three-eighths of the conquered provinces to the Venetian republic; the division of an equal portion among feudal chieftains, who acknowledged only a nominal supremacy in the imperial possessor of the remaining fourth; the escape of the bravest of the Greeks into Epirus and Asia, and the common and deep detestation with which the whole race of their subjugated countrymen regarded the government of the Western barbarians and the supremacy of a heretical church, all conspired to promote the rapid dissolution of that splendid but unreal fabric of conquest, which a few thousand adventurers had suddenly founded amidst the ruins of the Byzantine throne. The mutual jealousies and dissensions of the conquerors would alone have been fatal to the stability of their dominion; and the contempt in which they held the pusillanimous character of the Greeks, blinded them to the imprudence of outraging the national feelings of an acute and subtle people, who eagerly watched every symptom of their weakness and disunion, and silently awaited the season of reaction and revenge. So insensible were the Latins to the insecurity and danger of their position, that, only a few months after the conquest of Constantinople, as if no better occupation could be found against the common enemy, their two principal potentates, the Emperor Baldwin and Boniface of Montferrat, the new King of Macedonia, engaged in an open civil war, which was terminated with difficulty by the intervention of the Doge of Venice, and of the sovereign peers of the dismembered empire.[1]

This quarrel was scarcely composed when the titular reign of Baldwin was suddenly disturbed by a more formidable opponent, whose hostility was provoked by the Latin

A. D. 1204.

[1] Geoffroy de Villehardouin, *Histoire de la Prise de Constantinople*, Ed. Du Cange, fol. Paris, 1657. Paragraphs No. cxl.-clx. Du Cange, *Histoire de Constantinople sous les Empereurs François* (*in codem loco*), lib. i.

pride, and assisted by Greek dissaffection. This was Calo Johannes, or Joannice, King of Bulgaria, the ancient enemy of the Greek empire, who, on its subversion, had welcomed the Latins as natural allies, and invited their friendship by a congratulatory embassy. But Baldwin, who pretended to have succeeded to all the rights of the deposed dynasty, repulsed the Bulgarian envoys with disdain; treated their master as a revolted rebel against the Byzantine throne; and instead of accepting his alliance, demanded his allegiance. Joannice smothered this insult only until his emissaries had prepared the Greek provincials of Thrace to become the ready instruments of his vengeance. An extensive conspiracy was quickly and secretly organized; and the signal for its explosion was the departure from Constantinople of Henry, the brother of Baldwin, with the flower of the Latin chivalry, to attempt the reduction of the Asiatic provinces. Throughout Thrace, the Greek population rose simultaneously and suddenly against their oppressors; the Latins in the open country, unarmed and surprised, were everywhere mercilessly slaughtered; the feeble garrisons of the towns, for the most part, were either overpowered by the first shock of the revolt and massacred, or escaped in dismay by a gathering retreat upon the capital; and the loss of Adrianople, the second city of the empire, where the Venetians had established their chief post, and whence their forces were driven in disorder by the insurgent populace, completed the sum of disaster. To aggravate its effects, Joannice himself, at the head of his Bulgarians, and of a yet more fierce and savage horde of Comans[1], or Turcoman auxiliaries, poured into Thrace, and discovered to the Latins the extent of the combination against them.

A. D. 1205.

At this perilous juncture, Baldwin and his gallant compeers, who had rallied the broken remains of their chivalry round the capital, evinced the same high and dauntless spirit, and the same untempered disdain of all prudential considerations, which had already achieved

[1] In the Memoirs of Joinville (Johnes's Translation, p. 204) is a curious passage illustrative of a custom of this wild horde of the Comans. Louis IX. of France was joined in Palestine by "a most noble knight" of Constantinople, who informed the king that, when the Comans had once concluded an alliance with the Latins, their chief had insisted on the contracting parties "being blooded, and drinking alternately of each other's blood in sign of brotherhood." Joinville adds that, when this Byzantine knight and his companions took service with the French, they required the like pledge of himself and his countrymen; "and our blood being mixed with wine, was drunk by each party as constituting us all brothers of the same blood." The mention of this barbarous rite, thus borrowed by the Latins from the Pagan Comans, furnishes the indefatigable Du Cange with an occasion to discuss the whole subject of brotherly adoptions in arms. *Diss.* xxi. The Comans were a Tartar, or Turkoman horde, who encamped in the 12th and 13th centuries on the verge of Moldavia. They were mostly Pagans, but some were Mohamedans, and the whole tribe was converted to Christianity in 1370 by Louis, King of Hungary.

and endangered the possession of an empire. Instead of awaiting the arrival of Henry of Flanders and his more numerous bands, who had been recalled from the Asiatic war on the first alarm, the emperor resolved to take the field at the head of his scanty array, and to advance for the immediate recovery of Adrianople from the insurgents. The march was accomplished, and that city had already been invested, when the Latin chivalry was enveloped in a plain by a cloud of Bulgarian and Turcoman horse, who, according to their usual mode of combat, fled before every charge; lured their enemies into a precipitate and disorderly pursuit; and when the heavily armed French cavaliers had utterly exhausted their own strength and that of their steeds, turned suddenly upon them, surrounded and cut them to pieces. The Count of Blois, whose rash contempt of a salutary caution, had involved the Latin army in their destruction, paid the penalty of his presumption, and was slain on the spot; the emperor Baldwin, whose impetuosity had been carried away by the example, fell alive into the hands of a cruel enemy; and the remnant of the Latin host was saved from destruction only by the presence of mind, the skill, and the patient courage of the aged Doge of Venice and of the Marshal Villehardouin, the historian of the war.[1]

Defeat and captivity of Baldwin.

While the venerable Dandolo assumed the general direction of a retreat, his noble compeer rallied a rear-guard, and at its head firmly sustained the furious assaults of the pursuers; and in such order was safely accomplished an arduous march of three days, from the walls of Adrianople to the shores of the Hellespont. There, the exhausted forces of the Latins were met by the troops under Henry of Flanders, who had landed from the Asiatic coast; whose junction restored the balance of strength; and whose arrival, if it had been awaited before the late expedition, might have averted its disastrous issue. In the first ignorance of the Latins of the fate of their captive emperor, the regency of his dominions was intrusted to his brother Henry: but, after the lapse of a year, the king of Bulgaria, who had formerly obtained the papal friendship and patronage by professing his conversion to the Latin church, replied to the solicitations of Innocent III. for the release of Baldwin, that his imperial prisoner had expired in his dungeon. The manner of his death was never ascertained: but the fact (although twenty years later it was strongly brought into doubt) was firmly believed by his Eastern subjects; and after an affectionate delay, until all hope of his existence had been lost, his brother Henry consented to assume the imperial title.[2]

[1] Villehardouin, No. clxlv.–cxciii. Nicetæ Acominati Choniatæ, *Historia* (*in Script. Byzant.*), p. 383-416. Du Cange, *Hist. Constant.* lib. i. *ad finem.*

[2] Villehardouin, Nicetas, Du Cange, *ubi supra*, *ad fin.* *Gesta Innocentii III.* (in Muratori, *Script. Rer. Ital.* vol. iii.) c. 109. The balance of evidence is certainly

Henry, Latin Emperor of the East. A. D. 1206.

In the brief and calamitous annals of the Latin Empire of the East, the reign of the virtuous and prudent Henry presents the sole interval of comparative prosperity. By the death of his original compeers in the Fourth Crusade, he was gradually left to sustain with his single energy the arduous duties of defending the Latin States against the hostility, both of the Bulgarians in Europe, and of the Greek refugees of Asia. The king of Macedonia, after a zealous and gallant co-operation against the common enemy, which was cemented by a family alliance with the emperor, was slain in an unfortunate skirmish by the Bulgarian troops; the valiant marshal and faithful historian, Geoffroy of Villehardouin did not long survive him; and the decease of both had been preceded by that of the brave old Doge.[1] But, though deprived of these pillars of the Latin glory and fortune, Henry, by his courage and wisdom, nobly upheld and repaired the shattered edifice of dominion. By rescinding the impolitic exclusion of his Greek subjects from the public service, he conciliated their affections; and his judicious measures were assisted by the treacherous cruelty and tyranny with which the Bulgarian king repaid the Byzantine provincials for their seasonable revolt and alliance. That barbarian had already commenced a project for the depopulation of Thrace, and for the forcible withdrawal of the inhabitants beyond the Danube, when his measures were arrested by the approach of Henry: who, moved by the entreaties of the Greeks, hastened to the deliverance of the repentant rebels at the head of only a few hundred knights and their attendants. The inhabitants, on his approach, welcomed him with open arms; Bulgarian hosts of immense numerical superiority were repeatedly defeated by the skill of Henry and the well-directed valour of the Latin chivalry; and Joannice was ignominiously expelled from the Thracian provinces. The murder of the Bulgarian tyrant by his own subjects shortly afterwards relieved the Latin empire from his hostility; and his successor gladly accepted an honourable peace from his conqueror. The moderation of Henry induced him to seize the first opportunity

on the whole against the identity with the captive emperor, of the claimant who appeared in Flanders about twenty years afterwards, but his story was not improbable, and scarcely justifies the confidence with which Gibbon (ch. lxi. notes 29, 30) has pronounced it an imposture, chiefly, perhaps, for the purpose of ridiculing the "fables which were believed by the monks of St Alban's." He was hanged as an impostor in the great square of Lisle by order of Jane, Countess of Flanders, the daughter of the lost Baldwin.

[1] Dandalo was buried in the church of St Sophia at Constantinople, and his mausoleum existed till the destruction of the Greek empire; but it was demolished when that church was converted into a Turkish mosque. A Venetian painter, who worked for several years at the court of Mahomet II., obtained from the Sultan, on his return to his own country, the cuirass, the helmet, the spurs, and the cloak of the Doge, which he presented to the family of that illustrious man. Michaud, ii. 172.

of concluding with the Greek sovereigns of Nice and Epirus similar pacifications; which defined the limits of their respective states, and enabled him to close in tranquil glory a reign of ten years, which was too short for the happiness of his subjects.[1]

His death. A. D. 1216.

The mention of the Greek empire of Nice may momentarily divert our attention to the Asiatic shores of the Bosphorus. When Theodore Lascaris withdrew from servitude at the capture of Constantinople, to sustain the cause of personal and national freedom in the fastnesses of Bithynia, his authority was acknowledged by only three cities and two thousand armed followers: but his service was soon embraced by all his fugitive countrymen from the capital, who shared his disdain of a foreign yoke; and his martial efforts were favoured by the calamities of the Bulgarian war, which compelled the Latins to withdraw their forces from the prosecution of their Asiatic conquests. On the two-fold claim of his own merit, and of his union with the daughter of Alexius Angelus, the right of Lascaris to the imperial dignity was universally acknowledged by his adherents; and establishing the seat of his government at Nice, he made that city the capital of a state, which he quickly extended by his arms from the Hellespont to the Meander. His reign, of eighteen years, was terminated by death in the meridian of his age: but his place was filled by a noble Greek of congenial virtue, John Ducas Vataces, who had married his daughter, and succeeded to his throne; and whose glorious career of thirty-three years was not more distinguished by his success in arms, than by the virtues of his domestic administration.[2]

Theodore Lascaris, A. D. 1204.

John Ducas Vataces. A. D. 1222.

While the native dominion of the Greeks was reviving under these two heroes, the Latin empire had become a prey, after the death of Henry, to all the disorders of a feeble government. By the decease of the last of the two Flemish princes who had worn the crown of Constantinople, the male line of their house was extinct: the daughter of Baldwin had succeeded to the possession of his European State; Henry had left no issue, and the feudatories of the Byzantine State offered his throne to Peter de Courtenay, a French baron who had married his sister, and whose regal pedigree has been illustrated by a great historian.[3] Peter accepted the tempting but fatal honour, incautiously traversed the dangerous passes of Greece with a train of French knights, and, being entrapped into a perfidious truce with the despot of

Peter de Courtenay. A.D.1217.

[1] Villehardouin, No. cxciii. *ad fin. Gesta Innocent. III.* c. 106, 107. Du Cange, *Hist. Constant.* lib. ii. c. 1-22.

[2] Gibbon, ch. lxii. whom, for the Annals of the Greek Empire of Nice, we shall be contented to abridge.

[3] Gibbon, xi. 287. The English branch of this ancient family is represented by the Courtenays, Earls of Devon.

Epirus, the second of a race of Comnenian princes who had established an obscure independence on the ruins of the Greek em-
His death. A.D. 1219. pire, was thrown into a dungeon, in which he ended his life. Meanwhile the wife of Courtenay, Iolanta, the new Latin empress of the East, had reached Constantinople by sea; and during the short residue of her life, the government was administered in her name as regent for her captive or deceased lord.[1]

On her death, and the refusal of her eldest son to abandon his
Robert de Courtenay. A.D. 1221. French fief, Robert, his next brother, was summoned to ascend the Eastern throne, and his arrival at Constantinople was followed by his coronation. The chivalrous qualities of the House of Courtenay, which had been signalized in Europe and in Palestine, were ill sustained by Robert. He proved himself at once pusillanimous, indolent, and licentious; and, during his reign of seven years, the Latin empire, shaken on either side by the rude assaults of the Greeks of Nice and Epirus, rocked to its foundations. So corrupt was the spirit of the French adventurers who sought employment in the East, that the Greek emperor Vataces found no difficulty in enlisting whole bodies of them into his service against their countrymen. With such aid, his arms were every where successful: the fleets which he equipped commanded the seas, and reduced several of the islands on the coast of Asia Minor; and, in a disastrous attempt to check his victorious career, most of the hardy veterans of the Fourth Crusade, who had survived the storms of the Bulgarian and Grecian wars, were numbered with the slain. A disgraceful feud in the Byzantine Palace finally drove Robert from a throne which he wanted courage to defend against either foreign or domestic enemies. To revenge his seduction of the affianced bride of a Burgundian gentleman, the infuriated lover burst with a band of his friends into the imperial retreat, barbarously mutilated the beauty of his fair mistress, cast the mother, who had pandered to her falsehood, into the Hellespont, and openly braved the power of her paramour. When Robert demanded the assistance of his barons to punish this unpardonable outrage upon the laws of humanity and the majesty of the purple, they justified the act, and made common cause with the criminal; and the craven prince, too impotent to enforce retribution for the cruel offence and affront which he had provoked, abandoned his throne, and appealed to the judgment
His death. A. D. 1228. of the Papal Court. But the Pope was unwilling to commit his authority to the hazard of so profitless a quarrel; and the imperial exile was hurried by grief or pride to a premature grave.[2]

As Robert died without issue, the succession to his crown de-

[1] Du Cange, *Hist. Constant.* lib. ii. c. 22, *ad fin.*
[2] *Idem*, lib. iii. c. 1-12.

volved upon his younger brother Baldwin II., who was born at Constantinople shortly after the arrival of the Empress Iolanta and the capture of her husband, and who was still a minor. But, as the necessities of the State demanded a defender of maturer years, the barons of the empire offered a share of the imperial dignity to a valiant nobleman of Champagne, John de Brienne, who had already, as we shall hereafter observe, been raised by his merit to the titular crown of Jerusalem, and had resigned that visionary diadem, with the hand of his eldest daughter, to Frederic II., emperor of the West. Although this regal adventurer was already far advanced in life, he accepted the proposal of the Byzantine barons that he should ascend the imperial throne of Constantinople, upon condition of marrying his second daughter to his young colleague and destined successor, Baldwin II. During nine years, the aged hero nobly sustained the arduous duties of his station against the increasing resources and energies of the empire of Nice: but Vataces had now permanently re-established the Greek standard in Europe, and had recovered the greater portion of the ancient possessions of his nation in Thrace; the Latin territories were gradually circumscribed within the environs of the capital; the alliance of the Greek emperor with the king of Bulgaria threatened total ruin to the falling state; and the last exploit of John de Brienne was the repulse of their combined army and navy of one hundred thousand men and three hundred galleys from the walls of Constantinople.[1]

John de Brienne and Baldwin II. Latin Emperors of the East.

Death of Brienne. A. D. 1237.

The strength of the capital and the prowess of John de Brienne had deferred for twenty-four years the total extinction of the Latin empire: but the sceptre of all its territories was already held by the Greek conqueror. During his active and glorious career, Vataces had compelled the Comnenian sovereign of Epirus to resign the imperial title; and, reuniting Western Greece to the Eastern Provinces, he had consolidated his dominion over the whole expanse of country, from the Euxine to the Adriatic, and from the Danube to the Mediterranean. In a brief reign of only four years, his son and successor, Theodore Lascaris II., carried his victorious arms into the recesses of Bulgaria, and reduced that wild kingdom within its natural limits, and into its ancient submission to the Eastern Empire. The infancy of his son John made way for the rise of another hero of noble Greek family, Michael Palæologus. On the death of the second Theodore Lascaris, the guardianship of the infant emperor was wrested by a conspiracy from the hands of an unpopular favourite of the last reign, and obtained by Palæologus, whose martial reputation

Theodore Lascaris II. A. D. 1255.

His son John. A. D. 1259.

[1] Du Cange, *Hist. Constant.* lib. iii. c. 13, *ad fin.*

and post of constable of the French mercenaries gave him the command, and had secured him the affections, of the imperial troops.

Michael Palæologus.

The new regent soon aspired to a higher dignity, to which his pretensions were founded not only on his personal merit, but on the superior right of hereditary descent over the reigning dynasty; since his mother was a daughter of the last Alexius, and an elder sister of the princess, whom Theodore Lascaris had espoused. In the usual progress of such usurpation as the Eastern empire had often witnessed, Palæologus was first declared the guardian, next the colleague, of his young sovereign; and, finally, he was crowned as sole emperor, and John Lascaris was condemned to an empty title of honour and a harmless obscurity. The personal claims and the public services of Palæologus might extenuate his conduct in thus seizing the sceptre: but the guilt of his usurpation was subsequently deepened by an act of unpardonable cruelty towards his unfortunate pupil; and in order that Lascaris might be for ever incapacitated from reigning, he was deprived of his eyesight by command of his jealous oppressor.[1]

Baldwin II. sole Latin Emperor A. D. 1237.

It was in the second year of the reign of the vigorous usurper, that the success of a desultory and almost an accidental enterprise terminated the feeble existence of the Latin empire of the East. Since the death of John de Brienne, his son-in-law and colleague Baldwin II., upon whom the sole sovereignty devolved, had proved himself utterly incapable of defending his throne; and had spent a lesser portion of his nominal reign of twenty-five years in the Eastern capital, than in traversing Western Europe with vain supplications for pecuniary and military aid, and in exposing to public scorn his necessities and his weakness.[2] As the catastrophe of his inglorious fortunes approached, he slumbered in his palace; neither conscious of the imminence of his danger, nor prepared for one generous effort of despair. The repulse of an attack by Palæologus in person upon the suburbs of Constantinople, in the preceding year, might indeed have awakened him to the designs of that active and ambitious enemy. But such was the blind security of his government, that the squadron of galleys which the Venetians maintained in their Byzantine colony was suffered to carry away the flower of the French chivalry on a rash

[1] Gibbon, *ubi supra*, ch. lxii.

[2] His two mendicant visits to England are noticed by the Monk of St Alban's, p. 396, 637. In the first, he was first repelled with insult for presuming to land without permission, and afterwards, on explanation, received and dismissed by Henry III. with a charitable collection of some seven hundred marcs. In the second, he is contemptuously numbered by our uncourtly monk as *pauper*, profugus, *inglorius*, &c. (a beggar, a vagabond, and a craven), among the herd of princely beggars who were attracted to England, by the weak partiality of Henry III. for foreigners, to prey upon his liberality.

maritime expedition into the Euxine, at the very juncture when a body of the Greek troops was hovering about the gates of the capital. The commander of this hostile force was Alexius Strategopulus, the favourite lieutenant of the Emperor Michael, upon whom that prince had bestowed the title of Cæsar, and who now amply justified the confidence of his sovereign. By his knowledge of the weakness of the Latin garrison, and of the disposition of the inhabitants, he was encouraged to attempt the surprise of Constantinople. He was assisted by the concert or the favour of the native Greek population; by the hatred which the Genoese settlers bore to their Venetian rivals; by the cowardice of Baldwin; and by the general terror of the Latins. His troops were secretly admitted into the heart of the city, before their presence was discovered; at the first alarm Baldwin, escaping from his palace, sought safety on board the returning squadron from the Euxine, which arrived only in time to protect his flight to Italy; and the Greeks of Constantinople joyfully hailed the deliverance of their capital from a subjection of fifty-seven years to the Latin yoke.[1]

Extinction of the Latin Empire of the East. A. D. 1261.

The Emperor Michael Palæologus hastened to make his triumphant entry into the ancient and recovered seat of the empire of his nation; and the remainder of his reign was laboriously occupied in securing his dominion against the vengeance or ambition of the Latin Powers. From his fugitive rival Baldwin, in person, he had, indeed, little to dread; and that craven prince closed his worthless life in an indigent exile. But his empty offers had meanwhile seduced the cupidity of Charles of Anjou, king of the Sicilies, to bestow a daughter upon his son Philip as the heir to the titular diadem of the East, and to undertake the reconquest and partition of the Greek empire. The mingled prudence and good fortune of Palæologus defeated this design. His measures to conciliate the papacy by an acknowledgment of its spiritual supremacy, and a union of the Greek and Latin churches, belong to ecclesiastical history, as does also his success in averting a formidable invasion of his dominions by the French chivalry under Charles of Anjou, through the subsidies with which he supported the revolt of Sicily against that prince. The domestic reign of Palæologus was disturbed by a cruel persecution of his reluctant subjects to enforce their submission to the Papal authority; which, as his own insincerity in that cause was notorious, rendered his hypocritical policy the more atrocious. On his death, after a memorable reign of twenty-three years, of which the last nine had been shared by his son Andronicus, the dissolution of the hollow union of the two

Andronicus the Elder. A. D. 1282.

[1] Du Cange, *Hist. Constant.* lib. iv. v. *ad* c. 33.

churches was indignantly demanded by the unanimous voice of the Greek clergy and people, and proclaimed by the willing or constrained assent of the surviving emperor. Of that prince, the long and inglorious reign, succeeding to a period of comparative vigour, may be said to open a new period of decline in the Byzantine annals, which will hereafter lead us to survey the last agony and fall of the Greek empire.[1]

Meanwhile, having pursued to its catastrophe that great and singular episode in the history of the Crusades which was produced by the diversion of the Latin arms to the siege of Constantinople, we may here with propriety resume our general narrative of the progress of those Christian efforts for the recovery of the Holy Sepulchre, which had been interrupted by the conquest of the Byzantine empire. While the cupidity and ambition of the leaders of the Fourth Crusade seduced them to employ in that enterprise the forces which Pope Innocent III. had designed for the relief of Palestine, the state of the Mohammedan empire justified his reproach, that their disobedience had ruined the fairest occasion of re-establishing the Christian fortunes in that country. By continued dissensions among the princes of the house of Saladin and the Emirs who struggled for independence, the Musulman power in Syria was reduced to its lowest ebb; and a dreadful famine and consequent pestilence in Egypt would effectually have paralyzed all opposition from that dangerous quarter to the success of the crusading arms. The hopes excited for the Christian cause by the division and weakness of its enemies, were completely lost in the diversion of the Fourth Crusade against the Eastern Empire; and a truce for six years with Saphadin was the only advantage derived by the Latins on the Syrian coast from the distresses and alarm of the Infidels. During this interval of repose, the titular crown of Jerusalem devolved, by the death of Almeric and his queen Isabella, upon Mary, her daughter, by a prior marriage with Conrad of Tyre; and the clergy and barons of Palestine delegating to Philippe Auguste of France the choice of a husband for the young heiress, that monarch named John, son of the Count de Brienne, as an accomplished and distinguished knight who was worthy of sharing, and capable of defending, her throne. Having accepted the proffered honour, John de Brienne arrived in Palestine, and received the hand of Mary with the royal title.[2]

A. D. 1204.

A. D. 1210.

Soon after this event, on the expiration of the truce with Saphadin, the peace of Palestine was broken, less by the ambition of the

[1] Du Cange, *Hist. Constant.* lib. v. c. 34; vi. *ad* c. 13. Gibbon, ch. lxii.

[2] Abulfeda, lib. iv. p. 182-194. *Contin.* Will. Tyr. (in Martenne, *Vet. Script. Coll.* vol. v.) p. 646-668.

Musulman prince, than by a rash refusal to renew the treaty with him, which had apparently been dictated in the Christian councils by the anticipation of powerful aid from France. But the new King of Jerusalem brought with him from Europe only a slender train of three hundred knights; though his personal prowess in the fields of Palestine sustained his previous reputation, his most strenuous efforts to withstand the progress of the Infidels were ineffectual; and he was reduced to address to Pope Innocent III. a pressing solicitation for succour, as the only means of saving from destruction the poor remains of the Latin kingdom. Although Innocent had already engaged in an object of nearer and deeper interest to the papal supremacy—the extirpation of the alleged heresy of the Albigenses—he was not unmoved by the danger of the Christian cause in Palestine; and he immediately and earnestly answered the appeal of John de Brienne by proclaiming throughout Europe a new Crusade to the East. He not only despatched a circular letter to all the princes of Christendom, in which they were urged, by the usual arguments, to embark in the sacred enterprise, but he instructed his legates and the clergy in every country of the West to add their spiritual exhortations to the laity in the same cause. To give the greater unity and solemnity to the design, a general council of the church—the fourth of Lateran—was at the same time convened; and by that assembly, in which all the principal monarchs of Christendom were represented by their envoys, the design of arming Europe anew against the Eastern Infidels was zealously adopted.[1]

The FIFTH CRUSADE, the result of this resolution, was divided in the sequel into three maritime expeditions: the first consisting principally of Hungarians under their king, Andrew; the second composed of Germans, Italians, French, and English nobles and their followers; and the third led by the Emperor Frederic II. in person. Of each of these enterprises, none of which were attended with many novel or interesting features, the events may be briefly distinguished and dismissed. Though the King of Hungary was attended by the flower of a nation which, before its conversion to Christianity, had been the scourge and terror of Western Europe, the arms of that monarch, even aided by the junction of numerous German crusaders under the Dukes of Austria and Bavaria, performed nothing worthy of notice: and after a single campaign in Palestine, in which the Musulman territories were ineffectually ravaged, the fickle Andrew deserted the cause, and returned with his forces to Europe. His defection did not prevent the Duke of Austria, with the German crusaders, from remaining, in concert

A. D. 1216.

[1] *Contin.* Will. Tyr. p. 668-680. Matthew Paris (Ed. Watts, 1684), p. 228, 229. Labbe, *Concilia*, vol. ii. p. 119-233.

with the King of Jerusalem, his barons, and the knights of the three religious Orders, for the defence of Palestine; and, in the following year, the constancy of these faithful champions of the Cross was rewarded by the arrival of numerous reinforcements from Germany.[1]

This accession of strength gave a new energy and direction to the Christian councils; and it was resolved to change the scene of warfare from the narrow limits of the Syrian shore to the coast of Egypt. Several motives impelled the crusaders to this resolution: the wealth of the latter country, which tempted their greediness of spoil; the dispiriting impression of repeated failures in direct assaults upon the Musulman power from the Christian garrisons of Palestine; and a conviction—which calamitous experience alone had forced upon so rude an age of warfare, but which a juster appreciation of the principles of martial science will confirm—that, in a military sense, Egypt, by its position and resources, is the key of Syria. By the conquest of Egypt, therefore, it was believed that the true seat of the Musulman power[2] must be overthrown, and the recovery of Jerusalem effected; and the situation of Damietta, at the mouth of the Nile, pointed out that city as the first object of attack.[3]

Siege of Damietta. A. D. 1218.

The short passage from Acre to the Egyptian coast was effected by sea; and the crusading army, being safely landed under the walls of Damietta, immediately formed the siege of the place. In a furious assault from the galleys of the crusaders upon a castle in the river which defended the port, the Duke of Austria and the flower of the Christian knighthood were completely repulsed: but the walls of a tower were so shattered by the engines of the besiegers, that the garrison of the castle were terrified into a surrender. The hopes with which this first success

[1] *Cont.* Will. Tyr. p. 680, 681. Abulfeda, p. 260-263. Jacobus a Vitriaco *Hist. Hierosol.* (*in Gestis Dei per Francos*), p. 1129-1131. Bernardus Thesaur. (*apud* Muratoria, *Scrip. Rer. Ital.* vol. vii.), p. 820-822. Matthew Paris, p. 244, 245. Godefridus Monachus, *Annales* (*apud* Freher Marguard, *Rer. German. Scriptores*, vol. i. Ed. Tertia, 1718), p. 384-387.

[2] Matthew Paris ascribes the design of carrying the war into Egypt to the advice of Pope Innocent III.

[3] The Monk of Cologne describes in a remarkable passage the commercial wealth and importance of Damietta:—*Hac viâ exeunt naves cum speciebus oneratæ, venientes ab Indiâ, et tendentes versus Syriam, Antiocham, Armeniam, Græciam et Cyprum; et ab hoc transitu Rex Babyloniæ maximos recepit reditus. Hæc civitas quasi caput et clavis est totius Ægypti: præcellit enim in munitione Babyloniam, Alexandriam, Tanaim* (?) *et cunctas civitates Ægypti.* Godefridus Monachus, p. 388. (Ships laden with spices (from India), and proceeding towards Syria, Antioch, Armenia, Greece, and Cyprus, pass out by this way; and the king of Babylon receives great returns by this route. This city is, as it were, both the head and the key of all Egypt; for it far surpasses in strength Babylon, Alexandria, and every other city of Egypt.)

inspired the Christians were shortly increased to the highest degree, by intelligence of the death of their most formidable enemy, the Sultan Saphadin; and by the opportune and successive arrival of new bands of crusaders from Italy, France, and England, headed respectively by the papal legates, by the Counts of Nevers and La Marche, and by the Earls of Salisbury, Arundel, and Chester. But these numerous accessions of force served only to augment the blind confidence of the besiegers, and to introduce disunion and discord into their camp, through the jealous and conflicting pretensions of so many chieftains of various nations. The intrigues of the papal legates to arrogate to themselves the general direction of the host, fomented, instead of healing, these dissensions; and while the unexpected desperation with which the defence of the city was protracted, converted the presumption of the crusaders into anxiety and despondence, the usual horrors of famine and pestilence completed their distress. At length the still heavier pressure of similar calamities within the walls of Damietta utterly exhausted the strength of its defenders; out of a population of near fourscore thousand souls, nine-tenths had perished of disease and hunger; and after a siege of seventeen months, the assailants forced their way into a city, which was filled only with the dead and the dying.[1]

Capture of the City. A. D. 1219.

Both during the siege and after the capture of Damietta, the invasion of Egypt had filled the Infidels with consternation: and the alarm which was betrayed in their counsels proved that the crusaders, in choosing that country for the theatre of operations, had assailed the Musulman power in its most vital and vulnerable point. Of the two sons of Saphadin, Coradinus and Camel, who were now uneasily seated on the thrones of Damascus and Cairo, the former, in despair of preserving Jerusalem, had already demolished its fortifications; and the brothers agreed in repeatedly offering the cession of the holy city and of all Palestine to the Christians, upon the simple condition of their evacuating Egypt. Every object which had been ineffectually proposed in repeated Crusades, since the fatal battle of Tiberias, might now have been gloriously obtained by the acceptance of these terms; and the king of Jerusalem, the French and English leaders, and the Teutonic knights, all eagerly desired to embrace the offer of the Sultans. But the obstinate ambition and cupidity of the surviving papal legate, Cardinal Pelagius,

[1] *Cont.* Will. Tyr. p. 682-688. Abulfeda, p. 264-271. Jac. a Vitriaco, p. 1131-1134, &c. Godefridus, p. 387-391. Bernardus, p. 822-838. Matt. Paris, p. 253-259. This last writer gives a long and particular account of the siege of Damietta, and of the operations before the place. He draws a harrowing picture of the effects of the pestilence in Damietta, and exhibits a power of description which will bear no unfavourable comparison with more celebrated historical passages on the same horrid theme.

of the Italian chieftains, and of the knights of the other two religious orders, by holding out the rich prospect of the conquest and plunder of Egypt, overruled every wise and temperate argument in the Christian councils, and produced a rejection of all compromise with the Infidels. After a winter of luxurious inaction, the legate led the crusading host[1] from Damietta towards Cairo: but the Infidels had employed the interval in vigorous preparation for a renewal of hostilities; the whole Musulman force of Egypt and Syria was collected under Camel to oppose the Christian advance up the Nile; and the Cardinal legate shewed himself as incapable of conducting the war, as he had been clamorous for its prosecution. While he hesitated to attack the Sultan's army which obstructed the road to Cairo, and suffered the Infidels to straiten his quarters, the Nile rose; the Egyptians by opening the sluices in the canal of Ashmoum, inundated the Christian camp;[2] and the crusaders found themselves suddenly enclosed on all sides by the waters and the enemy. In this calamitous situation, which equally precluded their further advance or their retreat to Damietta there remained only the choice of extermination by hunger, the elements, and the sword, or the disgraceful alternative of purchasing a peace, which they had lately refused to sell, by the surrender of Damietta. The legate, therefore, sent a suppliant embassy to the Musulman camp with an offer of this price for permission to evacuate Egypt in safety; and the Sultan of Cairo acceded to the prayer. The king of Jerusalem himself became a hostage for the performance of the treaty; a free retreat to Damietta was allowed to the humbled and perishing remnant of the crusading host; and, on their embarkation, that city was delivered up to the Infidels. The king of Jerusalem, with his barons and the knights of the three religious Orders, then sailed to Acre; and the rest of the crusaders, assuming the failure of the Egyptian war for a sufficient discharge from their vows, gladly separated from their eastern brethren, and retraced their homeward voyage to the shores of Europe.[3]

Advance towards Cairo, A. D. 1220.

Amidst the sorrow and indignation excited throughout Europe by the abortive and disgraceful result of so hopeful an enterprise, its calamitous issue was loudly attributed by the crusaders, not without justice, to the presumption and incapacity of the legate Pelagius.

[1] A curious letter in Matthew Paris from an English crusading knight, Philip d'Aubeney, to the Earl of Chester (who had returned home after the capture of Damietta), rates the force of the Christian army which advanced up the Nile at a thousand knights, five thousand other cavalry, and forty thousand foot, p. 264.

[2] The letter last quoted states that the water reached *usque ad braccarios et cinctoria, ad magnam miseriam et dolorem*, (up to their hips and waists, causing great discomfort and pain). And another letter from the Grand Master of the Templars, which immediately follows, quaintly describes the army as enclosed by the waters, *sicut piscis reti includitur*, (like as a fish is inclosed in a net.)

[3] *Cont.* Will. Tyr. p. 689-694. Abulfeda, p. 298-308. Bernardus, p. 839-844. Matt. Paris, *ubi supra*. Godefridus, p. 392.

But the new Pope, Honorius III., laboured to transfer the public reproach from his servant upon the Emperor Frederic II., by charging to that monarch's continued evasion of repeated vows to join the Crusade, all the disasters which his presence in the East might have prevented. Frederic, however, was deaf to the papal censures, until an occasion was afforded to Honorius of stimulating his zeal by the arrival from Palestine of Herman de Saltza, grand-master of the Teutonic knights, with a proposal for the marriage of the emperor with Iolanta, daughter and heiress of John de Brienne: who, wearied of the ineffectual struggle against the Infidels, was willing to abdicate in her favour his titular crown of Jerusalem. The ambition of Frederic was dazzled by the prospect of adding this new, though little more than nominal honour to his other dignities; and the young princess being brought to Italy by her father, the emperor received her hand, and with it, for her dower, a solemn transfer from John of his rights to the sovereignty of the Holy Land. As a condition of this renunciation, Frederic on his part had previously engaged his honour to the Pope and the grand-master of the military Orders, that he would within two years lead a powerful army to Palestine, to achieve the reconquest of his new kingdom. The real or pretended impediments which for five years delayed his fulfilment of this pledge; his quarrel with the papacy and excommunication by Gregory IX., the successor of Honorius; and his final departure for the Holy Land, while still labouring under that sentence, and in defiance of the hostility of the Pontiff: all belong to the history of Italy, and must be sought in the annals of that country.

A. D. 1225.

The slender force with which Frederic embarked for Palestine, in a squadron of only twenty galleys, seemed so inadequate to the maintenance of his dignity, and the object of his voyage, as to excite the wonder of his own age at the attempt; and the causes of his subsequent and rapid success, amidst every obstacle which the Pope with unrelenting enmity continued shamelessly to oppose to his enterprise, must still be numbered among the unsolved problems of history.[1] The Musulman power, indeed, was now weakened by the fraternal dissensions of the sultans of Cairo and Damascus; and it has been conjectured that Frederic, from the outset of his expedition, trusted to the effects of secret negotiations with the former of those potentates. But the death of his brother soon relieved Camel from the jealousy or dread with which the ambition of Coradinus had inspired him; and Frederic had thenceforth to contend with the undivided hostility of

Frederic arrives in Palestine.

A. D. 1228.

[1] The Monk of St Alban's can account for the astonishing success of Frederic only by the direct interposition of Heaven in exciting dissensions *in gentibus Saracenis* (among the Saracenic races.)

the Musulman empire. Meanwhile, he was deserted by the flower of the Christian chivalry in Palestine, and his weakness was betrayed to the Infidels. The Pope not only prohibited the knights of the religious Orders from serving under the banners of an excommunicated prince, but actually despatched envoys to the Sultan to dissuade him from negotiating with a leader whom the Christians disowned. Undismayed by this iniquitous persecution, which perhaps, more than any event of the times, exposes the unprincipled policy of the Papal See, Frederic boldly took the field against the Infidels. The Knights Templars and Hospitallers obeyed the prohibition of the Pope, until their natural thirst for enterprise, or a generous sense of shame, induced them first to follow his march, and finally, to co-operate indirectly with the force which acknowledged his command. But the national affections of the Teutonic knights had more effectually and unscrupulously prevailed over their dread of Papal censures; and at their head, with the scanty force of his own soldiery, the emperor advanced from Acre, occupied and refortified Jaffa, and approached Jerusalem. At this juncture, and without any signal defeat of the Infidels, or any explicable motive on the part of the Sultan for concessions so important, we are surprised by the authentic record of a treaty, by which free access to the Holy City, together with the possession of Bethlehem, Nazareth, and other places, was restored to the Christians, and a peace for ten years was concluded between them and the Moslems. To signalize the acquisition of these honourable terms, Frederic resolved to celebrate his coronation at Jerusalem. Under a plea that he still remained excommunicate, the Patriarch refused to perform, and the Templars and Hospitallers to attend, the ceremony; but, accompanied by the Teutonic knights and the officers of his train, the emperor entered the Holy City, proceeded to the church of the Sepulchre, and himself taking the crown from the altar, placed it on his head.[1] Immediately after this act, the state of affairs in Italy warning him of the necessity of his presence in that country, he returned to Acre, and there embarked for Europe,—having brought the Fifth Crusade to a successful conclusion, and obtained for the Christian cause in Palestine more than the arms of any other prince had been able to achieve since the conquest of Jerusalem by Saladin.[2]

Crowns himself in that city. A. D. 1229.

[1] Abulfeda, p. 336-353. Matt. Paris, p. 300-304. Godefridus, p. 396-397. But the most interesting account of Frederic's proceedings is given in a letter from himself to Henry III. of England in Matt. Paris (p. 300, 301.)

[2] It is difficult to determine what were the real conditions on which Frederic obtained access for the Christians to Jerusalem. The Papal party laboured to deny that he had redeemed the Holy Sepulchre from the hands of the Infidels; and a letter from the Patriarch of Jerusalem (also in Matt. Paris), among other charges, accuses him of having left the sacred places in their possession. But the inveterate hostility which the Patriarch, the Templars and Hospitallers, and other papal adhe-

These valuable fruits of the emperor's daring and ability were, by the mere wanton insolence or venomous hostility of faction, immediately neglected and ultimately lost. The return of Frederic to Europe was the signal for the open outbreaking of that disaffection to his person and authority which had only been repressed through the awe excited by his presence; and resistance to the imperial title was now made the convenient pretext for the revival of the same spirit of internal discord and intrigue which had ever been the bane of the Christian fortunes in Palestine. The Empress Iolanta having died in giving birth to a son, the enemies of Frederic insisted that her rights to the sovereignty of Jerusalem had devolved, notwithstanding the existence of her child and the matrimonial title secured by treaty to her husband, upon her half-sister Alice, daughter of Isabella by the third marriage of that queen with Henry of Champagne. Alice, the widow of Hugh de Lusignan, king of Cyprus, having arrived on the Syrian shore from that island to assert her title to the throne of Palestine, a furious civil war commenced between her partisans and those of Frederic. If the former were more numerous, their advantage was counterbalanced by the fidelity and courage with which the knights of the Teutonic order defended the cause of their national monarch until he was able to despatch reinforcements to his officers. The revolt of Palestine was at length composed, and the imperial authority restored, chiefly by the good offices of Pope Gregory IX. during the hollow reconciliation between that pontiff and Frederic, which had followed the arrival of the latter in Europe. But the dissensions of the Christians had meanwhile prevented any union of forces for their common security against the Infidels; no use had been made of the season of pacification obtained by Frederic's treaty to improve the defences of the Holy Land; and finding the strength of the Latin kingdom consumed in intestine strife, the independent emirs of Syria were encouraged to disclaim any share in the peace which the Sultan had concluded, and began to renew their predatory hostilities from every quarter. In one of these incursions, they surprised and slaughtered a body of several thousand pilgrims of the

Civil War. A. D. 1230.

rents in Palestine, as well as in Europe, bore to Frederic, is sufficient to deprive their statements of all credit; and his own public letter declares expressly that the Saracens were only to have the liberty of visiting the Temple of Solomon as pilgrims and unarmed, and adding, *civitatem Hierusalem, sicut meliùs unquam fuit, reædificare nobis liceat secundum pactum*—(we are allowed by treaty to rebuild the city of Jerusalem, so that it shall be better than it ever was.) He further states that he had given orders accordingly for the rebuilding of the towers and walls of the Holy City: but his intentions were evidently frustrated by the necessity for his hasty return to Europe; and it does not appear that any attempt was made to renew them by the resident Christians in Palestine. It is observable, however, that the Musulman version of the treaty in Abulfeda (*ubi supra*) contains a stipulation that the fortifications of Jerusalem should not be rebuilt.

Cross on the road between Acre and Jerusalem; and upon another occasion the Templars, who arrogated to themselves the right of making war and peace on their own account, were defeated, in a campaign against the emir of Aleppo, with the heaviest loss which their Order had suffered since the fatal field of Tiberias.[1]

Every vessel from the shores of Syria now brought to Europe the intelligence of some fresh disaster, and quickened the public conviction of Christendom that a new Crusade was indispensable for the succour of the Holy Land. At the Council of Spoleto, the authority of the Church was again exerted to promulgate the necessity, and to command the preparation, of another general armament against the Eastern Infidels; and the Dominican and Franciscan friars were charged by the Pope with the duty of preaching the sacred war, and of collecting contributions for its support. But the proceedings of these missionaries neither responded to the impatience of the people, nor to the urgency of the danger. Instead of promoting the equipment of the thousands of warriors who assumed the Cross at their exhortations, the immense sums which they obtained for the service were either absorbed into the papal treasury,[2] or diverted, in shameless disregard of their own vows of poverty, into the coffers of their Orders; and nearly seven years were suffered to elapse without any earnest attempt on the part of the Pope or his agents for the relief of Palestine. The expectations of aid which were held out to the Christians in the East during this interval, served only to hasten the ruin of their affairs: for the Sultan of Egypt, in rage or alarm at the thick-coming rumours of invasion from Europe, resolved to anticipate its object, and marching an army into Palestine, he once more expelled the Christians from Jerusalem.

The news of this event completed the indignation, which the dilatory and sordid evasions of the Pope and his ministers had long excited in Europe: and the martial and religious enthusiasm of the Western chivalry was too ardently roused by the danger of the Christian cause in the East to be longer restrained and deluded from its object by the selfish and avaricious policy of the papal court. Despite therefore of the facilities for commuting their vows for gold, the dissuasions, and even the direct prohibitions, which were opposed by the papal authority to their enterprise, the nobles of France and England, who had now

THE SIXTH CRUSADE, 1238.

[1] Sanutus, *Secreta Fidelium Crucis*, lib. iii. pars xi. c. 13. Matt. Paris, p. 374, &c.

[2] *Nec sciri poterat*, says Matthew Paris, *in quam abyssum tanta pecunia, quæ per Papales procurationes colligebatur, est demersa* (nor could it be ascertained into what abyss so great a sum of money collected by the papal government was plunged), p. 339.

[3] Labbe, *Concilia*, vol. xi. p. 481. Matt. Paris, p. 337-340, 364, 365. Sanutus, *ubi supra*.

taken the Cross, were resolved at once to proceed to the Holy Land; and in the latter kingdom the crusading barons, meeting at Northampton, solemnly bound themselves to each other at the altar, that, lest they should be prevented from their design by any pretext of the Roman See, or cajoled to divert their arms to the effusion of Christian blood against the Pope's enemies in Europe, they would within the year lead their forces direct to Palestine.[1] The French crusaders were the earliest to reach the Syrian shores. Thibaud, Count of Champagne—a celebrated Troubadour, and by marriage king of Navarre—the Duke of Burgundy, the Counts of Bretagne, Montfort, and Bar, and many barons of distinction, safely landed with numerous bands of followers at Acre; and offensive warfare was immediately commenced against the Infidels, by an advance to Ascalon. In this expedition the French were at first successful; and the Count of Bretagne with his followers bursting away from his confederates into the Musulman territory, and ravaging it to the gates of Damascus, safely rejoined the army with immense spoil. But there was little concert in the operations of the crusaders; and the example of the Breton chivalry soon entailed upon their French compeers a disastrous defeat near Gaza, in which, during a similar incursion, the Count de Bar and other lords were slain, and Amoury de Montfort, with many nobles and knights, made captive. This reverse so dispirited the king of Navarre, that he retreated with the whole army to Acre; and thence the French leaders, accusing the Templars and Hospitallers of having deserted them in their need, for the most part returned to Europe.[2]

Such had been the abortive result of the French Crusade, when Richard, Earl of Cornwall, brother of Henry III., landed at Acre, accompanied by the flower of the English chivalry. The renown of this prince for personal prowess, the lineage of a Plantagenet, even the very name of Richard, which he bore in common with his uncle of the Lion Heart,[3] all seemed at his approach to inspire confidence into the

Arrival of English Crusaders under Richard, Earl of Cornwall.

[1] Matt. Paris, p. 461-463. *Et ne per cavillationes Romanæ Ecclesiæ honestum votum eorum impediretur . . . . juraverunt omnes* (and they all swore that they would not be hindered from fulfilling their honourable vow by the cavils of the Roman Church.)

[2] Sanatus, lib. iii. pars xi. c. 15. Matt. Paris, p. 474-488. Abulfeda, lib. iv. p. 488-489.

[3] So great was the awe inspired by the achievements of Cœur de Lion in the East, that, at the distance of half a century, his dreaded name was still used by Musulman women to hush their refractory children. "Be quiet, be quiet, here is King Richard coming to fetch you." And if a horse started at a bush or a shadow, the Infidel rider would chide his steed with the exclamation, "What! dost think King Richard is there?" Joinville (Johne's Translation), p. 109. So also says Matthew of Westminster of the respect obtained among the Moslems for Richard of Cornwall by the very memory of the name which he bore. *Cœperunt nimis prudentiam et potentiam Comitis formidare, tum quia hoc nomen Richardus adhuc Saracenis inimi-*

Christians, and to strike the Infidels with terror. On his arrivalin Palestine, he seems to have been placed at the head of the Latin councils and forces almost by acclamation; and the weight of his presence was immediately felt in the intimidation of the Musulmans. He found that the Templars on the one hand, and on the other the Hospitallers and French Crusaders, had concluded discordant treaties with the Emir of Karac, a vassal of the Court of Damascus, and with the Sultan of Cairo; and his first act was to demand from the former chieftain the fulfilment of a promise to release the Christian captives who had been taken at the battle of Gaza. On the hesitation or inability of the emir to restore these prisoners, the Earl advanced with the Christian host to Jaffa; and this single movement sufficed to obtain all the objects of the war. Both the Sultans of Damascus and of Egypt hastened to negotiate with him; and so ably did he avail himself of the dissensions between these princes, and their common awe of his name and reputation, that he extorted from one or both a solemn and absolute cession of Jerusalem, and the greatest part of the territory of which the Latin kingdom in its best days had ever consisted. He had at the same time the satisfaction of receiving from the hands of the Infidels all their Christian captives, among whom were thirty-three nobles, many Templars and Hospitallers, and five hundred knights and other crusaders of inferior rank. Finally, having remained in Palestine until the banner of the Cross was once more planted on the ruined walls of Jerusalem, the Earl of Cornwall then, and not before the execution of the treaty, quitted the shores of Palestine, and in his homeward progress through the States of Europe, was everywhere welcomed with honour as the deliverer of the Holy Sepulchre.[1]

End of the Sixth Crusade. A. D. 1240.

The services which the Earl of Cornwall thus rendered to the Christian cause in Palestine did not perhaps excel in degree, and closely resembled in their form, those which the Emperor Frederic II. had accomplished twelve years before. But the English prince was more fortunate than the German monarch in not having provoked the opposition of the papal see, or the disaffection of the Latin chieftains of Palestine; and while Frederic had been shunned and deserted in the East by the sworn champions of the Cross, and was basely defrauded of the well-earned fame of unassisted success by the malice of his enemies in

cum ipsum intitulavit, &c. p. 304. (They began to fear greatly the prudence and power of the Count. also because the very name Richard still signified an enemy to the Saracens.)

Sanutus, *ubi supra et* c. 16. Matt. West. p. 302-304. Matt. Paris, p. 479, 486, 511, also p. 503-505. The pages last quoted contain the public despatch of the Earl of Cornwall himself, giving a very clear and interesting account of his conduct, and of the treaty which he had extorted from the Infidels.

Europe, Richard had been aided by the zealous co-operation of the crusading chivalry, and was rewarded with the undivided applause and gratitude of Christendom. The Templars, indeed, both before and after his departure from Palestine, displayed that proud and factious spirit of contention, which forms the greatest if not the only just reproach upon the memory of their illustrious order. To shew their independence, they had refused to become parties to the late treaty with the Sultan of Egypt, and continued their hostilities against his subjects: but with this exception, unanimity for once prevailed in the Christian councils. While the patriarch resumed the ecclesiastical charge of Jerusalem, the Hospitallers undertook at their own cost to rebuild the fortifications of the holy city; and the government of Frederic, as the feudal sovereign of Palestine, was established in the capital of the kingdom.[1] But no leisure was afforded for the completion of these salutary measures of organisation and defence; and the recovery of Jerusalem had scarcely been achieved, before the feeble Latin kingdom was once more and suddenly overwhelmed by the violence of one of those tremendous tempests of barbarian war, which have, in various ages, overcast and desolated the face of Asia. The remote gathering of the storm, which now broke upon Palestine, must be observed in the far distant plains of Tartary: and before we hasten to the term of the present chapter, we shall be led, by no unnatural connection with its principal subject, to take a brief survey of the revolutions of Asia during that epoch in the history of the world, which is defined by the commencement and close of the Crusades.

Successive irruptions from Tartary.

Every vicissitude of conquest, which afflicted the vast continent of Asia throughout the middle ages, had its origin among those restless and wandering tribes, which overspread its central extent from the frozen deserts of Siberia to the banks of the Indus, and from the shores of the Caspian to the frontiers of China. Under various appellations, of which that of Tartars is the most recent and familiar, these same pastoral and predatory nations have at several periods, as often as some master-spirit has arisen to impel and guide their migrations, burst the bounds of their wild native regions, and inundated the more civilized seats of mankind with a terrific deluge. From this source had successively swept towards the West, the irruptions of the Huns at the downfal of the Roman Empire; of the Hungarians five centuries later; and of the Seljukian Turcomans in the following age. The establishment of a great empire, embracing Persia, Syria, and Asia Minor, by these Seljukian Tartars, and the terror which their successes excited in the Greek Emperors, have already been related among the proximate causes of the Crusades; and in the Ot-

[1] Matt. Paris, p. 534-543.

toman descendants of the same race, after the apparent extinction of its power and a long interval of obscurity in the mountains of the Lesser Asia, we are hereafter to discover the conquerors of Constantinople.[1] In the course of the period marked by the Crusades, all the original dynasties of the Seljukians were overwhelmed and utterly obliterated, by domestic revolution or foreign violence. On the aspect of Syria, indeed, this change impressed no new features; for in that country the Turcoman cavalry was continually recruited by fresh swarms from the pristine seats of the nation; and it was at the head of these kindred hordes that Saladin founded his empire on the common subversion of the Atabec sovereignty of Damascus and the Fatimite Khalifate of Egypt. But in Persia and in Asia Minor or Roum, the catastrophe was more violent; and the ruin of the monarchies founded by the Seljukians in those countries[2] was among the desolating effects of a new and mighty irruption from the furthest recesses of Tartary.

First appearance of the Moguls in history.

About the first years of the thirteenth century, the formidable name and victorious progress of a new conqueror and nation of Tartarian race first broke upon the astonished world. From the wide upland plains beyond the great eastern desert which extend to the Chinese wall, issued a race described as countless in number, and as more horridly inhuman in aspect and spirit, and more utterly devoid of all civilization, than any of the destroyers of mankind who had been let loose from the Tartarian regions to desolate the earth. Their earliest appearance in authentic history is under the general term of Moguls; and under the guidance of a leader, whose proper designation of Temudgin has almost been lost in the national title, which was arrogated for his grandeur, of Zingis Khan, or the Mightiest of Lords. He was the son of a Khan who had reigned over thirteen hordes; and it is probable that the immense masses of the same generic features, who were drawn to his standard by the results of conquest or the thirst of rapine, derived their common term of Moguls from the original

[1] The Kharizmians, from whom the Ottomans are descended, were in fact of the same race as the Seljukian Turcomans, but issued two centuries later from their native plains. After their expulsion from Persia by the Moguls, a body of these Kharmizmian Turcomans under Soliman Schah sought refuge in Asia Minor, and entered into the service of the Seljukian Sultans of Roum or Iconium. On the ruin of that dynasty by their old Mogul enemies, the Kharizmians under Othman, the grandson of their original leader Soliman, preserved an independent existence in the mountains of Bithynia; the remains of the Seljukians were gathered to the same standard; and these Turcoman nations became blended into one people, and known in history by the name of Ottomans from that of their Kharizmian prince. De Guignes, *Hist. Générale des Huns, &c.* vol. v. p. 328-337.

[2] In Persia the *original* dynasty of the Seljukians had already been supplanted by that of the Sultans of Korasm; but the conquerors, as above observed, were of kindred Turcoman stock. De Guignes, vol. ii. lib. xiv.

distinction of his own tribe. The early fortunes of a barbarian conqueror, the founder of his own greatness, are always obscure; the unlettered[1] traditions of nomadic savages must be equally destitute of authenticity and interest; and we may at once dismiss the tale of vicissitudes, whether fabulous or real, which are ascribed to the youth of Zingis. He first burst the limits of his native Tartar reign, to precipitate his myriads upon the plains of China; the Great Wall proved but a feeble barrier against his innumerable cavalry; and after a desolating warfare, he tore five great provinces of the north from the huge but ill-cemented fabric of the Chinese dominion.

Zingis Khan. A. D. 1206.

The complete conquest of that empire seems only to have been suspended by a diversion which was given to the Mogul arms. The murder of his ambassadors by command of Mohammed, the Kharizmian Sultan of Persia, afforded Zingis a just cause of war; and, traversing the wide expanse of Tartary, he descended into Western Asia at the head of an incredible force of seven hundred thousand Moguls and Tartars. On the great plains which are intersected by the Sihon or Jaxartes and the Oxus, he was encountered by the Turcoman Sultan with an inferior host of four hundred thousand men; and in the stupendous conflict, the victorious Moguls slaughtered nearly the half of their enemies. This success laid all Persia open to the destroyers; and stimulated by vengeance to even more than their ordinary inhumanity, they spread a frightful devastation, the effects of which those regions have perhaps never recovered, from the shores of the Caspian to the banks of the Indus. The Sultan Mohammed, flying from the storm which he had provoked, found an inglorious safety and obscure death in one of the desert islands of the Caspian; but his valiant son Gelaleddin, whose exploits became the darling theme of Persian song, still opposed with the remnant of the Turcoman bands, a heroic though fruitless resistance to the progress of the victors. In many a well-sustained combat, his long retreat to the banks of the Indus was tracked by the blood of his pursuers; and boldly plunging with his steed into the broad and rapid current of that river, he was suffered by the admiration which his prowess extorted from Zingis—the only trait of generosity in the recorded actions of the barbarian—to escape unmolested. The Indus was for a season the term of Mogul devastation; and, unable to command the further progress of his satiated hordes, or recalled to Tartary by a revolt of some chieftains whom he easily subju-

Persia devastated by the Moguls. A. D. 1224.

[1] Zingis himself could neither read nor write, and it was not until the lapse of near a century that the traditions of his life were collected by order of a Persian Khan, his great grandson. De la Croix, *Histoire du Grand Genghizcan*, (Paris, 1716), p. 536-539.

gated, Zingis slowly led back his myriads, laden with the spoils of Persia, to their native plains. In these regions he shortly closed his destructive career by a natural death, enjoining his children, as his last command, to complete the conquest of the Chinese empire.[1]

Death of Zingis. A. D. 1227.

This injunction was imposed upon a race to whom repose was intolerable, and motion and rapine the dearest qualifications of life. The four sons of Zingis—Octai, Toushi, Tooti, and Zagatai—were the inheritors alike of his wild genius and expansive dominion;[2] and with a spirit of fraternal or prudential concord, more remarkable than their native ability, the latter three were satisfied to enjoy dependent sovereignties under their brother Octai, who was elevated by their consent to a general supremacy, under the title of Great Khan, over the Mogul and Tartar nations. By these sons of Zingis and their immediate successors, the Mogul arms were carried from the shores of the Pacific Ocean to the banks of the Euphrates, the Danube, and the Vistula; in little more than half a century had conquered or overrun nearly all Asia, and no inconsiderable part of Europe; and, at the close of the period embraced in this chapter, their descendants reigned over China, Tartary, Persia, Russia, and Siberia. The total subjugation of the first of these countries was reserved for Kublai, one of the grandsons of Zingis; but of the two empires into which it had been divided, the northern, already dismembered during the life of Zingis, was completely swallowed up in the Mogul dominion five years after his death. Other enterprises suspended the fate of the southern dynasty of the Chinese for about forty years; and when Kublai had achieved its fall and extinction, the unity of the Mogul power was already broken by the separation of its vast branches. Meanwhile, the race of Zingis were seated on independent thrones in Russia, Western Tartary, and Persia. Only eight years after his death, another of his grandsons, Batoŭ, was intrusted by the Great Khan Octai with the command of a host of five hundred thousand Moguls for the invasion of Russia. In the resistless progress of such swarms, the princes of that devoted land were overwhelmed; the country devastated, its capitals of Moscow and Kiow burnt to ashes; the rude national independence destroyed; and the Mogul yoke permanently fastened on the people for two hundred years. With continued violence, the

Conquest of China. A. D. 1279.

Conquest of Russia. A. D. 1235.

[1] D'Herbelot, *Bibliothèque Orientale*, Art. *Genghizcan*, *Gelaleddin*. De la Croix, *Hist. du Grand Genghizcan*, *passim*. De Guignes, *Hist. Gén. des Huns*, vol. iv. lib. xv.

[2] "He had many other sons, but these were the only princes employed in great stations, and destined by their father for monarchy—probably on account of their high descent by their mother, Burta Koutchin, the daughter of Zei Nevian, chief of the tribe of Konharat, the first in rank among the five principal wives of Chenghiz, all of whom were of high birth.—*Malcolm's Persia*, 1. f. p. 260. (Note).

Tartar invasion swept over Poland, Hungary, and the circumjacent regions, from the shores of the Baltic[1] to those of the Euxine and Adriatic. In the battle of Legnitz, the Duke of Siberia, the Teutonic Order, and the Polish Palatines, were routed with tremendous slaughter; in a single conflict, the King of Hungary, Bela IV., was so utterly defeated that he abandoned his realm to its ruin. Amidst the consternation of Christendom, Germany, and perhaps all Western Europe, was only saved by the firmness and energy with which the Emperor Frederic II. exhorted its princes and chivalry to arm for the general defence against a common and merciless enemy.[2] The progress of the Moguls was first arrested by the gallant defence of a few knights and soldiers in the Austrian city of Neustadt, by their own distrustful ignorance of the art of sieges, and probably by respect for the experienced prowess and superior skill of the gathering chivalry of the West. From its first obstruction at Neustadt, the huge inundation of Tartar warfare began slowly to recede, and at last rolled back its waves to the deserts of Asia.[3]

Devastation of Poland, Hungary, &c. A. D. 1242.

[1] A singular example of the effect of the Mogul conquests has been noticed by Gibbon, from a passage in Matthew Paris, p. 398. The destruction caused by the approach of the Moguls to the Baltic prevented the inhabitants of that coast from sending their vessels to England in 1238 to take in cargoes of herrings as usual; so that, as there was no exportation, forty or fifty of those fish sold for a shilling. "It is whimsical enough," as the historian observes, "that the arms of a Khan, who reigned in China, should have affected the price of fish in the English market:" but the passage is also curious, as illustrating the existence of a regular herring fishery, and of so active a commercial intercourse between England and the north, in that early age.

[2] See the version of his circular letter in Matthew Paris, p. 496-498, addressed to the King of England, and exhorting him as well as other princes, by the arguments of a common religion and danger, to unite in despatching succours for the defence of the frontiers of Germany—*velut Christianorum januam*—the gate, as it were, of the Christians.

[3] A lively picture of the terror of Christendom at the progress of the Tartars is afforded by many passages and letters in the History of the Monk of St Alban's, especially in p. 487, 496-498, 538-540, *and Additamenta*, p. 1128-1131. A frightful estimate of the numbers of a Tartar host is given in the assertion, that it covered twenty days' journey in length, and fifteen in breadth! One description—which, it is curious (p. 539), was obtained from an outlawed Englishman, who had wandered eastward from Palestine, fallen among those barbarians, and entered Europe with them as interpreter—accurately presents the genuine lineaments of the Mongolian race. *Habent autem pectora dura et robusta, facies macras et pallidas, scapulas rigidas et erectas, nasos distortos et breves, menta proeminentia et acuta, superiorem mandibulam humilem et profundam, dentes longos et raros, palpebras à crinibus usque ad nasum protensas, oculos inconstantes et nigros, aspectus obliquos et torvos*, &c. (They have large and strong bodies, thin and pale faces, high and stiff shoulders, short and mis-shapen noses, projecting and sharp chins, retiring and deep upper jaws, long teeth and few of them, eyelids extending from the hair to the nose, black and unsteady eyes, and a doubtful and fierce look.) Their ferocity could hardly be exaggerated, for assuredly they spared neither age, sex, nor condition; yet their cannibalism, though asserted by eye-witnesses, and easily credited throughout Europe, may be doubted. *Victi quoque non supplicant, et vincentes non parcunt* (when vanquished

Second conquest of Persia. 1258.

The state, meanwhile, of the Mogul power in the central expanse of that quarter of the globe—which in the triple partition of the dynasty of Zingis formed the empire of Western Tartary—may be overlooked in its uninteresting obscurity: but the second invasion and conquest of the southern regions of Asia had some effects, more important and durable, upon the aspect of the civilised world. The permanent subjugation of Persia was the work of Holagou, a third mighty victor among the grandsons of Zingis. That kingdom was again bravely defended by the hero Gelaleddin, who, on the first withdrawal of the Moguls to their native plains, had returned from India, and resumed the possession of his ruined throne. But his efforts were again fruitless against the innumerable Tartarian swarms; and after sustaining a contest of eleven years and the vicissitudes of fourteen great battles, he closed a career, which was worthy of a better termination, by a sluggish old age and an inglorious death in the fastnesses of Turkestan. After the subjection of Persia, the crowning triumph of Holagou was the capture of Bagdad, the extinction of the once splendid Khalifate of the Abassides, and the death of the last sovereign pontiff of a religion, which the idolatrous conquerors were at a subsequent period to embrace and extend. The feeble Mostasem, the representative of the long line of Khalifs, who boasted their descent from the kinsman of Mohammed, and who had reigned in Asia for five centuries, was hunted from his throne, and murdered by command of Holagou; and with him expired the union of spiritual and temporal supremacy, long become indeed more nominal than real, which the reverence of the Moslem world had constantly recognised, and the ambition of usurpers had as perpetually violated, in the family of their prophet. While the Turcoman dynasty of Persia and the Abassidan Khalifate were thus finally swept away, the ravages of the same tempest spread over Asia Minor and Armenia, and approached the confines of Syria. In the former country, the Seljukian dynasty of Roum was overwhelmed in the deluge of Mogul invasion; the Christian principalities of Armenia shared the same fate; and it was only some unexplained change of course in the barbarian movements, rather than any foreign resistance opposed to their progress, that delayed their appearance on the shores of the Bosphorus and the Mediterranean.[1]

But even the secondary consequences of their victories were fatal

they ask no quarter, and when victors they give none), is the emphatic evidence of a war of extermination; and their very women, warlike and ferocious as themselves, were wooed for their powers of destruction. *Et quæ melius pugnat, concupiscibilior habetur* (and she who fights best, is thought most worthy of marriage.) P. 1131.

[1] The foregoing narrative of the conquests of the Moguls under the successors of Zingis has been abridged chiefly from De Guignes, vol. iv. lib. xvi.-xix. &c. with references to the more modern text of Gibbon, ch. lxiv.

to the Christian power in Syria; and we are recalled to the History of the Crusades by the effects of their conquest of Persia. When the fall of Gelaleddin dispersed the Turcoman or Kharizmian hordes which he had gathered to his standard for the defence of his realm, one of these tribes, flying before the Moguls, in the second year after the recovery of Jerusalem by the Earl of Cornwall, approached the frontiers of Palestine with the purpose of demanding a settlement in Egypt. Alarmed at their appearance, the Sultan, to divert such unwelcome guests from his own states, and irritated against the Christians by some unprovoked hostilities of the Templars, advised them to establish themselves in Palestine; and guided by an Egyptian Emir with a body of his master's troops, Barbacan, the Kharizmian chief, entered the Holy Land at the head of twenty thousand cavalry. The ruined defences of Jerusalem had not yet been sufficiently restored to sustain a siege; the city was abandoned by the knights of the military Orders on the approach of the invaders; and the savage Kharizmians, bursting into the place, made a horrid and indiscriminate massacre of all the remaining inhabitants. By the rapacious or wanton fury of these barbarians, both Christian and Moslem sanctuaries were profaned and pillaged with equal alacrity; the very sepulchres were violated, the remains of the dead disinterred and rifled; and the most sacred and valuable relics of Jerusalem involved in a general destruction.[1]

Effect in Palestine of the Mogul irruptions.

Capture of Jerusalem. A. D. 1242.

To arrest the progress of invaders more fierce and inhuman than any by whom Syria had previously been desolated, the Christian chivalry made common cause with the Moslems of Damascus, Aleppo, and Ems; and the Sultans of all those territories sent succours to the knights of the military Orders. But the united force of these confederates was still inferior to that of the Egyptians and Kharizmians; and when the rash exhortations of the patriarch of Jerusalem induced the knights to hazard a battle, they suffered a terrible defeat. Their Syrian allies were routed and dispersed; the grand-masters both of the Hospital and Temple fell on the field; and of the whole Christian chivalry only twenty-six Hospitallers, thirty-three Templars, and three Teutonic knights, escaped from the general slaughter.[2] Tiberias, Ascalon, and other fortresses of the Latin kingdom, successively fell, either carried by storm or abandoned to the victors; the whole country was left a prey to their ravages; and the remains of the Christian chivalry and inhabitants shut themselves up in their last stronghold of Acre. By subsequent dissensions between the Egyptians and Kharizmians, Palestine was delivered from the presence of the

Extremity of the Latin Kingdom. A. D. 1244.

[1] Matt. Paris, p. 546-549, 556-558. Makrisi, (in Joinville, Johnes's Translation,) vol. ii. p. 235.

[2] Matt. Paris, p. 557.

latter; the Moslems of Syria and Egypt felt the necessity of reuniting to crush intruders so destructive; the barbarians, after capturing Damascus, were utterly defeated in a general engagement by the Sultan of Egypt; their leader Barbacan was slain; and their whole horde was slaughtered or dispersed, or driven back upon the Eastern deserts. But this expulsion of the Kharizmians produced no relief to the Christian cause in Palestine. The Holy Sepulchre still remained in the hands of the Syrian or Egyptian Infidels; the Latin kingdom had again well nigh dwindled into the single fortress of Acre; and the extremity to which its defenders were reduced, once more suggested to the martial and religious feelings of Europe the necessity of a new Crusade.[1]

THE SEVENTH CRUSADE. A.D. 1245.

The design of this sacred enterprise was ratified, as usual, in a general assembly of the Latin Church; and at a council, which was convoked at Lyon for this among other purposes by Pope Innocent IV., it was resolved that a Crusade should be preached, and all temporal wars suspended for four years throughout Christendom. The troubled state of Germany and Italy, and the renewed quarrel between the Emperor Frederic II. and the Papacy, seem to have prevented the missionaries of the Holy War from meeting with much success in those countries: but the effects of their preaching extended to remoter regions, and Haco, King of Norway, assumed the Cross.[2] It was in France and England, however, that the flame of enthusiasm was most ardently and effectually rekindled, chiefly through the example of Louis IX., whose character was almost equally revered by both nations; and on the intelligence of whose purpose, William Longsword (the former crusading companion of the Earl of Cornwall), with the Bishop of Salisbury, the Earl of Leicester, Walter de Lacy, and many other English nobles and knights, vowed to serve under his standard. The Norwegian monarch having been diverted from his enterprise by some unexplained causes, the prosecution of the Holy War was abandoned to the chivalry of France and England; and the events of the Seventh Crusade are confined to the expedition of St Louis and his insular auxiliaries.[3]

[1] Matt. Paris, *ubi supra et* 599-639. Joinville, p. 209–211, and Makrisi, (*ibid.*) p. 236-238.

[2] Matt. Paris, p. 643.

[3] Our sufficient guide, for the events of the Seventh Crusade, will be that good knight John, Lord de Joinville, grand seneschal of Champagne, the faithful companion of St Louis, and actor in the scenes which he describes, whose memoirs have been enriched, both by the notes and dissertations of Du Cange, and by extracts from such Arabian MSS. as illustrate the subject before us. The text of our contemporary national historian, Matthew Paris, will also, however, supply some notices of the share of the English crusaders in the expedition. But the perfect good faith which breathes through the narrative of the Marshal of Champagne, the affection with which he describes the virtues and cherishes the memory of the excellent prince whom he followed, and the unaffected simplicity with which he confesses every emo-

Departure of Louis IX. of France. A.D. 1248.

In Cyprus, the general rendezvous of the expedition, Louis was joined by a long array of the baronage of France, with their knights and men-at-arms, and among others, by the noble historian of the Holy War.[1] Eight months were consumed, with little necessity or prudence, it should seem, before the congregated host finally proceeded to its destined scene of action. In imitation of the plan of the Fifth Crusade, Egypt, as the principal seat of the Moslem power, was again selected for the theatre of operations, the capture of Damietta for the first enterprise of the war; and by a strange blindness or fatality, the very errors which had entailed destruction thirty years before upon a Christian army on the same shores, were now faithfully copied or repeated. The armament with which Louis sailed from the shores of Cyprus covered the sea with eighteen hundred vessels great and small, and contained full two thousand eight hundred knights with their horses and an attendant cavalry of six or seven thousand men-at-arms, and a force of infantry which has been variously estimated at from fifty to above one hundred thousand.[2] But a violent tempest, blowing from the Egyptian coast, so dispersed this immense armada that, when the French king made the port of Damietta, he had not with him above seven hundred knights. The numerous forces of the Sultan lined the shore, and so awed and astounded the French by their imposing array, and the clang of their trumpets and kettle-drums, that the councillors of Louis advised him to defer his landing until the junction of his absent knights: but the gallant monarch, who dreaded a continued

tion of a spirit, too truly brave for concealment of its fears, and too pious, with all his superstition, not to claim our respect, altogether give a charm and value to his lively relation, which is scarcely to be found in any other authority of the times, and fill the realities of chivalric adventure with more delightful and moving interest than all the creations of romance.

[1] Nothing can be more touching than Joinville's expressions of his feelings on quitting his native land and kindred on so distant and perilous an enterprise. "But as I was journeying from Bliecourt to St Urban, I was obliged to pass near to the Castle of Joinville; I dared never turn my eyes that way for fear of feeling too great regret, and lest my courage should fail on leaving my two fine children, and my fair castle of Joinville which I loved in my heart." His descriptions always bring the scene before our eyes. "They all with a loud voice sang the beautiful hymn of *Veni Creator* from the beginning to the end; and while they were singing, the mariners set their sails in the name of God. Instantly after, a breeze of wind filled our sails, and soon made us lose sight of land, so that we saw only sea and sky," &c. p. 118, 119. (Johnes's Translation). His *naïve* reflection immediately afterwards on the prudence of carrying a good conscience to sea, we have elsewhere quoted.

[2] If an Arabian historian may be credited, Louis afterwards declared to one of the officers of the Egyptian Sultan that he had landed with nine thousand knights, five thousand horse, and one hundred and thirty thousand foot, including workmen and servants. See *Arabic Extracts* appended to Joinville, p. 262. But this is doubtless an exaggeration of Moslem vanity; and a passage in Makrisi (*ibid.* p. 254), which estimates the whole force at seventy thousand men, is probably much nearer the truth.

exposure of his armament to the perils of the sea much more than the numbers of the Infidels, resolved on an immediate attack; and himself, in complete armour, with his shield pendent from his neck, his lance on his wrist, and the oriflamme borne before him, leaping into the waves breast high, was among the foremost who reached the shore. The Musulmans were so panic-stricken at the boldness of the Christian debarkation, that they not only fled from the strand, but abandoned the city of Damietta, though it had been furnished with a numerous garrison, and was more strongly fortified than when in the former Crusade it had sustained a siege of eighteen months. Before the Infidels fled, however, they set fire in many places to the trading quarter of Damietta, which with much valuable merchandise[1] was utterly consumed; and the French, astonished at their own success, took possession of the deserted city, and impatiently awaited the arrival of the remainder of their scattered armament.[2]

Capture of Damietta by the French. A.D. 1249.

The crusaders, however, soon discovered that it was no more than a transient panic which had delivered Damietta into their hands; and they themselves were shortly besieged within its walls by the army of the Sultan. The throne of Egypt was at this epoch filled by Nedjmeddin, grandson of Saphadin, brother of the great Saladin, a prince of courage and ability; who, on intelligence of the meditated invasion of the French, had been recalled from his career of conquest in Syria to the defence of his kingdom; and who, though afflicted with a mortal disease, had succeeded in reaching the banks of the Nile some time before the Christian descent. His first act, on learning the flight of the garrison of Damietta, was to punish fifty of their officers with the death which their cowardice deserved: his next to hasten, ill as he was, to the scene of danger, assume the personal command of all the levies of Egypt, which he summoned to his standard, and invest on all sides the Christian position. The gathering numbers of the Infidels already began to straiten Louis and his followers in Damietta, when their anxiety was relieved by the junction of those parts of their expedition which had been dispersed on the voyage from Cyprus and driven into Acre, together with a body of English nobles and knights, under William Long-

[1] In consequence of this destruction of merchandise, the booty captured, although Damietta had long been the emporium of Egypt, was small, not exceeding six thousand livres in value; and Louis incurred great obloquy by appropriating the whole of it to himself, contrary to "the good and ancient customs" observed in the Holy Land, by which one-third of all spoil went to the king, and the remaining two-thirds were shared among the crusaders. To this act, which seems strangely at variance with the usual conduct of so scrupulous an observer of justice as the "good saint," Joinville says he was instigated by the ill advice of a prelate and the assent of his council. P. 126.

[2] Joinville, p. 116-128. Makrisi, p. 238-242. See also several letters in Matthew Paris from the Count d'Artois, the master of the Templars, and others, announcing the capture of Damietta. *Additamenta*, p. 1090-1094.

sword. Notwithstanding the arrival of these reinforcements, however, much time was lost in mischievous inaction at Damietta, interrupted only by skirmishes with the Infidels; and the crusading host fell into licentious excesses and disorders,[1] which their victorious leader wanted either power or energy to repress, and to which, their pious historian does not hesitate to ascribe the wrath of God and the subsequent ruin of their enterprise.[2]

Advance from Damietta.

At length it was resolved to advance to Cairo; and the Christian army began to ascend the branch of the Nile from Damietta towards that capital.[3] The march along the bank of the river, notwithstanding the resistance of the Moslems, was successfully though slowly accomplished as far as Mansoura: but with the capture of that town commenced the disasters of the Crusade. At the head of the flower of the French and English chivalry, the Count d'Artois, one of the brothers of Louis, being detached to effect the passage of the Ashmoum canal[4] near that

[1] After describing the debaucheries of the nobility, Joinville adds, *Et le commun peuple se print à forcer et violer femmes et filles. Dont de ce advint grant mal. Car il failut que le roy en donnait congié* (was obliged to wink) *à tout plain de ses gens et officiers. Car ainsi que le bon roy me dist, il trouve jusques à ung gect de pierre près et à l'entour de son paveillon plusieurs bordeaux, que ses gens tenoient.* (The commonalty likewise gave themselves up to debauchery, and violated both women and girls. Great were the evils in consequence, for it became necessary for the king to wink at the greatest liberties of his officers and men. The good king even told me that at a stone's throw round his own pavilion were several brothels.) Ed. Paris, 1668, p. 32.

[2] Joinville, p. 128-132. Matthew Paris, p. 664.

[3] There is an inexplicable tale in Joinville of the treacherous conduct of the Sultan, who sent five hundred horse to guide the Christian army, and thus led his enemies into a snare! The French were enjoined not to injure any of these Musulmans, who, however, suddenly turned upon the Templars in the van, attacked them by surprise, and were immediately cut to pieces by that fiery chivalry. It seems inconceivable that the "good King" should have been gulled by so clumsy a stratagem, and may rather be suspected that the Infidels were deserters, who were sacrificed to some suspicion of the impetuous Templars. P. 132.

[4] We omit a long account in Joinville of some unavailing efforts of the French, under cover of their *chas-chatails*, or wooden towers, to throw a causeway over the canal of Ashmoum. These machines, as fast as they were built, the Infidels destroyed with the Greek fire, of the appaling effects of which the brave knight gives a woful description. The whole passage (p. 134-138) forms a valuable illustration of middle-age warfare; but is unimportant to our present narrative, as the French were unsuccessful in all their efforts, and were at last enabled to pass the canal only by the treason of a Bedouin, who betrayed to them the existence of a ford through the current. But it may be observed as a curious fact that, throughout the operations of this disastrous campaign, the superiority of the Orientals over the Latins in martial science is very evident. Of the composition of the celebrated Greek fire, to the marvellous effects of which the mediæval historians and annalists bear such ample and such frequent testimony, nothing whatever is known with certainty. It was invented or discovered by Callinicus of Heliopolis in Syria, in the year 668, who was probably a master-builder or architect; and having communicated the secret of its preparation to the Greeks, it was preserved by them for four centuries, when, by some means or other, it was procured by the Moslems, who, as we see above, employed the Greek

place, rashly pursued the flying Infidels into the town, without deigning to listen to the experienced counsel of William Longsword, and the grand-master of the Templars, to await the support of the main body of the army. The conduct of the French prince was marked by the same vaunting temerity which, in so many previous and subsequent combats of the middle-ages, led the national chivalry of France into headlong destruction. Stung by his insolent reproaches, Longsword and his English brethren, the masters of the Temple and Hospital, with the knights of both Orders, vied with the French in the blind precipitation of their valour: they burst into the town of Mansoura; and when the fury of their charge had thrown the whole body into confusion, they were enveloped in the place by the rallying Infidels, and totally routed. The Count d'Artois himself, the author of the calamity, William Longsword and the master of the Templars, the victims of his presumption, and a host of other gallant knights, were all slain on the spot, or grievously wounded; the master of the Hospitallers fell alive into the enemy's hands; and the remnant of the band were rescued from the same fate only by the advance of the main army under the king himself, who, after performing prodigies of personal valour, succeeded in compelling the Moslems to retire.[1]

Subsequent reverses and calamities.

This equivocal victory was, however, without advantage to the Christians; and their critical position only served, on the contrary, to inspire new confidence into the Infidel host. Nedjmeddin himself was now dead, having lately expired under the incurable malady against which his spirit had bravely striven; but his death was carefully concealed until the

fire with destructive force against the army of king Louis. Asphalt, or mineral bitumen, sulphur, and petroleum, or mineral oil, are all supposed to have been used in its composition, though in what proportions it is impossible now to ascertain, and Anna Comnena expressly mentions the pitch obtained from ever-green firs. It was projected in various forms, and from various kinds of instruments, and was inextinguishable by water, but extinguishable by sand, vinegar, and other liquids. It was undoubtedly the most formidable material of war known to the middle ages, though its employment would seem to have been confined wholly to Eastern Europe and Asia Minor; but after the discovery of gunpowder in the fourteenth century, we hear no more of its use as an implement of destruction.

[1] Joinville, p. 132–148. Matt. Paris, p. 672–680, 685. Makrisi, p. 245–248. For the relation in the text of the part taken by the English crusaders in the calamitous action of Mansoura, we are indebted to the monk of St Alban's. Joinville, from respect probably to the memory of the Count d'Artois, has passed in silence over the tale of the fatal rashness by which that prince brought such ruin on the crusading cause, and has omitted the name of Longsword among the victims of his presumption. It is more remarkable that, from whatever cause, the good Seneschal has never once, we believe, directly noticed the share of the English in the Crusade; and a single observation that Louis assigned a certain post to "the Duke of Burgundy and the nobles beyond seas his allies," (p. 139), is the only passage in which he deigns to record the presence or services of these foreign auxiliaries among his countrymen.

arrival of his son and successor Touran-Shah in the Moslem camp: the government was administered by the Sultana in the name of her deceased lord; and the functions of a commander-in-chief were skilfully performed, and the courage of the troops sustained, by Bibars, general of the Mamelukes, who himself, in the sequel, seized the sceptre which he was worthy of wielding. On the arrival of the new Sultan, the Egyptian galleys on the Nile were drawn overland from above, and launched below, the Christian camp; the communication of the French army with Damietta was thus cut off; and through precisely the same imprudence, and probably on the very ground on which the host of the Fifth Crusade had been enclosed between the canal of Ashmoum and the river, Louis and his army were now intercepted. In this situation, famine and a pestilence, the consequences of unwholesome diet,[1] soon made frightful ravages in the Christian camp; a further advance was impossible; and after a period of calamitous inaction, broken only by the assaults of the Infidels, and some vain overtures of peace, no other resource remained for the enfeebled and wretched army of the crusaders than to attempt a retreat to Damietta. But this movement was the signal of universal disorder and rout; the Musulmans broke into the camp and murdered the abandoned sick; their galleys cut off all the fugitives who endeavoured to escape down the river; the troops who marched by land were overwhelmed by the innumerable cavalry of the Sultan; and Louis himself, who, though sinking under the same illness as the rest of the army, had remained with the rear-guard, and discharged all the duties of a devoted commander and valiant soldier, fell, in a state of helpless exhaustion from disease and wounds, into the hands of the victorious Infidels. His surviving brothers, Charles and Alfonso, Counts of Anjou and of Poitiers, together with all his nobility and knighthood, who escaped the first slaughter of the onset, shared his fate: but no mercy was shewn by the Infidels to the soldiery and others of inferior condition; and

Capture of Louis and destruction of his host. A. D. 1250.

1 "You must know that we eat no fish the whole Lent but eel ponts, which is a gluttonous fish, and feeds on dead bodies. From this cause, and from the bad air of the country, where it scarcely ever rains a drop, the whole army was affected by a shocking disorder, which dried up the flesh on our legs to the bone, and our skins became tanned as black as the ground, or like an old boot that has long lain behind a coffer. In addition to this miserable disorder, those affected by it had another sore complaint in the mouth from eating such fish, that rotted the gums, and caused a most stinking breath. Very few escaped death that were thus attacked," &c. Joinville, p. 159. "The disorder I spoke of very soon increased so much in the army, that the barbers were forced to cut away very large pieces of flesh from the gums, to enable their patients to eat. It was pitiful to hear the cries and groans of those on whom this operation was performing; they seemed like to the cries of women in labour, and I cannot express the great concern all felt who heard them," p. 162.

of the Christians of all ranks there fell on this fatal occasion, either slain in the field or massacred in cold blood, at the lowest computation, upwards of thirty thousand men.[1]

The situation of even the captive king and his nobles was for some time extremely critical, and their ultimate safety was placed in imminent hazard, by a domestic revolution in Egypt, which almost immediately followed the Moslem victory. The new Sultan, Touran Shah, is accused by the Oriental writers of debauchery, favouritism, and cruelty, but it is only certain that his impolitic conduct alienated the affection of the formidable bands whose services under Bibars had been mainly instrumental in achieving his triumph over the Christian invaders. These troops, whose renown is so familiar to European ears under the designation of Mamelukes, had been organized by the late Sultan Nedjmeddin, and had proved themselves the firmest support of his throne. Their ranks had been originally filled, as they continued ever after to be recruited, by slaves, principally of the hardy Turcoman stock, purchased at an early age, and educated in the camp; but their fidelity to the house of their founder expired with his death, and they now revolted and murdered his son. With Touran Shah ended the Curdish dynasty which, commencing with the great Saladin, had reigned in Egypt and Syria for eighty years; under Sultans who sprang from their own ranks, the Mamelukes held independent possession of those countries for nearly a century and a half, until their nominal subjection to the Turkish power; and it has been reserved for our age to witness the final extinction of their bands.[2]

Liberation of Louis and his nobles.

By Touran Shah, the King of France had at first been treated with generosity; and a negociation for his ransom and that of his followers was speedily concluded: but not until some menaces of torture had been ineffectually tried upon the brave spirit of Louis to obtain the surrender of the Christian fortresses in the Holy Land. It had, however, been agreed that he should yield up Damietta as the price of his own liberty, and pay a sum of gold, equal in French money to four hundred thousand livres, for the deliverance of his army, when the murder of the Sultan suspended the fulfilment of the treaty. In the subsequent confusion, Louis and

[1] Joinville, p. 149-170. Matt. Paris, p. 685-686. Makrisi, p. 248-251. The numbers which perished in this retreat and capture of the crusading host, it is as usual difficult to estimate. Joinville is silent on this point; Makrisi says one hundred thousand, doubtless an exaggeration; but it appears that not one of the crusaders, except the garrison of Damietta, escaped; and of the Christian captives in Egypt, afterwards released, the numbers are declared, with uncommon precision by the same Arabic historian, p. 254, to have been only twelve thousand one hundred men and ten women.

[2] For the origin of the Mamelukes, see Joinville, p. 156. Makrisi, p. 244, with Du Cange's note, &c.

his nobles narrowly escaped death[1] from the fanaticism of some of the Moslem chieftains; but more humane or avaricious suggestions finally prevailed in their councils, and the completion of the treaty was resumed. Finally, Damietta was surrendered by its French garrison in exchange for the persons of the king and his nobles; the Templars were reluctantly compelled to make a loan from the treasures in their galleys to complete the required discharge of the first instalment of the pecuniary ransom; and Louis, with the sad remnant of the proud host which had debarked at Damietta, bade adieu to the shores of Egypt.[2]

On their liberation, the greater number of the surviving nobles, with their followers, gladly availed themselves of the plea, that the disasters and sufferings which they had already undergone, were a sufficient acquittance of their crusading vows; and abandoning all idea of further service in the sacred cause, they sailed direct for France. But the religious and chivalrous scruples of their king were less easily satisfied. His devotional feelings, and his sensitive conviction of the disgrace with which defeat and captivity had sullied his arms,[3] equally impelled him to continue his efforts, in the hope of achieving some happier enterprise for the redemption of the Holy Sepulchre and the recovery of his fame. He therefore proceeded to Acre, and, after some hesitation in his counsels, announced a settled purpose to remain in Palestine, and to employ whatever treasures and forces he could still supply or raise in the defence of the Christian garrisons.[4] During four years he perse-

[1] Joinville himself, when a party of Saracens with drawn swords and menacing aspects entered the galley in which he was confined, imagined that his last hour was come. "With regard to myself, I no longer thought of any sin or evil I had done, but that I was about to receive my death: in consequence I fell on my knees at the feet of one of them, and making the sign of the cross, said, 'Thus died St Agnes.' Sir Guy d'Ebelin, constable of Cyprus, knelt beside me, and confessed himself to me, and I gave him such absolution as God was pleased to grant me the power of bestowing; but of all the things he had said to me, when I rose up, I could not remember one of them," p. 176.

[2] Joinville, p. 170-184. Matt. Paris, p. 686-689. Makrisi, p. 251-255.

[3] *Rex autem apud Achon tristis remansit et inglorius, jurans in cordis amaritudine maximâ, quòd nunquam in dulcem Franciam sic confusus remearet.* (But the king, sad and inglorious, remained at Acre, swearing in very bitterness of heart, that thus dishonoured he would never return to fair France.) Matt. Paris, p. 690.

[4] Among the nobles who had remained with him was the faithful Seneschal of Champagne, who had originally maintained his train of knights at his own expense, but having lost every thing in Egypt, was now compelled to become the stipendiary soldier of the king. When, however, his first term of hired service expired, and Louis proposed a new pecuniary engagement, "I replied," says Joinville, "that I was not come to him to make such a bargain; but I would offer other terms: which were that he should promise never to fly into a passion for any thing I should say to him, which was often the case, and I engaged that I would keep my temper whenever he refused what I should ask." The good saint laughingly assented to these quaint and cheap conditions. Joinville, p. 205.

vered in this design, unable, indeed, with his exhausted resources and scanty levies to perform any signal action, yet still reluctant to return ingloriously to his native realm. As the whole force which he succeeded in assembling under his standard during this long period never amounted to above four thousand men, he was prevented from pursuing any offensive operations against the Infidels: but his treasures were lavishly expended in refortifying Jaffa, Cæsarea, and Sidon, and in making great additions to the strength of Acre; and his presence and exertions not only deserved and obtained the gratitude of the Christian chivalry and people of Palestine, but contributed to suspend for forty years the fall of the last bulwarks of the Latin kingdom on the Syrian shores.[1]

Among the circumstances which favoured his labours and protected the weakness of the Christians, may be numbered the dissensions of their enemies. The usurpation of the Mamelukes, and the struggle of their leaders for the possession of the Egyptian throne, had encouraged the revolt of Damascus under a sultan the relative of the murdered Khalif of Cairo; a furious civil war between the Moslems of Egypt and Syria interrupted their assaults upon the Christians; and both parties sought either to gain the alliance or to avert the hostility of the French king. Louis profited by their mutual fears and jealousies to obtain from the Mameluke rulers of Egypt the release of all the surviving Christian captives whom he had left in that country, and a remission of the moiety, which was still unpaid, of the stipulated ransom for his army. He received a promise even of the cession of Jerusalem itself; and the intelligence of the Moslem dissensions and of his successful negotiations again excited the hopes of Europe for the recovery of the Holy Sepulchre and the re-establishment of the Latin kingdom. But these sanguine expectations were blighted by the conclusion of peace between the Egyptian and Syrian Infidels; and their reunited forces were immediately turned against the Christians. The ravage of the Latin territory by a combined army of various Moslems under the Sultan of Damascus, and their advance to the gates of Acre, at last revealed to Louis the vanity of his fondest aspirations and the utter hopelessness of ultimate success. The Infidels indeed retired without attempting the capture of the strong Christian fortresses; and by their retreat Louis remained at liberty to withdraw without dishonour from the suspended contest. The news of his mother's death, by which his kingdom was left without a regent, quickened his increasing desire to escape from a scene of continued disappointment and mortification, and justified the announcement of his purpose to return to France. The clergy and barons themselves of the Latin kingdom perceived and acknowledged that his prolonged residence

[1] Joinville, *passim*, p. 184-224.

could not be attended with any advantage; and offering him their humble thanks and praise for the great good and honour which he had conferred on Palestine, they gratefully counselled him to think rather of ensuring his safe passage to Europe than of continuing among them. Louis accepted their advice, and adopted a measure so congenial to his altered wishes, and so necessary to the welfare of his kingdom. Embarking at Acre, he reached France after a perilous voyage, marked by more than one trial of his brave and generous nature. It was, however, but in shame and sorrow that he abandoned the cause still dearest to his pious feelings; and he closed the Seventh Crusade with the melancholy reflection and self-reproach, which even the consciousness of his own virtuous intentions could not assuage, that he had in vain sacrificed his chivalry and people to defeat and destruction; and that in exchange for the best blood and treasures of his kingdom, he had been able to accomplish nothing either worthy of his name, or suitable to the general honour and service of Christendom.[1]

A. D. 1254.

Close of the Seventh Crusade.

The residence of St Louis, however, in Palestine had at least put some check upon the eruption of those bitter feuds among the Christians themselves, which had ever been the bane of their cause, and which broke out anew immediately after the departure of their royal leader. Among the most turbulent and irreconcilable communities of the Latin State, were the colonies of the three maritime Italian Republics, and the military Orders. In their insolent disdain of all control by the local government of the feudal kingdom, the Venetians, the Genoese, and the Pisans extended their pernicious spirit of commercial and political rivalry from Europe to the Syrian shore; openly fought with each other in every seaport of Palestine for the possession of exclusive privileges and quarters; and even violated the sanctity of Christian churches by impious and bloody struggles for their occupation. With more flagrant dereliction of duty, the religious chivalry of the Hospital and Temple forgot their vows in the indulgence of their mutual hatred; and employed in their fierce rivalry the arms, which they had sworn to use only in the common service of the Cross. To decide their quarrel, the two Orders drew out their forces in the field for a general and formal engagement; the prowess or numbers of the Hospitallers prevailed; and so sanguinary and merciless was the encounter, that of all the militia of the Temple then serving in the Holy Land, scarcely one knight escaped the carnage. From every commandery of the Temple in Europe the most strenuous exertions were made to despatch its effective members to Palestine, both for the purpose of replenishing

War between the Orders of the Temple and Hospital.

A. D. 1259.

[1] Joinville, *ubi supra*. Matt. Paris, p. 698, 720, 727, 766.

the vacant posts of their slaughtered brotherhood, and of inflicting a signal vengeance upon the Hospitallers; and nothing short of a war of extermination was meditated between the two Orders; when their deadly feud was suddenly smothered under the overwhelming violence of a new tempest of Musulman invasion, which threatened to bury them with the whole Christian State under a common ruin, and awoke them to the duty or necessity of uniting their exhausted forces against the general enemy.[1]

After a revolutionary period of disorder and bloodshed, Bibars, styled also Al Bonducdari or Bondocdar, the same Mameluke chieftain who had distinguished his ability in the defence of Egypt against St Louis, was raised by the suffrages of his fellow-
A. D. 1263. soldiers to the throne of that kingdom; and had now commenced an enterprising reign of seventeen years, which proved nearly fatal to the remains of the Christian power in Palestine. No sooner had he consolidated his authority in Egypt than he carried his arms into Syria, reduced the Musulman States in that country into subjection, and poured the united forces of the Infidels into the Christian territories. In the open field, the numbers of the invaders rendered all resistance to their ravages hopeless: but the few and scanty garrisons of the Latins made a gallant and desperate defence; the military Orders gave many a noble example of heroism; and by that singular admixture of religious constancy with every fierce and unholy passion which distinguished their times and their associations, the same men who had so lately stained their swords with the blood of their Christian brethren, now vied with each other only in the generous devotion of their lives to the common cause, and in the inflexible preference of martyrdom to apostasy. Upon one
A. D. 1265. occasion, the last of ninety Hospitallers who had defended Azotus died in the breach: on another, the prior of the Templars with his companions, who had been reduced to extremity and surrendered Saphoury on a capitulation which Bibars treacherously violated, were offered the alternative of a cruel death or
A. D. 1266. instant conversion to Islamism, and unanimously sealed the sincerity of their faith with their blood. But all the heroic efforts of the two Orders failed to arrest the progress of the Infidels, or to awaken the timely sympathy and succour of Europe. In the course of a few years, not only the inland castles of the two Orders, but Cæsarea, Laodicea, Jaffa, and many maritime fortresses successively fell before the Mameluke arms; and the capture of Antioch, and the extinction of its Latin Principality, which throughout the

[1] Matthew Paris, p. 846, who describes in strong terms the events of the unnatural warfare between these devoted champions of the Cross, and the purpose with which the Templars in Europe hastened to the Holy Land, *propter ultionem horribilem hostiliter in Hospitalarios retribuendam* (for the purpose of taking a horrible revenge on the Hospitallers.)

vicissitudes of the Crusades had hitherto preserved an obscure and uninteresting existence, completed the triumph of Bondocdar. The fall of Antioch, which was basely surrendered without resistance, was attended by the massacre of ten or even forty thousand Christians; above one hundred thousand more were sold into slavery; and the once proud capital of Syria was abandoned to desolation and solitude.[1] Acre was preserved from the same fate only through the succour of the king of Cyprus, and the destruction of the Egyptian navy by the elements; and at this juncture the fall of that last Christian bulwark on the Syrian coast was suspended for twenty years by an expiring effort of the crusading spirit.[2]

Fall of Antioch. A. D. 1268.

The appalling intelligence of the dreadful catastrophe which had extinguished the Christian State of Antioch roused the Papal Court from a long and selfish apathy to the affairs of the East; and the unabated zeal with which Louis IX. of France had already contemplated a renewal of his pious services on the imaginary cause of Heaven, was now quickened by the approbation of Clement IV. The piety of Louis was sincere and ardent, and in another age it would doubtless have taken a more rational direction, but in the thirteenth century it was the mere embodiment of a passion for the delivery of the Holy Sepulchre, which neither his past experience nor his sufferings, great as the latter had been, could eradicate; and after thirteen years spent at home in the wise and temperate exercise of his regal functions, he resolved again to devote his mental energies and his material resources to the organisation of a new Crusade. Three years were consumed in preparations for this final effort to recover Palestine, and on the 4th of July 1270, he set sail with his fleet from the port of Aigues-Mortes, and in a few days reached the roadstead of Cagliari in Sardinia, where he anchored, and called a council of war of his barons and counts to deliberate on the course it was most proper to pursue; when it was determined by a majority, and in obedience to the king's secret wishes, to attempt the reduction of Tunis, the king of which country and his people Louis hoped to convert to Christianity. The circumstances which led to this extraordinary resolution are but imperfectly known, though they may probably be as safely referred to the intensely devotional temperament of the monarch, as to the interested representations of his brother, Charles

THE EIGHTH AND LAST CRUSADE.

[1] *Eo anno*, says Rishanger, the continuator of the *Chronicle of St Alban's*, *Soldanus Babylonicæ vastatâ Armeniâ Antiocham, unam de fâmosioribus orbis civitatibus abstulit Christianis, et tam viris quam mulieribus interemptis*, in solitudinem ipsam seduxit. (In that year the Sultan of Babylonia, having laid waste Armenia, took Antioch, one of the most famous cities on the globe, from the Christians, and both the men and women being slain, he reduced it to a solitude.) P. 857. It may, however, be doubted whether its total depopulation is to be understood literally.

[2] Sanutus, *Secret. Fidel. Crucis*, lib. iii. pars xii. c. 6, *ad* part xiv. c. 3. De Guignes, *Hist. Gén. des Huns*, &c. lib. xxi. *passim*.

of Anjou, king of Naples and Sicily, whose subjects were molested by the piratical practices of the Moors; but however this may be, the desire to visit Tunis, and to reclaim its inhabitants, had taken so deep a hold on the mind of Louis, that he was heard to say, before he left France, that he would willingly spend the rest of his life in a dungeon, away from the light of the sun, if by such a sacrifice he could accomplish this cherished object.[1] Many of his wisest advisers tried to turn him from this fatal determination, but in vain, and the good but mistaken king landed his army on the Tunisian territory on the 24th of July, and encamped it on the site of the ancient Carthage. The Moors did not oppose its debarkation, but on the approach of the fleet fled in dismay, and the Saracenic prince, for whose special benefit this *detour* had been made, treated the Frankish monarch as an enemy, and threatened, at the head of a hundred thousand men, to drive him into the sea. No encounter however took place between the hostile troops, for, besides that Louis avoided one as incompatible with the spiritual design of his mission, the Moors had no wish to measure swords with the Christian chivalry; but they harassed the Christian army by desultory attacks on outposts and stragglers, and by intercepting their supplies, and these distractions, aided by the heat of the climate, the want of water, and the necessity of feeding on salted provisions under an African sky, caused a pestilence to break out in the crusading camp, which in a few short weeks nearly decimated the hapless army. Night and day the Frankish soldiers were under arms, but the enemy was fugitive, and when sought was nowhere to be found. Meanwhile death sped his way through the ranks. Fatigue, famine, and disease, did their work but too surely. The dead were so numerous that it was found impossible to bury them. The ditches of the camp were filled with carcasses thrown in by the heap. The stench emitted corrupted the air, and despair and misery overwhelmed the unhappy crusaders. The Count de Vendome, the Count de la Marche, Gaultier, de Nemours, the Lords de Montmorency, de Pienne, de Bressac, and many others of the highest condition, fell before the fatal epidemic; and when the Duke de Nevers, the king's son, who had been born at Damietta during the captivity of his father, died, the hero and the monarch yielded to the man and the father, and he wept bitterly. At length, the king himself fell ill; the rude medical art of the age did its best for him, but in vain—the hand of fate was on Louis of France, and he expired tranquilly in his camp, on the shores of the ancient Numidia, on the afternoon of the 25th of August 1270.—Let us now return to the progress of the Eighth and last Crusade.

In the defence of a land and a cause which during two centuries

[1] Michaud, iii. p. 35.

had continually exercised the valour, and prodigally wasted the blood, of the chivalry of Christendom, the last successful exploits of heroism were reserved for an English prince, the descendant of those illustrious houses of Normandy and Plantagenet, whose prowess had so often been signalised on the same ensanguined field. Prince Edward, the future monarch of England, accompanied by his faithful consort Eleanor, and attended by his kinsman Edmund Crouchback, Earl of Lancaster, four other earls, four barons, and a gallant but slender train of knights and soldiers which did not exceed one thousand men, had joined the French army in Africa before the death of Louis IX.: and the abandonment of the Crusade by their allies, which followed that event, might have absolved the small English force from the prosecution of their vows. But their valiant and magnanimous leader swore, that though every other follower should desert him, he would still proceed to Palestine, attended only by his groom:[1] his spirit was emulated by every English heart; and after refreshing their strength during the winter in Sicily, he sailed in the spring with his gallant band to Acre.[2]

Arrival of Prince Edward of England with his followers at Acre.

The arrival of Edward in that port once more rekindled the hopes of the desponding Latins; and the long memory of the prowess of Cœur de Lion had still retained sufficient influence in the East to appal the spirit of the Moslems at the intelligence, that another hero of the lion-hearted race approached to uphold the banner of the Cross. The Sultan Bondocdar, who had carried his ravages to the gates of Acre, immediately retired in discouragement at the report, the broken remains of the Latin chivalry of Palestine eagerly gathered around the standard of Plantagenet; and though the total force which the Christian State could muster, including his English followers, did not exceed seven thousand men, Edward boldly marshalled this scanty army for offensive hostilities against the Infidels. Advancing from Acre, his achievements justified the general expectation both of his enterprising courage and of his military skill. His first exploit, the surprise and defeat of a large body of the

[1] *Juravit solito Juramento per sanguinem Domini, inquiens; Quamvis omnes commilitiones et patriotæ mei me deserant, ego tamen, Fowino custode palufridi mei (sic enim vocabatur curator equi sui), intrabo Tholomaidam.* (He swore by his usual oath, the blood of the Lord, saying:—"Although all my fellow-soldiers and compatriots desert me, yet I, with Fowin, the keeper of my palfrey, will enter Tolamais.) Rishanger, *Contin.* Matt. Paris, p. 859.

[2] Rishanger, p. 858, 859. Matt. Westminster (Ed. Francofurti, A. D. 1601), p. 400. *Chronica de Mailros* (*apud* Gale *et* Fell, vol. iii.) p. 241. *Chronicon* Thomæ Wikes, p. 94. *Chronica* Walteri Hemingford, p. 590. (Both in Gale, vol. ii.)

[3] Both Rishanger and Matthew of Westminster (*ubi supra*) declare that, but for the opportune arrival of Edward, Acre was to have been surrendered to the Sultan within four days.

Musulman forces in the field, was succeeded by the assault of Nazareth; and in the dreadful slaughter which preceded and followed the capture of that city, he equally emulated the chivalric valour and the fanatical cruelty of the earlier champions of the Cross.[1] But the reduction of Nazareth closed his brief career of victory: his English followers fell rapid victims to the Syrian climate; and the hero himself was already stretched on a sick couch, when he narrowly escaped death from the poisoned dagger of an assassin. Whether the villain was the mere hired emissary of a Musulman emir, or one of the few survivors of that fanatical sect of the mountain chief, which the Moguls were supposed to have extirpated,[2] is uncertain: but he easily obtained a private audience of Edward under pretence of a confidential mission; and, while the prince was reading his credentials, he drew a hidden poniard, and aimed a blow at his intended victim. The attack was so unexpected, that Edward received several wounds before he recovered from the surprise, when, vigorously struggling with the assassin, he felled him to the floor, and instantly despatched him with his own dagger. As the weapon had been poisoned, the life of the prince was for some time in imminent danger: but a leech in his service undertook to cut away the infected flesh from his wounds, and the operation was successful.[3]

Narrow escape from assassination.

After his own restoration to health, the wasting effects of disease among his followers; the total inadequacy of his remaining force

[1] In his first surprise of the Infidels, Edward *invenit Sarracenos et uxores eorum cum* parvulis *suis in lecto: quos omnes*, coolly continues the chronicler of Melrose, *ut hostes Christianæ fidei occidit in ore gladii*,—(he found the Saracens with their wives and little ones in bed—all of whom, as enemies of the Christian faith, he slew with the point of the sword.) P. 242.

[2] The destruction of the Syrian assassins by the Tartars is noticed by Matt. Paris, p. 821 (*ad an.* 1257.) *Circulo ejusdem anni, Tartari detestabiles Assassinos detestabiliores, &c. destruxerunt*—(In the course of this year the detestable Tartars destroyed the more detestable assassins.) In the first part of a tedious Dissertation on the Assassins, by M. Falconet, read before the French Academy of Inscriptions, and of which a translation is printed in Johnes' Joinville (vol. ii. p. 287-328), an attempt is made to prove that Paris was in error; that it was only the assassins of Persia, a kindred and more numerous sect, which the Tartars destroyed; and that those of Syria, according to Abulfeda, were extirpated by the Mamelukes about A. D. 1280.

[3] Rishanger, p. 859, 860. Matt. West. p. 401. *Chron. de Mailros* (which suddenly breaks off in the midst of its tale of the attempt to assassinate Edward), p. 241, *ad fin.* Wikes, p. 96-98. Hemingford, p. 590-592.

Not one of these writers, who were contemporary, or nearly so, with the event, knew anything of that beautiful fiction, the creation of a much later age, which ascribes the recovery of Edward to the affectionate devotion of his consort Eleanor in sucking the venom from his wounds. Hemingford, whose account is very circumstantial, and has principally been followed in the text, notices the presence of Eleanor, the demand of the leech that she should be removed from the chamber of her lord before the operation was performed for his cure, and the gentle violence which was necessary to withdraw her from the scene. P. 591.

to any further enterprise of importance; the failure of other Christian princes to despatch their promised succours to his aid; and intelligence from England of his father's dangerous illness and anxiety for his return;[1] all conspired in inducing Edward to listen to overtures for peace, which were extorted from the Sultan of Egypt, not less by the experience of his prowess, than by some new troubles which had broken out in the Musulman States. The mutual necessities of the Sultan and of the English prince, therefore, produced the conclusion of a truce between the Infidels and the Christians in Palestine for ten years; and after a residence of fourteen months in the Holy Land, and the accomplishment of a seasonable treaty, which had alone arrested the progress of the Mameluke arms and prolonged for another brief period the precarious existence of the Latin State, Edward bade adieu to the Syrian shores, and sailed with his few surviving followers for his native land.[2]

Conclusion of Peace with the Infidels.

Edward returns to Europe. A.D. 1272.

After the departure of the English Prince, and while the remaining Christian possessions on the coast of Palestine were left in the peace which he had won, some last abortive efforts were used to interest Europe in their preservation. Pope Gregory X., who was residing in Palestine when he was surprised with the news of his elevation to the tiara, and who had been a sorrowing witness to the helpless condition of the Latin State, made an earnest endeavour, immediately after his arrival in Europe, to arouse the sovereigns and nations of Christendom to the preparation of a new Crusade. But the solitary example, given by one Pontiff, of a deep sincerity in the cause, only served to prove the utter extinction of the crusading spirit. Notwithstanding his labours, seconded by the authority of a general council of the church which he assembled at Lyon, he could only obtain hollow promises of devotion to the service of the Cross, from those princes who desired to perpetuate his favour, and who, after his death evaded the fulfilment of their reluctant vows. Meanwhile, however, the Christians in Palestine, during eight years, were permitted by the good faith or distraction of the Musulman councils, to enjoy unmolested a peaceful respite of their fate; and that interval was filled only by the struggle of royal pretensions in the expiring Latin kingdom. Since the death of the emperor Frederic II., the baseless throne of Jerusalem had found a claimant in Hugh de Lusignan, King of Cyprus, who, as lineally descended from Alice, daughter of Queen Isabella, was, in fact, the next heir, after failure of issue by the marriage of Frederic and Io-

Attempt of Pope Gregory X. to form a new Crusade. A.D. 1274.

Last respite of the fate of Palestine.

[1] The letter from Henry III. pressing his son's return, may be seen in Rymer (Ed. by royal command, 1816), vol. i. part i. p. 487.

[2] Matt. West. p. 402. Wikes, p. 99. Hemingford, p. 592.

lanta de Brienne. His claims were opposed by the partisans of Charles of Anjou, King of the Sicilies: that wholesale speculator in diadems, who, not contented with the iniquitous acquisition of his Italian realms, and the splendid dream of dismembering the Greek empire, extended his grasp to the ideal crown of Palestine. He rested his claim upon the double pretension of a papal title to all the forfeited dignities of the imperial house of Hohenstauffen, and of a bargain with Mary of Antioch; whose rights, although she was descended only from a younger sister of Alice, he had eagerly purchased. But the prior title of the house of Cyprus was more generally recognised in Palestine; the coronation of Hugh had been celebrated at Tyre; and the last idle pageant of regal state in Palestine was exhibited by the race of Lusignan.[1]

At length the final storm of Musulman war broke upon the phantom king and his subjects. It was twice provoked by the aggressions of the Latins themselves, in plundering the peaceable Moslem traders, who resorted, on the faith of treaties, to the Christian marts on the Syrian coast. After a vain attempt to obtain redress for the first of these violations of internationl law, Keladun, the reigning Sultan of Egypt and Syria, revenged the infraction of the existing ten years' truce by a renewal of hostilities with overwhelming force; yearly repeated his ravages of the Christian territory; and at length

Fall of Tripoli. A. D. 1289.

tearing the city and county of Tripoli, the last surviving great fief of the Latin kingdom, from its dilapidated crown, dictated the terms of peace to its powerless sovereign. The example of this punishment, and the authority of a feeble government, were insufficient to prevent a repetition, two years later, on the part of the lawless inhabitants of Acre, of similar outrages upon the property and persons of the Musulman merchants; and the Sultan Khatil, the son of Keladun, was provoked, by a new denial of justice, to utter and enforce a tremendous vow of extermination against the perfidious Franks. At the head of an

Acre invested. 1291.

immense army of two hundred thousand men, the Mameluke prince entered Palestine; swept the weaker Christian garrisons before him; and encamped under the towers of Acre. That city, which, since the fall of Jerusalem, had been for a century the capital of the Latin kingdom, was now become the last refuge of the Christian population of Palestine. Its defences

[1] Mr Hallam, following Giannone, has fallen into some inaccuracy, on no very important matter indeed, in stating (*Middle Ages*, vol. i. p. 371, 8vo. ed.) Mary of Antioch to have been the legitimate heiress of Jerusalem in 1272, while the royal line of Cyprus, descended from Alice, eldest sister of *her* mother Melesinda, had of course a better title. Until that race should be extinct, the house of Anjou could only rest their pretensions on the lapsed rights of Frederic II.: but these had expired with his posterity; and in short, as observed by Mr Mills (*Crusades*, vol. ii. p. 269), "the House of Anjou had no juster claim to the throne of Jerusalem, than they had to the throne of the Two Sicilies."

were strong, its inhabitants numerous; but any state of society more vicious, disorderly, and helpless than its condition, can scarcely be imagined. Within its walls were crowded a promiscuous multitude, of every European nation, all equally disclaiming obedience to a general government, and enjoying impunity for every crime under the nominal jurisdiction of independent tribunals. Of these there were no less than seventeen; in which the Papal Legate, the King of Jerusalem, the despoiled great feudatories of his realm, the three Military Orders, the colonies of the Maritime Italian Republics, and the representatives of the Princes of the West, all arrogated sovereign rights, and all abused them by the venal protection of offenders. When, therefore, the devoted city was invested by the Infidels, we need not wonder that, amidst the common danger, her councils were without concert, and that, with an immense population, the vast circuit of her walls was inadequately manned. All the wretched inhabitants, who could find such opportunities of escape, thronged on board the numerous vessels in the harbour, which set sail for Europe; and the last defence of Acre was abandoned to about twelve thousand men, for the most part the soldiery of the three Military Orders.[1]

From that gallant chivalry, the Moslems encountered a resistance worthy of its ancient renown, and of the extremity of the cause for which its triple fraternity had sworn to die. But the whole force of the Mameluke empire in its yet youthful vigour had been collected for their destruction. During thirty-three days, the besiegers incessantly plied a long train of balistic and battering engines of huge dimensions and prodigious power against the defences of the city; various parts of its double wall were beaten down or undermined; and at length the fall of a principal work, of which the fatal importance is expressed in the original relations of the siege by its title of "the Cursed Tower," opened a yawning breach into the heart of the place. At this awful crisis, the recreant Lusignan, who wore the titular crown of Jerusalem, basely abandoned his duty, and proved himself destitute of the only qualities which might have conferred lustre upon his ideal dignity. Secretly withdrawing in the night from his post, he seized a few vessels in the port, and sailed away with his followers to Cyprus. Even his cowardly flight could not shake the constancy of the Teutonic Knights, whom he had deserted in the Cursed Tower, and who continued to guard its ruins. But, with the following dawn, their post was attacked by the Infidels in immense force; several times were the assailants repulsed with dreadful carnage; and as often were the slain replaced by

Desperate defence of that city.

Flight of the King of Jerusalem.

[1] De Guignes, lib. xxi. Sanutus, lib. iii. pars. xii. c. 20. Giovanni Villani, (*in Script. Rer. Ital.* vol. xiii.) lib. vii. c. 144.

fresh bands of the Moslems. At length, after most of the German cavaliers had fallen in the breach, the Infidels, in overpowering numbers, forced a passage over their lifeless bodies; a torrent of assailants pouring into the place swept its few surviving defenders before them; and Acre was irretrievably lost. Bursting through the city, the savage victors pursued to the strand the unarmed and fleeing population; who had wildly sought a means of escape, which was denied not less by the fury of the elements than by the want of sufficient shipping. By the relentless cruelty of their pursuers, the sands and the waves were dyed with the blood of the fugitives; all who survived the first horrid massacre were doomed to a hopeless slavery; and the last catastrophe of the Crusades cost life or liberty to sixty thousand Christians.

Fall of Acre.

Even in the fatal hour in which Acre fell, the heroes of the Hospital and Temple preserved and displayed their unconquerable spirit. Led by their grand-master, the Knights of St John sallied from the devoted city; carried havoc into the heart of the Infidel leaguer; and when, overpowered by numbers, all but seven of their Order, with a few followers, had been left on the field, this gallant remnant fought their way to the coast, and effected an embarkation. Meanwhile, for three days after the fall of the city, the Templars continued to defend their monastic fortress within its walls. Their valiant grand-master, Pierre de Beaujeu, whose military skill and personal heroism had been conspicuous throughout the siege, was killed by a poisoned arrow; but the obstinate resistance of his brethren obtained from the Sultan the promise of a free and honourable retreat. When the Red Cross-Knights issued from their fortress on the faith of this assurance, they were assailed by the lawless insults of the Musulman hosts; they impatiently renewed the contest; and most of their number were slain on the spot. The few who escaped forced a passage with their swords through the Mameluke lines; fled into the interior country; and even there resumed the war until they were ultimately driven again to the coast, and effected their escape by sea to Cyprus. Theirs was the last effort for the defence of Palestine; the Christian population of the few maritime towns which had yet been retained, fled to Cyprus or submitted their necks without a struggle to the Moslem yoke; and after a bloody contest of two hundred years, the possession of the Holy Land was FINALLY abandoned to the enemies of the Cross.[1]

The fall of Acre closes the annals of the Crusades. But the mere loss of that last possession of the Latins on the Syrian shore would not have put a term to the hopes and efforts of Christendom for the recovery of the Holy Sepulchre, if the spirit itself, which prompted every preceding enterprise for the same ob-

Close of the Crusades.

[1] Sanutus, lib. iii. pars. xii. c. 21-23. De Guignes and G. Villani, *ubi supra*.

ject, had not already expired. A century earlier, the capture of Jerusalem by Saladin had sufficed to fill all Europe with grief and horror; and had impressed the three greatest monarchs of the age with the conviction, that the demands of religion and honour rendered it equally imperative upon them personally to revenge the disgrace of Christendom, and to chastise the insolence of the enemies of God. At a still earlier epoch, even the fall of a remote dependency of the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem had awakened the most intense anxiety and alarm in Europe for the safety of the Holy Sepulchre; and the catastrophe of Edessa had attracted the sovereigns and national chivalry of France and Germany to the plains of Asia. At every cry for succour from the Christians in Palestine, until the fatal issue of the Fifth Crusade, myriads of warlike and fanatical volunteers, of the noblest as well as the meanest blood of Europe, had eagerly responded to the call; and their devotion to the cause was much more frequently chilled and diverted from its support, by the tortuous and sordid policy of the Papal See, than by any lack of sincerity or change of purpose in themselves. Yet, after the fall of Acre no exhortations which succeeding Pontiffs strenuously repeated for fifty years, could rouse the princes and people of the West to any earnest design for the revival of the Crusades.[1] Nor was it that Europe had become less martial or restless in the fourteenth, than it had been in the twelfth century. Warfare still constituted the only serious occupation of her princes and nobles,—its pursuit the only path of honourable distinction, its image almost their only pastime; and the flame of chivalry—which we have elsewhere characterised, after a great writer, as at once a cause and consequence of the Crusades—never burned so brightly as in the age which immediately succeeded the extinction of those enterprises.

The cessation of the Crusades was assuredly, then, not produced by any abatement of the love of arms, or of the thirst of glory, in the chivalry of Europe. But the union with these martial qualities of that fanatical enthusiasm, which inspired the Christian warriors of the eleventh century, had been slowly dissolved; and the abandonment of Palestine to the undisturbed possession of the Moslems is clearly to be traced to the gradual but total exhaustion in the European mind of the same superstitious phrensy which, pervading every rank of society, had wrought such stupendous efforts for the possession of the Holy Land. The long duration of this wild passion, indeed, is far

Extinction of the Crusading spirit.

[1] An enumeration of these abortive efforts of the Popes to rekindle the enthusiasm of Europe would be superfluous in this place, but may be found in Mr Mill's *History of the Crusades*, vol. ii. ch. vii.—a work to which we take this last occasion of expressing our great obligations.

more astonishing than its final decay; and instead of being a subject of surprise that it at length expired, it may rather provoke our wonder, that so strange an enthusiasm should so tenaciously have survived all experience of disappointment and calamity. In the thirteenth century, however, a full generation before the fall of Acre, we begin clearly to discern the decline of the crusading spirit in the evidence both of historical and poetical literature; and when the pious follower of St. Louis, and faithful chronicler of his deeds, refused to accompany him in his second expedition,[1]—when the religious obligation of wresting the Sepulchre of Christ from the hands of the Infidels became the subject of bold and jocular denial in a popular poem[2]—we may feel assured that the noble and the minstrel already spoke the altered sentiments of their times.

The causes to which this extinction of fanatical zeal in Europe may be referred are obvious, and have often been exposed. Among them the most immediate, was assuredly a growing conviction of the hopelessness of success. After the signal and tremendous failure of the Fifth Crusade in Egypt, it may be doubted whether any mighty armament could ever again have been directed to the same scene, if the personal character and influential example of St Louis, rather than the spontaneous ardour of his nobles, had not produced his two calamitous expeditions. In the intermediate enterprise of the Emperor Frederic II., his tardy, if not reluctant, voyage to the Holy Land, as well as the whole tenor of his conduct respecting the affairs of his Eastern kingdom, was evidently induced much more by political than religious considerations; and the efforts of our two English princes, Richard of Cornwall, and his nephew Edward, if inspired by a more generous motive of glory or devotion, were unsustained examples of individual heroism, which served only to prove that their spirit was no longer supported by the popular en-

[1] "The King of France and the King of Navarre pressed me strongly to put on the Cross, and undertake a pilgrimage with them: but I replied, that when I was before beyond sea, on the service of God, the officers of the King of France had so grievously oppressed my people that they were in a state of poverty, insomuch that we should have great difficulty to recover ourselves; and that I saw clearly, were I to undertake another Croisade, it would be the total ruin of my people. I have heard many say since, that those who had advised him to this Croisade had been guilty of a great crime, and had sinned deadly." Joinville (Johne's Edition), vol. i. p. 241.

[2] In the *Fabliaux* of Le Grand d'Aussy (vol. ii. p. 163), translated in the kindred Work of Way (vol. ii. p. 227), is preserved a very curious specimen by Rutubœuf, a French rhymer of the age of St. Louis, in which a crusader and non-crusader are made to discuss the duty of assuming the Cross. Throughout this dialogue, under pretext of rebuking the levity of the non-crusader, it is evident that the sly minstrel intended to ridicule the expiring folly of his times; nor would it be easy, in more serious terms, to offer a better exposure of the practical evils which the Crusades had inflicted upon their votaries, than is presented in this lively satire.

thusiasm and hopes of their age. None of those leaders were followed by the immense and various array of the Western nations, which had thronged around the consecrated banners of their precursors in the first five Crusades: the defence of Palestine itself was abandoned almost entirely to the military orders; and perhaps it was only the institution of those martial and religious fraternities, and the revolutions and consequent weakness of the Mohammedan States, which protracted the struggle through the last seventy years of its duration.

But, beyond all question, the primary cause which both defeated the object of the Crusades, and awakened Christendom from its long dream of fanatical madness, was the conduct of the Papal See. Sincere as Pope Urban II. and some of his successors undoubtedly were in the promotion of these undertakings, the temptation of diverting the general enthusiasm to the profit of its own spiritual and temporal power soon became too strong to be resisted by the selfish ambition and cupidity of the court of Rome. Accordingly, the service of the Cross became the frequent pretence for pecuniary exactions to fill the papal coffers;[1] next, crusaders were allowed, and even encouraged, to commute their vows for money; and, finally, the same spiritual indulgences, or pardons for sin, which had been the great inducement to persons of all ranks to engage in the earlier Crusades,[2] were openly and shamelessly sold. Moreover, by an easy enlargement of the crusading principle, the sacred duty and merit of combating the infidel foes of God was first extended to the extirpation of heresy among Christians by the sword; and this doctrine required to be stretched but a point further, to reach all the temporal enemies of the church, or, in other words, every political opponent of the reigning pontiff.

Crusades against Heretics.

Innocent III. was the first of the popes who applied the religious enthusiasm of Europe to this double object of taxation and persecution. The Crusade, which he directed against the Albigenses, was the earliest diversion of the martial fanaticism of the middle ages from its original object; and the indulgences, which he lavished upon all who assumed the Cross in that atrocious warfare, were more extensive than any which had been promised for the deliverance of the Holy Sepulchre. The conduct of Innocent in converting the Saladine tithe, which had been first levied by general and voluntary consent throughout

[1] Sufficient examples of this fact, in the case of our own country, have already been cited in the present chapter from Matthew Paris, p. 339, 461, 463, &c.; nor can it be doubted that the same conduct was pursued in other parts of Europe.

[2] The promise of spiritual indulgences and pardons is expressly mentioned by Villehardouin as among the primary motives of the warriors who engaged in the Fourth Crusade. *Et mult s'en croisierent, porce que li pardons ere si gran.* Par. No. 1 (and many took the Cross because that the pardons were so great).

Europe, into a compulsory tax upon the clergy, was indeed more legitimate in its purpose. But though, as we formerly observed, the loftiness of spirit which characterised that celebrated pontiff, may redeem his memory from any suspicion of mean or sordid motives, the example which he thus set had very important results under his successors; not only in disgusting the ecclesiastical order with the prosecution of holy wars, which were made the pretext of plundering their revenues, but also in encouraging that spirit of resistance to the papal exactions, which may be numbered among the remote causes of the Reformation.[1]

It can scarcely be necessary, in this place, to remind the reader of the more flagrant abuses of the crusading principle, which were so frequently committed by the successors of Innocent III. During a period of forty years, every war in which they pursued their unrelenting hostility against the imperial house of Hohenstauffen, from the first excommunication of Frederic II. until the fall of his grandson Conradin, was audaciously invested with the title of a Crusade, and its supporters were rewarded with the same privileges as the Christian warriors in Palestine. One of these pontiffs, Clement IV. during the contest between Charles of Anjou and Manfred for the crown of the Sicilies, even prevented large bodies of crusaders from proceeding to the Holy Land, by inviting them, with the promise of equal indulgences, to exchange the perilous fulfilment of their vows in the East, for the lighter service of attacking his political enemy in Italy.

Disgust of Europe.

It would be a waste of words to enlarge upon the serious injury sustained by the Christian cause in Palestine through these abuses; or to describe the ridicule and scandal which were thrown upon the crusading principle itself by its prostitution to purposes, too grossly temporal long to delude even the blindest superstition. Nor were the shameless expedients less palpable by which the papal court, and its agents in the same age, frequently impeded the religious enterprises, and disappointed the zeal of society, in order to embezzle the immense sums which were collected for the ostensible service of the Cross. Of the extent of these frauds we have cited abundant evidence, even from the monastic annalists of our own country; and their effects could not fail to extinguish in disgust the last fitful gleams of the crusading fanaticism; since such fruitless exactions fell less severely on the poor and ignorant commonality, than on those ecclesiastical and noble orders who, by their riches and intelligence, were more inte-

[1] This is evidently the opinion of a writer of great research and celebrity, though he shrinks from stating it broadly: *Peut-on en conclure que les Croisades soient la cause de la guerre des Hussites et de la Réformation de Luther?* (May we not then conclude that the Crusades were the cause of the war of the Hussites, and of the

rested, and better qualified to expose and resent the dishonest artifices of the papal policy.[1]

The causes which produced and extinguished the Crusades are so evident as to have led most inquirers to a common conclusion on their nature and operations: but, in their estimate of the consequences of these memorable expeditions upon the political, moral, and religious aspect of society, scarcely two historians of eminence are agreed. If we are to believe one celebrated writer, the most sanguinary and destructive wars which fanaticism ever produced, were the sources of unmingled good;[2] if we are to adopt the judgment of another, yet more distinguished, the principle and effects of the Crusades were analogous in their baneful tendency, and equally injurious in their influence upon knowledge and civilization.[3] According to a third reasoner, those enterprises enormously augmented the papal power and aggravated the prevailing superstitions:[4] by a fourth they are numbered, with some hesitation indeed, among the beneficial causes of the great reformation of religion.[5] Again, though the first writer, to whom we have here alluded, thought he could discern in these wild expeditions the earliest gleams of light, which tended to dispel barbarism and ignorance, and was led to discover in them the dawn of all social improvement in Europe, the ablest historian of the Crusades in our own times has denied almost all permanence to their effects.[6] And lastly, while a disciple of the blind school of fatalism has seen in the conflict of Europe and Asia only some fortuitous advantages,[7] the eloquent champion of a religious philosophy of history has, with a far happier spirit of reverential inquiry, been contented to trace the beneficial designs of Omnipotence through the mingled evil and good of this, like every other, convulsion of the political and moral world.[8]

[1] The popular belief, which held that pilgrimages to various shrines of Europe were scarcely less efficacious than the more arduous journey to the Holy Land, has sometimes been numbered among the causes of the decline of the crusading spirit; but it seems to have been rather a consequence of the impossibility of visiting Jerusalem. At least the institution of the sacred festival of the jubilee, by which Pope Boniface VIII. drew an immense concourse of pilgrims to Rome, in the last year of the thirteenth century, to receive a general pardon for their sins, must be regarded only as a profitable expedient consequent upon the loss of the holy places in the East, which had previously attracted the stream of devotion.

[2] Robertson, *History of Charles V.* &c. *Introduction*, sec. 1.

[3] Gibbon, *Decline and Fall*, &c. ch. lxi.

[4] Mosheim, *Eccles. History*, Cent. xi. p. i. c. 1. sec. 8.

[5] Heeren, *Essai sur l'Influence des Croisades*, p. 139-176.

[6] Mills, *History of the Crusades*, vol. ii. c. 8. Such seems also to be the opinion of Mr Hallam: although it is to be gathered less from expressed reasoning, than from the absence of much reference to the effects of the Crusades in his View of the Progress of Society during the Middle Ages.

[7] Heider, *Outlines of a Philosophy of the History of Man*, quoted in

[8] Miller, *Philosophy of Modern History*, vol. iii. lect. xxiv.

The value of these various and conflicting opinions may perhaps best be ascertained by a distinct, though, within our narrow limits, necessarily a brief, examination of the forms in which the Crusades were likely to act upon the condition of Europe: in their influence upon religion, upon international power, upon internal government, upon commerce and learning, and lastly upon social morals and civilization in general.

Their real influence.

I. With respect to Religion, when we consider that the Crusades were the sources of a vast increase of power and wealth, and consequently of luxury and corruption, in the Romish Church; when we remember that the detestable establishment of the Inquisition, and the scandalous traffic of indulgences for sin, at least originated in the perversion of the crusading enthusiasm; it is impossible to deny the conclusion, that the immediate effects of that fanatical spirit were extremely pernicious. And it is probably the superficial view of these temporary evils which has misled many writers who, in natural and well-founded disgust at the cruelty and impurity with which they stained the holiness of Christianity, have overlooked the salutary reaction which they necessitated. Such inquirers, in fact, in passing an unqualified judgment on the mischievous results of the Crusades, have not distinguished between the proximate and ultimate consequences of those enterprises. For if, as they undoubtedly did, the corruptions of the Church of Rome produced the reformation of religion, the very evils engendered by the Crusades, in nurturing and maturing the intolerable growth of ecclesiastical abuses, must have essentially hastened the season of their correction.

I. Upon Religion.

II. The consequences of the Crusades in affecting the distribution of international power, is a question which admits of less doubt. The opinion once entertained, that those expeditions were instrumental in arresting the progress of the Mohammedan arms, seems universally exploded; nor can it be proved that they ultimately produced the least change in the external disposition of any of the European states, except the maritime Italian republics. We have seen indeed, that applications from the Greek empire to the Pope and the western potentates, for succour against the Seljukian Turks, preceded the First Crusade; and it is true that Alexius Comnenus profited by the successes of the Latins, to recover a considerable part of Asia Minor from the Infidels. But, before the crusaders traversed that region, the Seljukian power had already obeyed the usual fate of Asiatic dynasties, in internal decay and partition; and the real peril of Constantinople from the Turks in that age was already past, when her emperor was oppressed by the arrival of allies

II. Upon the distribution of international power

[1] Hallam, *Middle Ages.*

scarcely less dangerous. The temporary advantages which the Greek emperor extracted from the victorious passage of Godfrey of Bouillon and his compeers were never renewed; and we may agree with a judicious historian,[1] that whatever obligations might be due to the first crusaders from the Eastern empire, were cancelled by their descendants one hundred years afterwards, when the fourth in number of those expeditions was turned to the subjugation of Constantinople itself. Certain it is that the Byzantine empire never recovered from the shock and dismemberment which attended the Latin conquest; and the silent revival and growth of the new Turkish power in the mountains of Asia Minor, which finally overthrew the Greek empire, and planted the banner of the Crescent on the towers of Constantinople, were in no degree connected with, and could not be retarded by, the contest of the crusaders with the Sultans of Damascus and Cairo for the possession of the Syrian shore. In Western Europe itself, the Crusades left absolutely no consequences in the political connection of the Latin kingdoms; and we have only to compare their extent at the close of the 11th and of the 13th centuries to assure ourselves, that neither the fate of a single dynasty, nor the boundaries and relative strength of nations, had at all been affected by the vicissitudes of the fanatical contest in which they had shared.

III. Upon the internal government and constitution of European States.

III. The influence of that contest on the internal government and constitution of the feudal kingdoms of Europe is a distinct and more difficult problem. Among the benefits, in these respects, which had been attributed to the Crusades, are the firmer establishment of regal authority, the depression of the feudal aristocracy, the gradual deliverance of the rural population from predial servitude, and the growth of municipal freedom. The era of the Crusades was assuredly one of active and rapid improvement in social order and civilization: but, so far as opposite changes are discernible in the feudal kingdoms at the close of the Crusades, such results can scarcely, upon any sound principles of reasoning, be referred to a single and common cause in the influences of those enterprises. Now the same period witnessed the triumph of the crown over feudalism in France, the foundation of constitutional freedom upon the ruins of royal tyranny in England, and the completion of the aristocratic and municipal privileges of Germany. In the first of these countries, it has been proved that, of all the great and arrière fiefs, the annexation of which to the crown consolidated the royal power during the Crusades, not one lapsed by the extinction of a feudal house in those wars, and only one, the County of Bourges, appears clearly to have been acquired by purchase from a chieftain

[1] Hallam, *Middle Ages*, vol. ii. p. 182.

who had taken the cross.[1] In England, on the contrary, if the Crusades had any effect upon the regal authority, it was injurious. The sale of the royal domains by Richard I. to defray the cost of his expedition to Palestine, tended, indeed, to throw the crown, by the diminution of its revenues, into dependence upon the aristocracy: but the circumstances which favoured the struggle of that body against his successors—the mingled tyranny and pusillanimity of John, and the total incapacity of his feeble son—were altogether foreign to the present subject of inquiry. In Germany, it is needless to remind the reader, that the fall of the house of Hohenstauffen, and the consequent extinction of the imperial authority, were as totally unconnected with the result of the Crusades. In a word, how is a belief in the general depression of the feudal aristocracy, through their share in those costly and distant enterprises, to be reconciled with their triumph, in the same ages, over the royal and imperial power in England and in Germany?

Equally difficult would it be to shew any perceptible amelioration in the condition of the peasantry of Europe through the influence of the Crusades; for, at the close of the 13th century, the chains of feudal tyranny remained unbroken; the mass of the rural population was still in bondage to the soil; and, in the following age, the frightful insurrections of the populace in France and England, reveal the continuance of that wretched state of servitude which goaded their order to desperation.[2] There is, therefore, neither a shadow of evidence, nor even a probability, to warrant the hypothesis, that the condition of the serfs of the feudal system was improved by the events of the Crusades: scarcely any contemporary though accidental changes, in this respect, can be traced in the same period; and the relaxation of predial servitude must be referred altogether to later ages.

There is, however, more reason to conclude, though rather from general deductions than special proofs, that the growth of municipal independence was at least favoured by the Crusades. Not that even this assertion is to be received without great qualification: for the liberties of the inland cities of Northern Italy arose before the commencement of those enterprises, and were lost before their conclu-

[1] Heeren, *Essai sur l'Influence des Croisades*, p. 181-185; Mills, *History of the Crusades*, vol. ii. p. 351-354; and the authorities there cited.

[2] It is singular that Gibbon, while denying in general all beneficial consequences to the Crusades, and contending that they checked rather than forwarded the maturity of Europe, should number them "among the causes which undermined the Gothic edifice" of Feudalism; and assert that the poverty of the Barons, whose estates were dissipated in these expeditions, extorted from them "those charters of freedom which unlocked the fetters of the slave, and secured the farm of the peasant." Of such manumission there is no evidence whatever. It is no less singular that the great historian, in adopting this fanciful theory, should have overlooked, or at least omitted, all consideration of the real and positive benefits which accrued to commerce from the Crusades.

sion;[1] in Germany, also, many towns on the Rhine had already, in the 11th century, obtained important privileges from Henry IV. in reward for their fidelity to that emperor, during his disastrous contest with the Papacy;[2] and in our own country, the chartered rights of cities flowed exclusively from the crown, under circumstances which bear no imaginable relation to crusading incidents. But, throughout the continent north of the Alps, and in Germany especially, during the 12th and 13th centuries, there appears so remarkable an advance in the liberties and consequent prosperity of numerous towns, that it is natural to attribute some share in the successful struggle of their inhabitants against aristocratic oppression, to the frequent absence of the most active and enterprising of their feudal seigneurs and neighbours in the holy wars; and still more to the commercial impulse which was excited by those enterprises.

IV. Upon Commerce.

IV. If, on any point, indeed, we may safely dissent from the conclusions of those historians, who have seen no beneficial results in the Crusades, it will be in remarking the obvious effect of the Latin expeditions to the East in enlarging the commerce of Europe. The rapid extension of the trade of the maritime Italian republics, is clearly referable to their share in the Crusades, not only in the mere transport of warriors and pilgrims for hire, but in the warlike naval co-operation which won for them numerous lucrative establishments in the Levant. Thence they drew and poured into Europe the rich products of the East, and accumulated a commerce which, though not previously altogether unattempted, had acquired little activity until the commencement of the Crusades. Nor were its benefits by any means confined to Italy, or even to the shores of the Mediterranean; for, by inland communication, they were spread among the free cities of Germany; and, through the Straits of Gibraltar, to those English and Flemish ports, which formed the only entrepôts for the merchandise of the Italian republics, and of the Hanse towns of the North. It is not, therefore, too strong an assertion, that the Crusades were more instrumental in the dissemination of commerce throughout Europe, than any other circumstances, until the discovery of the New World, and the accomplishment of a maritime passage to India.

V. Upon Learning.

V. But no kindred influence of the Crusades can be traced in the diffusion of lettered knowledge. If, indeed, those enterprises had enriched the Western World with the precious stores of the ancient Greek literature, the result would more than have compensated for the political injuries which the crusaders in-

[1] "At the latter end of the 13th century, there were almost as many princes in the north of Italy, as there had been free cities in the preceding age." Hallam, *Middle Ages*, vol. i. p. 407.

[2] Heeren, *Sur l'Influence des Croisades*, p. 247, 248, with the authorities there quoted.

flicted upon the worthless and tottering edifice of Byzantine power. But the spirit of the ignorant Latins was still too barbarous to profit by a collision with the more cultivated, though perverted, intellect of the Greeks; the mutual hatred and contempt of the two races disdained all communion; and so far were the literary treasures of Constantinople from awakening the curiosity of her French captors, that the destruction of many of the Greek classics, still extant in the 13th century, is notoriously ascribable to the three calamitous conflagrations which attended the Latin conquest of the Eastern capital.[1] Nor, even, was any knowledge of the language of Greece imported into the West by the crusaders; and the true restorers of Greek learning in the Latin world were Petrarca and Boccaccio, whose exertions, in the next century after the Crusades, were aided by circumstances, upon which those wars could have left no control. Nor can any part of the illumination for which Europe was indebted in the middle ages to the letters and science of the Arabians, be more correctly ascribed to the occupation of Palestine by the Franks. For the intellectual splendour of the eastern khalifate was extinct before the First Crusade; the rays of light diffused from that source had long previously penetrated into the West through Spain and Italy; many Latin translations of the Arabic writers had been prepared in those countries; and Toledo, Salerno, and Cassino, were flourishing schools for the transmuted philosophy and learning of the Mohammedans.[2] Lastly, if the Crusades had exercised any decided influence on letters, we might expect to find its traces in the native and romantic poetry of the West, of which the darling theme was most congenial to the chivalric spirit of such enterprises. Apart, however, from the general and connecting link of chivalry, the subjects even of Trouveur and Troubadour contemporary song do not much abound with references to the adventures of Paynim war. Some oriental colouring was, no doubt, transfused through the strains of the numerous minstrels who followed their lords to Palestine: but it is a singular fact that, except in two, which relate the deeds of Godfrey of Bouillon and Richard Cœur de Lion, the Crusades do not form the subject of the romances of chivalry.[3] It has been acutely remarked, that those expeditions were, perhaps, too recent, and too much matters of real life, to admit the decorations of fiction:[4] but neither do they appear to have engrossed more attention, as subjects of authentic narrative, than the other political events of the times; nor to have particularly quickened that fervour of historical composition, which is usually awakened by great events, and tends by its excitement to stimulate the intellect

[1] See the authenticated catalogue of these losses in Heeren, p. 413, 414.
[2] Mills, *Crusades*, vol. ii. p. 360-364.
[3] *Idem*, vol. ii. p. 367, and Dunlop, *History of Fiction*, vol. ii. p. 140.
[4] Dunlop, *ubi supra*.

of an age. In this respect, notwithstanding the natural interest and richness of their materials and the spirit-stirring character of their details, the Crusades did not elicit any striking improvement; and though there is no lack of chroniclers of the Holy Wars, they are scarcely more numerous, or of higher merit, than the contemporary national annalists of the same ages.

VI. Upon the general state of Society.

VI. That the new blending of so many masses of men of various climes and manners in a common cause—the commingling, as it were, for the first time, of the great family of nations—and the general habit of foreign and distant travel—must altogether have given a mighty impulse to society, and dispelled many clouds of ignorance, in which the previous stagnation of intercourse had thickly shrouded the countries of the West—can hardly, we think, be doubted by any enquirer, whose judgment has not been misled to the maintenance of some preconceived and favourite theory. But, it has been triumphantly asked,[1] if some benefits were thus necessarily communicated to Europe, what were they? Specific proof may, in this spirit, be vainly demanded of a general consequence, which, from its very nature, admits of none. Yet no man has denied the striking and steady progress of civilization after the 11th century; and our historian of the middle ages, in his view of society, has even marked the close of that century which is identical with the commencement of the Crusades, as the point which separates the extreme darkness of barbarism in Europe, from the dawn of a progressive renovation.[2]

If the crusades, by the stimulus which they gave to the commercial and general communion of nations, were *not* the principal causes of this nascent improvement during the 12th and 13th centuries, what other attributes, peculiar to the times, can be pointed out, which may be believed to have exercised so strong and universal an influence, as those enterprises with all their attendant circumstances? It has been said that the Crusades were altogether pernicious to morality, and that the absurd and cruel principles of superstition and fanaticism which they fostered were equally detrimental to religion. But here again is room for a caution against the confounding of proximate and ultimate consequences. As the dissolute, as well as the pious, enlisted under the banner of the Cross, the habits of the worst portions of society were not likely to be improved by the license of crusading camps; but the myriads, who perished amidst their excesses in the East, at least relieved their native lands of the burden and curse of their presence. The stern spirit of religious persecution, encouraged by an exterminating warfare against Infidels, is the darkest feature in the operation of the Crusades upon the feelings

[1] Berington, *Literary History of the Middle Ages*, p. 269.
[2] Hallam, *Middle Ages*, vol. iii. p. 372.

and happiness of their times. The justice of the principles upon which those enterprises were either originally undertaken or subsequently perverted, is utterly indefensible upon all the laws of God and man; nor were there, perhaps, ever any human contests, in themselves more thoroughly misguided and iniquitous than those holy wars. But in their fruits when time had purified the soil in which the wild and bitter stock of superstition was planted, they became very salutary to mankind. The union of a religious with a martial spirit, however incongruous in its origin, has tended, more than any other combination of sentiment, to humanize not only warfare itself, but the ordinary relations of civilized life; and, as the institutions of chivalry were matured and perpetuated by the Crusades, we owe to those enterprises the cultivation of all the moral qualities, of personal honour and fidelity to obligations, of courtesy to the one sex and respectful tenderness to the other, which have descended upon the modern gentleman, and survive to dignify and adorn the intercourse of polished society.

Conclusion.

In conclusion, then, we may venture to affirm, of the influence and consequences of the Crusades, that, upon the state of religion, they were at first pernicious but ultimately beneficial; that, upon the distribution of national power in the European system, they were, altogether, or nearly, immaterial; that upon the internal government and constitution of the feudal kingdoms, they are no otherwise discernible than in favouring the growth of municipal freedom; that, in the diffusion of commerce, they were most important and valuable, but in that of learning absolutely null; that, in the commingling of nations, they must have given a strong and general impulse to the progress of civilization; and, finally, that, at least by the promotion of chivalric sentiment, they were an obvious, though indirect and distant, means of ameliorating the social morals and manners of Europe.

CHAPTER X.

FROM THE RISE OF THE OTTOMAN EMPIRE TO THE CAPTURE OF CONSTANTINOPLE, A. D. 1453.

During the progress of the Moguls in Persia and the neighbouring countries, Solyman Shah, at the head of fifty thousand Kharizmian Turcomans, quitted Khorassan and sought refuge in Asia Minor.[1] After the death of Zingis Khan he commenced a return to his native country, but was drowned in attempting to cross the Euphrates. Some of his sons conducted the return of their followers to Persia; but one named Ortogrul, at the head of a small portion of the tribe, remained behind, and entered into the service of Aladdin, the Seljukian Sultan of Roum. Having rendered some effectual assistance against the Moguls and Tartars, Ortogrul acquired the confidence of the Seljukians, and a permanent settlement was assigned to himself and his sons in the district of Sultanoni, as defender of the Seljukian dominions against the Greeks. It was under these circumstances that Othman, or Osman (Bone-breaker), the son of Ortogrul,[2] first signalized himself, and laid the foundation of his future greatness and of the Ottoman Empire. The marriage of Othman with Malchathun, the beautiful daughter of Edebali, a Sheik who resided at Eski-shehr, appears, however, to be well authenticated; and the jealousy of a neighbouring chief, who himself became enamoured of Malchathun, is said to have given occasion to an exploit of valour on the part of Othman which contributed to establish his fame, and to advance his rising fortunes. Supported by the favour and confidence of the Seljukians, Othman successfully attacked several fortresses on the

Othman.

[1] Much accurate information concerning the Ottoman history has been collected from Oriental writers by M. Joseph Von Hammer, and embodied in his elaborate *Geschichte des Osmanischen Reiches;* a work to which the following pages are considerably indebted. The Byzantine writers whose histories relate to this period are chiefly Chalcondylas, Ducas, and Cantacuzene. See also Cantemir *Histoire de l'Empire Ottoman,* and Petit de la Croix, *Histoire de l'Empire Ottoman;* but these histories must not be relied on for a thorough statement of facts.

[2] Born A. D. 1258.

Greek frontier, which he added to their dominions. Kara-jahissar, a town which he captured shortly before the death of his father Ortogrul, was assigned to him as a residence; where he was permitted, if not, as some historians relate, to coin money in his own name, to be mentioned in the public prayers, and to assume the title of Sultan, yet at least to possess the authority of an independent prince. Here he continued to increase in consequence and power, until the dissolution of the Seljukian monarchy (A. D. 1299), when he had no longer even a nominal sovereign; and from this time he distinctly appears as the founder of a new empire, which we shall see rising upon the ruins of the Seljukian and Byzantine dynasties.

A. D. 1299. Othman, having thus become independent in Sultan-oni, fixed his own residence at Jeni Shehr, and appointed his sons and chief officers governors over the several cities of his narrow territory. The commencement of his reign was stained by the blood of an aged relative. In a council which met to consider the propriety of making an attack upon a neighbouring fortress called Kopri-hissar, Deindar, brother of Ortrogrul and uncle of Othman, who must have been at that time nearly ninety years of age, ventured to oppose the undertaking as a source of needless difficulty and danger; whereupon, as we are told, the arrow of his words was answered by the arrow of the bow, and the uncle sank down a corpse at the feet of the nephew. This may be regarded as an early introduction to the subsequent system of fratricide among the Ottoman princes; and it is remarkable that the Turkish historian, Edris, who professes to relate nothing which can reflect disgrace upon the memory of Othman, records this event without any extenuation or comment. Kopri-hissar and various other fortresses were speedily captured, and repeated advantages were gained over the Greeks. Muzalon, the commander of the Greek body-guards, was defeated, and the victorious Turks ravaged Bithynia in every direction, advancing to the very walls of Nice and Prusa, and even as far as Adramyttium, where the emperor was staying. About the same time the islands of the Mediterranean became the scene of Turkish depredations; but it seems probable that these suffered from the followers of the several Seljukian chiefs who shared the dismembered empire, rather than from the arms of Othman. These leaders, though at variance among themselves, yet united in a series of successful efforts against the common enemy, by land as well as by sea. Cenchrea was taken and burnt; Tripolis on the Mæander, Tyræa, and Ephesus, were pillaged; Lydia was laid waste, and Sardis was compelled, for a time, to receive a Turkish garrison. A projected alliance of the Greek Emperor with the Khan of the

Tartars did not avail to check the ravages of the Turks: and Othman, not at all intimidated by this formidable threat, pursued his victorious career as far as the coast of the Euxine. While the Ottoman leader was thus victorious in the north, his son Orchan obtained his first success in arms by opposing a band of Moguls who had made an irruption into the southern part of his territory. Pleased at the success of the youthful warrior, Othman assigned to him, in concert with some of his more experienced generals, the conquest of the whole tract of country between the Sangaris (Aiala or Sakaria) and the Euxine, now called Hodja-ili, from the name of one of the generals who assisted in the successful expedition. Prusa, the ancient capital of Bithynia, now called Bursah or Boursa, was captured by the combined forces of Othman under his son, after a long and obstinate siege; and the founder of the Ottoman Empire died, with the prospect of finding his grave in a newly acquired capital, in the seventieth year of his age, and the twenty-seventh of his reign.

A. D. 1326.

At the period of Othman's death the Byzantine Empire had sustained considerable losses in other parts of Asia Minor, as well as in Bithynia and part of Paphlagonia, which he had subdued. Ephesus, as has been said, had fallen under the power of the Turks; and so also had Lydia, as far as Smyrna; Magnesia, as far as Pergamos; and Phrygia, both Greater and Lesser.

Othman was succeeded by his son Orchan. The first remarkable action of his reign was the appointment of his brother Aladdin to share with himself the duties and responsibilities of government, under the title of Wezir or Vizir;[1] an office which he discharged in a most efficient manner, assisting the growth of the empire by his internal regulations, while Orchan was adding to his territories by foreign conquests. Prusa having been captured at the close of the preceding reign, the seat of government was transferred to that city, and a series of successes ensued. Aidos and Semendia, two fortresses on the coast of the Euxine, were taken; and Nicomedia (Ismid) soon afterwards shared the same fate. Aladdin, after much study and pains, gave a body of laws and political regulations to the Ottoman Empire, in the third year of his brother's reign, which was the hundredth from the first settlement of Ortogrul in Roum. The sources of Ottoman jurisprudence are four in number; viz. the Koran, the Sunna, (or the Word of the Prophet,) the decision of the Fathers of the Moslem body, (the four great Imams,) and the Kanun, or collection of Supplementary Laws and Ordinances, the foundation

ORCHAN. A. D. 1328.

[1] This word denotes properly *the carrier of a burden.*

of which was now laid by Aladdin. The design of this latter code is not to supersede or interfere with the three former, but to supply their deficiencies, and to adapt them to the existing state of affairs. Much, of course, was to be done by a legislator who had to establish, in the infancy of an empire, such laws and customs as should accord with its genius and accelerate its growth. But Aladdin performed his task in a manner at once masterly and successful. Besides this, he established a mint and coined money in the name of Orchan; appointed the military head-dress or turban; and arranged a standing army. Of these institutions the last was the most important, and one which mainly contributed to the support of the Ottoman Empire; and it took place, we may remark, about a century before the time of Charles VII. of France, who is usually regarded by historians of the middle ages as the inventor of this policy. The Turkish horsemen were now made subject to greater discipline than formerly, and to this period we may refer the establishment of the sipahis or cavalry; but the most remarkable of the military arrangements now made was the establishment of a regular body of infantry, composed of the children of Christian parents who were forced to embrace Mohammedanism, and of renegades who voluntarily embraced the religion of the Prophet, and abandoned at once their faith and their country.

A. D. 1330. The emperor of Constantinople, Andronicus the younger, alarmed at the progress of the Ottoman arms, passed over into Asia at the head of an army, with a view to make some effectual opposition, but was soon obliged to seek safety in a precipitate flight. Discouraged by this defeat, Nice, the remaining bulwark of the empire in Asia, which had long been invested, yielded at length to the overpowering forces of Orchan. The capture of this city was followed by a new line of Ottoman conquests. Orchan, in imitation of his predecessors, had hitherto directed his arms against none but the Greeks; he now commenced an attack upon the emirs or chiefs who shared among themselves the remnant of the Seljukian dominions. The Emir of Khorasi

A. D. 1336. (the ancient Mysia) was easily compelled to submit; his capital Bergama (the ancient Pergamos) was taken, and the whole territory was reduced to the form of an Ottoman province. This conquest was followed by successes in the western regions of Karamania, or the ancient Phrygia; and a long period of tranquillity which followed was not unprofitably occupied by Orchan in adjusting the internal regulations of his increasing dominions; while he cultivated more friendly relations with the Court of Byzantium, and is said even to have received the hand of a Greek princess in marriage.

It may be useful to state here the principal occasions on which the Turks came into collision with the Greeks in Europe, during the early period of the rising empire. In the year 1263, a colony of Turks, in number from ten to twenty thousand, settled on the western coast of the Black Sea; and, not long after, we find the Tartars, who espoused the quarrel of a Seljukian Prince, advancing to the very walls of Constantinople. In 1307 a band of four hundred Turks (from Aidin, *i. e.* the ancient Ionia) assisted the Catalans in their hostilities against the emperor; these, after having ravaged the Chersonesus, and having rendered themselves more or less formidable during seven years, were at length either destroyed or compelled to return to Asia. The first passage of the Ottoman Turks into Europe was in 1321, when they ravaged the coasts of Macedonia and Thrace, and exhausted the imperial treasury. In 1327, Andronicus the Elder called in some Ottoman troops to his assistance against his grandson Andronicus the Younger, by whom they were defeated, and afterwards permitted to return to Asia. In 1331, some Turks from Khorasi, who landed in the Hellespont and committed depredations, were driven back by the emperor, and a similar incursion in the following year terminated in like manner. The first treaty of peace between the Ottomans and Greeks was concluded between the emperor Andronicus the Younger and Orchan, in the year 1333. Some predatory expeditions of different bodies of Turks are mentioned in the two following years; but in 1336 the emperor made a league with the Emir of Sarukhan (the ancient Lydia) and Aidin, by which he engaged their assistance in the siege of Mitylene and of Phocæa, against the Genoese. Orchan, during his peace with the emperor, suddenly passed over to Constantinople in 1337, with thirty-six ships, with a view to effect a permanent conquest. A vigorous resistance was made by the emperor, and the great domestic John Cantacuzene, and the invader was repulsed with the loss of nearly all his armament. In 1340, a body of eight thousand Ottomans crossed the Hellespont, ravaged Thrace and Mysia, and returned laden with booty. Peace was again concluded with Orchan, and a fleet, despatched by the Emir of Sarukhan, was repulsed from the Chersonesus by Cantacuzene in 1341. Cantacuzene, now joint-emperor with John Palæologus, was laying the foundation of absolute sovereignty and undivided power in the internal dissensions of the empire, and the assistance of the barbarians from without. Umerbeg, Emir of Aidin, was one of these foreign allies; he passed over into Europe in the year 1342-43, but was bought off by Byzantine gold. He returned, however, to the assistance of his ally in 1345. The marriage of Cantacuzene's daughter

with Orchan, in 1346, was the bond of a still more important alliance; which, however, did not prevent him from sending succours to the Genoese, against the Venetians, who were the friends and allies of the emperor. This was the commencement of an open rupture; and Orchan now sided with John Palæologus against Cantacuzene. It was at this juncture that the Turks gained the first permanent footing in Europe, on occasion of the capture of a fortress on the coast of Thrace, by Solyman, son of Orchan; and it is remarkable that the record of this event is the first mention which the Ottoman historians make of the passage of the Turks into Europe, disdaining, perhaps, to notice those earlier expeditions which left no permanent trace of victory behind them. Afterwards, at the entreaty of Cantacuzene, Orchan sent a body of forces, under Solyman, to assist him against Palæologus, whose troops were defeated, and the emperor's Turkish auxiliaries returned to Asia laden with booty. At length, in 1357, Gallipoli, the key of the Hellespont, and a great emporium of the trade of the East, fell into the hands of the Ottomans; a conquest facilitated by a violent earthquake, which had shattered the walls of this city, as well as of others on the coast, and left them exposed to the attack of the invader, from whom they were compelled to receive a large colony of Turks and Arabians.

The foundation of the Ottoman Empire in Europe was in this manner permanently laid; and from this time the Turks made annual inroads into the Greek territories, until they had extended their dominions from the shores of the Propontis to the banks of the Danube. Solyman Pasha,[1] son and Vizir of Orchan, fixed his residence at Gallipoli; but death, by accident, about two years after the capture of the city, put an end to his conquests. Orchan survived his son scarcely a year; he died in the seventy-fifth year of his age and the thirty-fifth of his reign. The annals of this prince are not stained with an account of the murder of his kinsmen, or of other sanguinary transactions; meanwhile the discipline and tactics of the army were materially improved, learning was encouraged, and as a lawgiver and author of the Constitution, Orchan is usually regarded as the Numa of the Ottomans. Hereditary claim to the throne was now firmly established; and, by the policy of Orchan, who had founded a great

A. D. 1359.

[1] Pasha, *i. e.* Pai Shah, the foot of the Shah, a remnant of the old institution of Cyrus, who denominated his officers of State the feet, hands, eyes, and ears of the Prince. (*Cyrop.* 8. 2.) Thus the leaders of the army are called *the feet* of the Sultan.

number of mosques, colleges, and hospitals, the Ottoman prince was universally respected as the head of the Moslem faith.[1]

Amurath,[2] the younger son of Orchan, who succeeded his father on the throne, laid the plan of still more extensive conquests in Europe. The series of successful expeditions by which his reign was distinguished, began with the capture of various fortresses on the Hellespont. Adrianople, the great bulwark of the Byzantine dominions in Europe, and destined to become the second capital of the Ottoman Empire, soon fell into his hands, through either the cowardice or the treachery of the governor; and while Amurath was thus victorious in the neighbourhood of the Hellespont, his generals were enlarging the boundaries of his dominions in various parts of Asia Minor and Thrace.

A.D. 1361.

This early part of the reign of Amurath is rendered remarkable by the institution of the celebrated body of infantry called Janizaries. A great number of Christian captives having been taken by the Turks, Kara Halil Pasha, the Prime Vizir, recommended the Sultan to appropriate a portion of them to the service of the court and the army. An edict was accordingly issued, by which every fifth captive was claimed for this purpose; officers were stationed at Gallipoli to select and seize the most robust and handsome of the Christian youth; and great numbers of these were secured, who were to be educated in the Moslem faith, and trained as a regular militia to form the strength

Institution of the Janizaries.

1 The Ottoman Empire is one of the most singular creations of human genius. It owed its rapid growth to institutions and laws more than arms, and the institutions on which its greatness was more particularly founded were the work of an individual chief at the head of a small band of followers, not of the chosen lawgiver of a united nation. Hence the name of Orchan has not been ranked among the great legislators of mankind. * * * The grandfather of Orchan entered the Seljouk Empire, then in a state of decline, at the head of only four hundred horsemen. Othman, his father, became the territorial chief of a Seljouk province, which he succeeded in appropriating to himself as an independent principality at the dissolution of the Turkish Empire of Roum. His power increased, and his own little tribe of followers, whose very name is lost to history, became confounded in the various nomad hordes who soon filled the ranks of his army. At length Orchan conquered Nicæa, which had been for a time the capital of the Greek Empire; he then commenced giving systematic instructions to the people he ruled, and laying the foundations of a political society destined to grow a mighty nation. Let European pride contrast what Orchan did with what Napoleon failed to do. Orchan's own respect for religion, and the reverence paid by the tribe his grandfather had led into Western Asia to their religious and moral duties, gave the Ottomans a high rank among the Musulmans. They were virtuous men in the corrupt mass of Seljouk society." Finlay. *Mediæval Greece and Trebizond*, 1851. p. 465.

2 The more correct form of his name is Murad; Amurath, as it is usually written, being a corruption of Al Murad.

of the Ottoman army. The corps thus raised was in the next place to be named and consecrated; and for this purpose it was sent to Haji Bektash, a celebrated Dervise, who, standing in front of the prostrate ranks, and stretching his sleeve over the head of the foremost soldier, pronounced his benediction in the following manner:—"Let them be called Yengi cheri;[1] may their countenance ever be bright, their hand victorious, and their sword keen! may their spear always hang over the heads of the enemy! and whithersoever they go, may they always return with a white face!"[2] Such was the original formation of a body of men of desperate character, strangers at first to every tie except that of obedience to the Ottoman prince, and contributing, by the introduction of military subordination and veteran experience, to the constitution of a vigorous and irresistible army. The sleeve of the Dervise was represented by a tassel hanging down from the back of the cap, in which respect only the dress of the new recruits differed from that of the other infantry; and the name which they had received was speedily conveyed on the wings of victory throughout the wide regions of Asia and Europe. The original number of the corps appears to have been one thousand, which was augmented yearly, and subsequently fixed by Amurath at ten thousand; it afterwards rose under Mohammed II. to twelve thousand; under Solyman to twenty thousand; and under Mohammed IV. to forty thousand. When the extension of dominion had put an end to personal captivity, this body was supplied by a tax on every fifth male child levied on the Christian population of the empire; and at last the children of the Janizaries themselves were enlisted into the service, a regulation which materially contributed to the relaxation of their discipline and their tumultuary spirit in later times.

After the capture of Philippopolis, (Filibi,) Amurath made peace with the emperor of Constantinople. He then retired to his residence at Prusa; but he had scarcely begun to enjoy this period of tranquillity when another European enemy called him into the field. The Greek Governor of Philippopolis had fled for refuge to the Kral of Servia, who, when the second Crusade was proclaimed by Urban V., united with the kings of Hungary and Bosnia and the Prince of Wallachia in an expedition against the Turks. Amurath prepared to march in person against this formidable enemy, but having stopped on his way to recover Bigha, (the ancient Pigha,) in order to secure a route for his return to Asia, a signal defeat was given to the combined forces by one of his generals

[1] *i. e.* New soldiers or recruits: hence by corruption Janizaries.
[2] *i. e.* With praise or honour; as a *black face* is a term of disgrace.

before he appeared against them. He then pursued a course of victories, during five years, in Thrace, and added various towns and strongholds to his already extensive dominions. These conquests were speedily followed by the capture of several towns on the coast of the ancient Thessaly, and the subjugation of Servia and Bulgaria. Peace having succeeded his European victories, Amurath passed the winter of this year at his capital, Adrianople, where he enjoyed an interval of six years' uninterrupted tranquillity. He employed the leisure of peace, as well as the operations of war, for the aggrandizement of his empire, which at this time he promoted by the marriage of his eldest son Bajazet to the daughter of the Emir of Kermian. About the same time he compelled the Emir of Hamid to part with his territories by way of sale. And thus, of ten portions into which the Seljukian empire had been divided, three, besides that originally assigned to Othman, were now subject to the Ottoman power; viz. Khorasi, obtained by conquest under Orchan; Kermian, by marriage; and Hamid, by purchase. Sophia, an important city near the juncture of Mounts Rhodope and Hæmus, was captured in 1382.

A. D. 1375.

Encouraged by the death of the celebrated Vizir Chaireddin Pasha, whose wisdom and valour had materially contributed to the success of the Ottoman arms, Aladdin, the Emir of Karamania, who had long been jealous of the conquests of Amurath, commenced open hostilities. This prince was at the head of a section of the ancient Seljukian empire, inferior in importance only to the Ottoman itself; and he was aided in his enterprise by several other Moslem Chiefs, who, like himself, were impatient of the advancing and encroaching power of their neighbour. Amurath marched in person against the enemy, and after a decisive victory on the plains of Iconium, granted peace to Aladdin, who employed for this purpose the intercession of his wife, the daughter of the conqueror. By this signal success the Ottoman power was established in Asia on a firmer footing than ever. The revolt of Servia, which had lately acknowledged the supremacy of Amurath, and had given effectual assistance to him in his wars in Asia, in conjunction with Hungary, Wallachia, Dalmatia, Croatia, and Albania, recalled Amurath into Europe. The Ottoman arms were victorious on the plain of Cossova, but Amurath was mortally wounded towards the close of the engagement[1] by a Servian or Albanian soldier, who gained access to his person under a false pretence, and, having accomplished his purpose, fell covered with

Death of Amurath. A. D. 1389.

[1] Ducas relates this event as having occurred before the engagement. The name of the soldier was Milos Cobelitz or Kobelovitch. From this transaction is dated the custom of holding down the arms of ambassadors when introduced to an audience with the Ottoman Sultan.

wounds in the midst of the body-guards. Amurath died in the sixty-eighth year of his age and the thirty-first year of his reign: he is celebrated in history as at once politic and warlike, a lover of justice, and an encourager of learning.

BAJAZET I. Bajazet, surnamed Ilderim, (the Lightning,) ascended the throne on the death of his father. His first act was to cause his only surviving brother, Yakub Chelibi,[1] to be removed by strangling. This was done, say the Turkish annals, in remembrance of the decision of the Koran that commotion is worse than strangling; in remembrance, too, of the evil example that had been set by Saudshi, a recurrence of whose crime it was desirable to prevent; and in imitation of the example of God, who reigns over all things without a partner or a rival. These reasons were so highly appreciated by succeeding Sultans, that the imitation of the example of Bajazet became a standing law of the empire, whose chiefs thenceforward refused to bear a brother near the throne. The first warlike effort of Bajazet was directed to the reduction of Servia, and peace was soon concluded with that kingdom, involving on its part the promise of service, and the payment of tribute. Fresh progress also was made in the reduction of the Byzantine Empire, on occasion of the appeals made by its own princes to the Ottoman power for succour or for refuge. Andronicus, the son of Palæologus, who had been punished with blindness, and kept in confinement on account of an attempt against the authority of his father, made his escape to Bajazet, who assisted him to dethrone the old emperor and his son Manuel, and received the promise of a heavy tribute in return for this service. Not long afterwards, Palæologus and Manuel, having in their turn suffered imprisonment and effected an escape, sought the same means of recovering the throne which had been so successfully employed against themselves; and Bajazet, having received from them a promise to continue the tribute, and to be the faithful allies, or rather the obedient servants, of the Ottoman Empire, restored them on these conditions to the throne of Constantinople, while Andronicus received as his portion the few other cities which remained of the Byzantine dominions. The Servian and Byzantine auxiliaries were employed without delay in an expedition against Philadelphia, the last remnant of the Greek Empire in Asia, which had hitherto subsisted under the protection of the Emir of Aidin, who now came and did homage to the victorious Ottoman. The districts of Sarukhan and Muntesha likewise fell

[1] Chelibi, *i. e.* Nobleman, was anciently the title of the young Ottoman Princes before they came to the empire. This was afterwards exchanged for the more sublime style of Effendi, from the Greek Αὐθέντης.

under the Ottoman sway, and thus of the ten divisions of the old Seljukian Empire, seven[1] had now been absorbed in its growing power. Only two retained their independence; namely, Kastemuni in the north, and Karamania in the south; on the latter of which, however, a considerable inroad had been made by the victorious arms of Bajazet. Having effected these important conquests in Asia, Bajazet returned to Europe. Palæologus, having formed a plan of fortifying Constantinople, received from Bajazet a haughty message, requiring him to abandon the project. This was the last indignity which the aged emperor lived to endure: he died shortly after, and left his son Manuel in possession of the throne.

A. D. 1391.

A Turkish Cadi was now established in the imperial city; a yami or large mosque was erected; and symptoms of its approaching subjection to Mohammedan sway were evident. The conquests of Bajazet in Europe were rapid and extensive: Bulgaria and Wallachia submitted to his authority; and an inroad was made upon the kingdom of Hungary. About this period, also, we hear of the first equipment of a Turkish fleet; and galleys were stationed at Gallipoli to command the Hellespont and intercept the succours of Constantinople. In the mean time, Aladdin, the Emir of Karamania, having taken advantage of the absence of Bajazet, made an irruption into his Asiatic dominions. The Sultan marched in person against him, and having defeated him in a decisive battle and made him prisoner, added the whole of his territory to the Ottoman dominions. The reduction of this province was speedily followed by that of Kastemuni, and thus the whole of the ancient Seljukian Empire was now merged in the Ottoman. After this conquest, Bajazet repassed the straits, and invested Constantinople by sea and land; but the fall of the city was delayed for the present by the approach of an enemy who diverted the attention of the Sultan. Sigismund, king of Hungary, aided by French and German allies, marched towards the Ottoman dominions with the design of striking a fatal blow at the power of the rising empire, and laid siege to Nicopolis. Here a great battle was fought between the allied armies and Bajazet, September 28, 1396, which terminated in favour of the latter, chiefly in consequence of the indiscreet impetuosity of the French. After this signal defeat, Sigismund found protection in the united fleet of Venetian and Rhodian crusaders, and was conveyed safely to Dalmatia. Sixty thousand Moslems are said to have fallen in this action, in revenge for whose death Bajazet murdered his Christian prisoners. The victory of Nicopolis was soon followed by an inroad of the Ottoman forces into Hungary,

[1] *Viz.* Khorasi, Kermian, Hamid, Muntesha, Teka, Aidin, and Sarukhan.

Bosnia, and Wallachia. Constantinople had now been invested during five years and a half by the forces of the Sultan, and the inhabitants, weary of constant alarm, and apprehensive of approaching famine, were beginning to desire a surrender. This was, however, for the present avoided. Manuel agreed to abdicate the throne in favour of John, the son of Andronicus, and to content himself with the Morea; and no sooner had the new emperor attained his dignity, than he procured the removal of the Turkish army by promise of an augmented tribute, with permission for the erection of another mosque in the imperial city, and the admission of a Turkish colony into a part of the suburbs. After this further humiliation of the Byzantine Empire, the dominions of Bajazet received new accessions by extensive conquests. In Asia, his generals pursued a course of victories as far as the Euphrates; while, in Europe, the Sultan pushed his successes in person, and overran the whole of Greece, to which country, after the ancient manner of Eastern conquerors, he transplanted a large colony of his Asiatic subjects. After the reduction of Greece, Bajazet sent a haughty message to the Emperor of Constantinople, and threatened the city with a second siege, but Timour, at the head of his victorious Tartars, had now become formidable in Asia, and Bajazet left his threats against the imperial city unfulfilled, in order to march against his new enemy and conqueror.

Reduction of Greece. A. D. 1397.

Timour[1] was the son of Taragai, whose fourth ancestor, Karashar Nevian, of the noble tribe of Berlass, had been the vizir of Zagatai, the son of Zingis Khan.[2] He was born A. D. 1335; A. H. 736.[3] It was his early ambition to become the

History of Timour.

[1] Tamerlane, which is the name usually given in Europe to this conqueror, is a corruption of Timourlenk, *i. e.* the lame Timour. His lameness was occasioned by a wound received at a siege in the early part of his military career, according to Sherefeddin.

The particulars of Timour's life are to be gathered chiefly from his own *Institutes* and the histories of the Oriental writers, Arabshah and Sherefeddin. Arabshah was a native of Damascus, and a celebrated doctor of the Mohammedan law, who died A. D. 1450. He wrote his history in Arabic, which has been translated into French by M. Vatier. Mulla Sherefeddin Ali was a native of Yezd, in Proper Persia. He wrote in Persian, and published his work at Shiraz, by order of Ibraham Sultan, grandson of Timour, A. D. 1424. This was translated into French by M. Petit de la Croix, (Paris, 1722,) and from that version into English, (London, 1723:)

[2] This is the account given by Sherefeddin. The genealogies of Timour differ: but all agree in making it appear that he was allied to the Royal line.

[3] The *place* of his birth was Resch, "the capital of a district of the same name. After Timour ascended the throne, it became his favourite summer residence, and was called Shaher-e-Subz, or 'the verdant city;' the name by which it is now known. It is about 130 miles to the east of Bokhara, and about 30 to the south-east of Samarcand." *Malcolm's Persia*, i. p. 285.

conqueror and ruler of the world, and his talents were in no slight degree adapted to advance him to this mischievous distinction. At the age of twenty-seven he rendered effectual assistance to the Emir of Khorasan and Transoxana against the Getes who were laying waste his territories. As a reward for this service he received the sister of the Emir in marriage; but after her death he commenced hostilities against his father-in-law, captured his chief city Balch, and ascended his throne. Timour chose Samarcand for his new residence, which he fortified with walls, adorned with buildings and gardens, and erected into the capital of his dominions. A. D. 1369. After various successful expeditions against the Getes, and the overthrow of the Shah of Koharesm, Timour's love of conquest and desire of universal dominion could no longer be either repressed or concealed. He declared that as there is but one God in heaven, so there ought to be but one Lord on earth. Being now master of Turan, that is, the country beyond the Oxus, he next aspired to the sovereignty of Iran, on this side of that river, where a variety of dynasties had been founded on the ruins of the empire of Zingis Khan. Having subdued the provinces of Khorassan, Sistan, and Sabulistan, he commenced his first war against Proper Persia, which lasted three years. Two dynasties at that time ruled in Persia; that of Mosasser, in Persian Irak, and the province Fars, (*i. e.* Persis,) and that of Ilchane, in Arabian Irak and Azerbijan or Atropatene. Shah Shedshaa, the reigning prince of the former of these dynasties, submitted without opposition, and gave his daughter in marriage to the grandson of Timour; while Sultan Ahmed, the representative of the latter, was forced to yield to the superior power of the invader. Georgia and Shirwan, Gilan, Armenia, and Mesopotamia, as well as Persia, acknowledged the sovereignty of the conqueror. During the campaign of Timour in Persia, Tokatmish, Chan of Western or Great Tartary, who had been placed on his throne twelve years before by Timour's assistance, raised the standard of rebellion. Hereupon Timour marched into Tartary at the head of an immense force, when he gained a decisive victory in a great battle, July 5, 1390, and Tokatmish sought refuge in flight. The following winter was passed by Timour in the midst of festivities at Samarcand. He then entered on an expedition, in which, during the course of five years, he completed the A. D. 1391. subjugation of Persia, captured Bagdad and the fortresses of Mesopotamia, and pursued his successes in Armenia and Georgia, defeated Tokatmish a second time, and having crossed the Danube, the Dnieper, and the Don, penetrated into Russia and plundered Moscow. His next campaign was into India. He crossed the Indus, September 19, 1398, penetrated to Delhi, the residence of

Sultan Mahmoud, which place he captured and burned, and, having pursued the retreating natives as far as the Ganges, proceeded on his return to Samarcand. All this was accomplished in the space of a year. The presence of Timour was now wanted in his western dominions, where he was employed in quelling an insurrection of the Georgians. The princes of Bagdad and Diarbekr (Ahmed and Kara Joseph) sought protection from the vengeance of Timour first in Syria, and afterwards at the court of Bajazet; a circumstance which served as the proximate cause of a quarrel between Timour and the Ottoman Sultan, who had long been jealous of each other's power. Bajazet was withdrawn from Constantinople by the intelligence that Timour had taken Siwas or Sebaste, and, besides, having exercised great cruelty towards the inhabitants and garrison, had put to death Ortogrul, his favourite son, whom he had captured with the city. Having defeated the Egyptian and Syrian forces in a decisive engagement, Timour made himself master of Aleppo, October 30, 1400, which he gave up to plunder during fourteen days. After Aleppo fell Hama, Hems, and other Syrian fortresses, and Timour proceeded to Baalbec, (the ancient Heliopolis,) at that time a flourishing city, and thence to Damascus, under the walls of which a decisive battle was fought against the Sultan of Egypt and the Syrian Emirs, which terminated in favour of Timour; and the city, notwithstanding a treaty by which the conqueror had promised to accept a stipulated contribution, was reduced to ashes. Bagdad was next destroyed, and ninety thousand heads were piled in pyramids before the walls; which was no other than the accustomed monument, on a large scale, of the success and barbarity of the conqueror. After this, Timour retired to winter-quarters in the valley of Karabagh, on the banks of the Araxes. Here, according to Sherefeddin, he received a peaceable and submissive embassy from Bajazet. The Ottomon historians do not admit that the message of Bajazet implied an acknowledgment of Timour's superiority: be this, however, as it may, Timour demanded submission, and promised to wait for an answer, at the commencement of spring, on the borders of Asia Minor. He accordingly proceeded on his march towards the west, and at Siwas was met by the ambassadors of Bajazet, who were charged with a haughty and indignant reply. Preparations were now made for deciding the quarrel by force of arms. Bajazet, deaf to the entreaties of his experienced generals, who represented to him the necessity of meeting the superior numbers of the enemy in an enclosed country, resolved to give them battle on the plains. He accordingly marched with an army of one hundred and twenty thousand men,[1] of whom eighteen

Jan. 5. A. D. 1401.

[1] The number of Bajazet's army is stated at four hundred thousand in Timour's *Institutes*.

thousand were Tartars and ten thousand Servian auxiliaries, to oppose the forces of Timour, which are said to have been upwards of eight hundred thousand in number. The two armies met at Angora, where a battle was fought, which lasted with great obstinacy through a long day, and at length, by the superior numbers of the Mogul army, and the uncommon skill and admirable tactics of Timour,[1] ended in the total defeat and captivity of the Ottoman Sultan. Such was the end of Bajazet's otherwise victorious career, and here too was almost the extreme limit of the wider devastations of his conqueror.

Battle of Angora, July 20. A. D. 1402.

The captivity of Bajazet in the camp of Timour was, according to all the historians, of a very mild character at first; and the dignity of a prince, though fallen, was carefully conceded to him. But after the failure of an attempt, on the part of himself or his friends, to effect his escape, the imperial captive was subjected to a more severe kind of treatment, being closely watched during the day, and even secured with chains at night. When the army was on the march, Bajazet appears to have been carried in a kind of latticed or grilled litter, suspended between two horses, such as was used in the East in conveying the harem from place to place. Hence arose the well-known, but questionable, story of the iron cage, in which Timour is said to have confined his prisoner and carried him about. The following, according to Von Hammer, are the testimonies of the several early historians on the subject. Schiltberger, in his account of the battle of Angora, of which he was an eye-witness, says nothing whatever of the iron cage; and the Marshal Boucicault, in his *Mémoires*, only asserts, in general terms, that Bajazet died in prison under severe treatment. Of the three Byzantine historians who record the transaction, Ducas, and Chalcondylas speak only of the chains of the imperial prisoner,[2] while Phranza, who is in general less accurate in his narrative than the two others, relates that he was confined in an iron chamber. (*Cubiculum.*) The Persian writers of Timour's history, both in prose and in verse, mention only the first honourable reception of Bajazet in Timour's tent, and are quite silent with respect to the more rigorous treatment which he afterwards endured. The contemporary Arabian writers say nothing of the iron cage. The Syrian historian Arabshah, who takes every opportunity to cast reproach upon the character of Timour, and is more studious of the strength and ornament of his style than of the truth of his narrative, does indeed assert that Bajazet was confined in an inclosure of iron. The oldest Ottoman historian Aashikpashasada, relates from the mouth of an eye-wit-

[1] This engagement is remarkable for the first introduction of military uniforms and cuirassiers, in the army of Timour.

[2] See Malcolm's Persia, vol. i. p. 304. Note.

ness, who was one of Bajazet's body-guard, that the Sultan was conveyed about in a litter which was latticed in the manner of a cage; and with this agrees the statement of the other Ottoman historian Neshri, and the opinion of Seadeddin. And it is this account which seems to point out the truth of the matter. The Turkish word *kafe*, which signifies a litter of the description above mentioned, does also denote a cage; and this was probably the origin of the mistake that has prevailed respecting the mode of Bajazet's confinement.

After the battle of Angora, Mirza Mohammed Sultan, the grandson of Timour, pursued Solyman, the son of Bajazet, who had fled towards Prusa. The speed of the Mogul pursuer was great, but Solyman had quitted Prusa before he arrived there, and reached the sea-coast in safety, whence he passed over to Europe. The city, however, was pillaged and destroyed; and afterwards Nice and other places in Asia Minor were devastated by the Moguls. Timour now sent ambassadors to demand submission and tribute from the emperor of Constantinople, who did not feel himself in a condition to resist the mandate of the victorious Mogul. The Egyptian Sultan in like manner submitted; and three sons of Bajazet received as many portions of their father's dominions in return for tributary gifts and promises of allegiance. Timour afterwards laid siege to Smyrna, which he took after a fortnight's resistance. This was the extreme limit of his western conquests.

A. D. 1403. Bajazet died in the camp of Timour on his return towards the East, at Akshehr, where his remains, which the conqueror delivered to his son Mousa, were interred. His large empire was now dismembered. The Emirs of Aidin, Muntesha, Teki, Kermian, and Karamania recovered their respective dominions; while the remains of the Ottoman Empire were a subject of contention to the three sons of Bajazet, Mohammed, Isa, and Solyman, whose dissensions were fomented by the policy of Timour. Solyman at first established himself at Adrianople, Isa at Prusa, and Mohammed at Amasia.[1] Timour survived the captive Sultan only two years; he had returned to Samarcand, where he received embassies from various nations as lord of Asia, and celebrated the nuptials of six grandsons with unrivalled pomp and festivity; and he had set out towards China, with a view to the conquest of that empire, when he died on his march, at Otra, February 19, 1405, in the seventy-first year of his age and thirty-sixth of his reign.

Death of Timour.

[1] The Ottoman historians do not give the title of Sultan to either Solyman or Mousa, but only to Mohammed, as having eventually retained possession of the throne. The European historians multiply the number of Sultans by including the two former as well as the latter.

Soon after the death of Bajazet, Manuel recovered the throne of Constantinople; John Palæologus, who had retained possession of it during ten years under the auspices of the Ottoman Sultan, being now banished to Thessaly. Solyman having entered into an alliance with Manuel, surrendered to him a considerable portion of the Ottoman conquests in Europe, and remained inactive at Adrianople, where he indulged in excessive dissipation. He viewed for some time with indifference the struggles of his two brothers, Isa and Mohammed, for superiority in Asia; but the latter having obtained the victory, Solyman appeared as his rival, and crossed over into Asia to contend with him for the supreme power, whence, however, he soon retreated to Europe to struggle with Mousa, who, on Mohammed's behalf, had brought the war into the midst of his own dominions. Mousa was quickly defeated, and Solyman was acknowledged at Adrianople by the European powers as Sultan of the Ottoman Empire. Here, however, he again sunk into extreme dissipation; Mousa speedily appeared at the gates with his recruited army, when he was welcomed by the inhabitants, and Solyman, endeavouring to effect a flight to Constantinople, was overtaken and slain. Mousa being now in possession of the throne of Adrianople, effected some conquests in the Byzantine dominions, and soon after laid siege to the capital. The emperor Manuel invited Mohammed to his assistance, who came for this purpose to Constantinople, but was quickly obliged to return in consequence of some troubles in Asia; Mousa, however, was soon after compelled to raise the siege, and Mohammed having again advanced against him, he sustained a total defeat, and died in flight. An excellent opportunity was at this time afforded to the Christian princes of abridging, if not of entirely annihilating, the Ottoman power in Europe; but the disputes which subsisted between the Greek and Latin churches, and the troubles of Germany and Italy, prevented them from making a good use of the favourable juncture.

Mohammed having become the undisputed Sultan; wisely directed his attention to the reunion of his dismembered empire and the consolidation of his authority. He continued to be a firm friend of the Byzantine Emperor, to whom he restored the fortresses of Thessaly, with those on the Propontis and the Black Sea; and confirmed his treaty of alliance by fresh oaths. He also concluded a treaty with the Venetians, after having in vain attempted to impede their commerce, and having suffered a defeat in a naval engagement. His attention was particularly directed towards quelling insurrections in his own dominions; an undertaking in which he was so eminently successful, that he is called by Turkish historians the Noah who saved the ark of the empire from

A. D. 1413.

the Tartar deluge. The latter part of his reign was disturbed by the claims of an unexpected competitor for the throne, who gave himself out as Mustapha, an elder son of Bajazet, who had disappeared at the battle of Angora, and had been supposed to be dead. The Ottoman historians, with one exception, take it for granted that he was not the real son of Bajazet, while the Byzantine writers maintain the contrary.[1] Mohammed hastened to oppose him, and defeated him in a battle near Thessalonica; but Mustapha having escaped to that city, received protection from the governor, and afterwards from the Greek Emperor, who refused to comply with the request of the Sultan to deliver him up, and subsequently received from him the payment of an annual sum for the safe custody of the refugee, on condition that he should not be set at liberty during Mohammed's life. Mohammed died of apoplexy in the forty-eighth year of his age and the ninth of his reign; and was succeeded by Amurath, his eldest son, who had received intelligence of his father's death at Amasia, and had taken possession of the throne at Prusa.

A. D. 1421.

Amurath II., the eldest surviving son of Mohammed, ascended at eighteen years of age the throne of the Ottoman Empire. Peace was confirmed with Karamania, and a five years' truce was made with Hungary. But the relations of the new Sultan with Constantinople were less amicable; for, after his refusal to deliver the two princes, his brothers, to the guardianship of the emperor, according to the will of the late Sultan, Manuel set at liberty Mustapha, the pretender to the throne, whom he had not engaged to detain after the death of Mohammed. Hereupon two vizirs, Ibrahim and Airoar Pasha, persuaded Amurath to send Bajazet Pasha, of whom they were jealous, into Europe, to avert the impending storm. Bajazet being accordingly despatched for this service, crossed over from Asia and pitched his camp in a plain near Adrianople, where his whole army, in answer to an appeal from Mustapha, who claimed their allegiance to himself as the lawful successor to the throne, deserted to his standard, and Bajazet and his brother Hamsa were taken prisoners. Gallipoli after this fell into the hands of the conqueror. Mustapha had agreed, in case of success, to surrender this city to the Greek Emperor, together with the whole of the coast northward to Wallachia, and to the south, Erysos and Mount Athos. To this engagement, however, he seemed but little inclined to adhere, and Manuel shewed a disposition to assist the cause of Amurath; but the guardianship of the young princes was not conceded,

[1] Gibbon does not venture to decide upon the question; Von Hammer inclines to believe that the pretensions of Mustapha were real.

and Amurath strengthened himself in Europe with Genoese instead of Byzantine succours. After his first successes, Mustapha retired to Adrianople, where he resigned himself to luxury, careless of his formidable rival in Asia, until he was aroused from this state of sloth by Sineis, who had been confined and liberated together with himself, and was now one of his most active advisers and generals. Urged by his representations concerning the approach of the Sultan, who had engaged the ships of the Genoese at Phocæa,[1] Mustapha crossed into Asia and landed at Lampsacus. Amurath set out from Prusa to meet the enemy, and, having taken his station behind the river Ulubad (the ancient Rhyndacus), awaited his approach. Mustapha soon after pitched his camp on the opposite bank; but a great part of his army having deserted to the Sultan, and Sineis having treacherously left his camp and gone towards Aidin, to the government of which province he had been appointed as the reward of his perfidy, the pretender was obliged to seek safety in a precipitate flight to Lampsacus, whence he crossed to Gallipoli. Closely pursued by Amurath, Mustapha retired to Adrianople, where he collected his most valuable treasures, and set out thence to seek refuge in Wallachia. Adrianople cheerfully opened its gates to the victorious Sultan; and Mustapha was taken prisoner at a short distance from that city, to which he was brought back, and hung from one of its towers. Amurath next marched against Constantinople, disdaining to accept the excuse of Manuel, who sought to lay the whole blame of what had happened upon Bajazet Pasha, who had refused to deliver the two princes to his custody. Constantinople was now closely invested, but the Sultan was obliged to raise the siege in consequence of intelligence from Asia that his younger brother Mustapha was making an effort to secure the Ottoman throne to himself, and had already been acknowledged at Nice. The rebellion was speedily quelled by the presence of the Sultan;[2] but the designs of Manuel, by whose policy it is probable that those troubles had been excited, were answered, and Constantinople was once more preserved from the Ottoman arms. Peace was afterwards renewed with the Byzantine Emperor, with Wallachia, Servia, and Hungary; an insurrection, headed by the perfidious Sineis, who had been rewarded for his previous treachery with the government of

Siege of Constantinople. A. D. 1422.

[1] A colony of this people had long been established here, and engaged in working an alum mine, for which they paid tribute to the Turks.

[2] Some say that Mustapha and his younger brother, then only nine years of age, were strangled by order of Mohammed, or at all events suffered a violent death. Von Hammer affirms that they lived peaceably at Prusa until they were carried off by pestilence.

Aidin, was suppressed, and the traitor was punished with death and the extirpation of his family.

The inhabitants of Thessalonica, weary of the weakness of the Byzantine Emperor, had put their city under the protection of the Venetians. Amurath, who regarded this place as already belonging to the Ottoman Empire, could not endure this interference of a Latin state, and accordingly while he made peace with all other European powers, he excepted the Venetians, and early in the spring he set out from Adrianople, to recover Thessalonica by force of arms. The city was taken by storm and plundered, its churches were converted into mosques, and the place was finally reduced under Ottoman sway. But not long after the loss of this city, the Venetians captured the Asiatic key of the Dardanelles, and obtained peace with the Ottoman Empire as the fruit of their success.

In the following summer, Amurath added to his conquests several important places in Servia. Belgrade, however, was placed by the retreating despot under the protection of the King of Hungary; this was accordingly the next point of the Sultan's attack; but the place having been intrusted by Uladislaus to John Hunniades, the celebrated Waiwode of Transylvania, and the use of cannon having been introduced against the besieging army, Amurath was obliged to return with considerable loss. The Sultan now resolved to lay waste Transylvania, and two of his best generals were sent with large forces to carry into execution this plan of revenge; but these were defeated in two great battles by Hunniades. After these signal successes, the King of Hungary was strengthened by the assistance of Wallachia, Moldavia, and Servia; and in the next campaign Hunniades pursued a brilliant career of victory against the Ottoman arms.

John Hunniades. A. D. 1442.

At the age of forty years, and in the twenty-third of his reign, Amurath formed a determination of abdicating the throne in favour of his son, and of withdrawing to the retirement and luxuries of a private life in the beautiful regions of Magnesia. He reserved for his support the principalities of Muntesha, Sarukhan, and Aidin, or the most beautiful part of the ancient Caria, Mæonia, and Ionia, and resigned the government into the hands of his son Mohammed, then only fourteen years old.

The ten years' truce between Uladislaus and the Sultan, although solemnly ratified by oaths on the Gospels and the Koran, lasted but ten weeks; the opportunity for continuing hostilities appeared favourable, and Cardinal Julian argued that the late treaty was null and void, inasmuch as it had been made without the consent of the Holy See, and Christian princes were not bound to keep

faith with Infidels. The European forces, headed as before by the King of Hungary and Hunniades, and accompanied by the Legate, left Belgrade, ravaged the plains of Bulgaria, and proceeded as far as Varna, on an intended route to Constantinople; Uladislaus having designed to marry the Emperor's daughter during a visit to that city, and, returning thence, to make himself master of Adrianople. At Varna, however, intelligence was unexpectedly received that Amurath had quitted his retreat, crossed the Bosphorus, and was at the head of an army of forty thousand men. The Cardinal and Hunniades proposed a retreat; but the impetuosity of the King of Hungary defeated this prudent counsel. A fatal engagement was fought near Varna, November 10, 1444. Here victory at first seemed to incline to the Europeans: the wings of the Turkish army were broken, and Amurath was prevented from betaking himself to flight only by the intercession of a janissary who stood near him. But the advantage which had been gained by the hitherto victorious army led to a rashness which ended in defeat. Uladislaus rushed forward to attack the Sultan in person, and fell covered with wounds by the janissaries; upon which a furious onset was made by the Turks, and the Hungarian army was entirely routed with great slaughter. The Cardinal Julian, as well as the King of Hungary, fell in the action, and Hunniades effected his escape with difficulty.

Battle of Varna.

The armies of Hunniades and Amurath again met, after an interval of three years, on the plains of Cossovo, (in Servia,) where, after a long and obstinate engagement, the former sustained another total defeat. The numbers of the two armies were very unequal; that of Hunniades being about twenty-four thousand, while the forces of Amurath amounted, probably to one hundred and fifty thousand.[1] The Ottoman, however, would perhaps have met with a repulse, if Hunniades had been content to await the arrival of some Albanian succours which had been promised to his assistance. These succours were to have been brought by the celebrated Scanderbeg, Prince of Albania, the contemporary of Hunniades, and his rival in fame as a formidable opponent of the Ottoman arms in Europe. His adventures form a remarkable feature in the history of the times. George Castriot, youngest son of John Castriot, prince of a small district of Epirus or Albania, was sent, with his brother, as a hostage to the Ottoman court, on occasion of the first successful irruption of the Turks into Epirus, A. D. 1423. Here he was

A. D. 1447.

Scanderbeg.

[1] Chalcondylas says fifteen thousand, but this is evidently a mistake; the number is elsewhere stated at two hundred thousand.

brought up in the Moslem faith, and as a subject of the Sultan. His warlike qualities having recommened him to the notice of Amurath, he was hononred with the rank of Sanjak, and the name of Iskender-beg, *i. e.* the Lord Alexander, and served in the Ottoman army in the wars both of Europe and of Asia. After the first defeat of the Turkish forces in the year 1443, Scanderbeg extorted from the Reis Effendi, or chief secretary of the Ottoman Empire, an order to the governor of Croia, the chief city of Albania, to surrender the place into his hands as his successor. With this he hastened to the city, and having succeeded in obtaining possession of the place, he immediately renounced his allegiance to the Sultan, abjured the Mohammedan faith, surrendered the Turkish garrison to the sword, and proclaimed himself the deliverer of his country and the enemy of the Ottoman arms. This bold measure was followed by a general revolt of Albania; Scanderbeg was elected general by the States of Epirus, and made an effectual resistance to the Pashas who were sent against him, perpetually taking advantage of the mountainous nature of the country of which he found himself in possession. At length Amurath in person led a large army into Albania, with a view to punish the troublesome rebel, and laid siege to Croia; the siege, however, he was obliged to raise, and in his retreat, as well as on his march, he was severely harassed by the vexatious enemy. He died shortly after his return to Adrianople, partly, as it is supposed, in consequence of chagrin and disappointment occasioned by the successful resistance of the Epirote rebel, being at that time in the fiftieth year of his age, and the thirty-first of his reign.

A. D. 1451.

John Palæologus, the Emperor of Constantinople, had died in the winter previous to the unfortunate expedition of Amurath to Epirus; and the Ottoman Sultan had the satisfaction of confirming by his voice the succession of Constantine, the lawful successor to the throne; a proof of the extreme weakness of the Byzantine Empire, and a token that at no great distance of time it would add to the extent and to the splendour of the Ottomans. The brothers of Constantine, Demetrius and Thomas, shared the Morea between them.

Mohammed II., whose reign was signalized by the fall of the great City of the West, was twenty-one years of age when he succeeded his father on the throne. He is surnamed by the Orientals *Faith*, *i. e.* the Opener or Vanquisher; the European historians usually distinguish him by the title of *The Great*, and *the first Emperor of the Turks*. Immediately on his accession, he repaired from Magnesia to Adrianople, where he was

MOHAMMED II.

received with great tokens of respect; and, as soon as he had removed his brother Ahmed, according to the barbarous system which may be regarded as by this time established, he felt himself in secure possession of the sovereign power. The ambassadors of the Byzantine Empire and the other European powers presented themselves at his court, and received assurance of the continuance of peace. The Emir of Karamania at first seemed disposed to try the fortune of war against the youthful Sultan; but, alarmed by the vigour of his movements, he soon sued for peace, which was readily granted. Mohammed, indeed, had formed a design from which he did not desire to be diverted by the necessity of quelling a revolt of Karamania. He had resolved upon effecting the final ruin of the Byzantine Empire; and his projects had been hastened by a rash embassy from Constantinople, in which complaints were made of a delay that had taken place in the payment of an annual sum of three hundred thousand aspers, promised for the maintenance of an Ottoman prince at that time detained at the Byzantine Court, and a threat was most injudiciously held out, that unless this sum were doubled, the prisoner should be released and set up as a competitor for the Ottoman throne. Mohammed returned a moderate answer with profound dissimulation, but he formed the determination of a war, for which he immediately began to make preparations by improving the discipline of his army, and diminishing the expenses of his Court. Nor was it long before he commenced operations which were manifestly of a hostile character. Orders were given for the construction of a castle or fortress on the European side of the Bosphorus, which, together with the Asiatic fortress that had already been built by Bajazet, would entirely command the Straits. Early in the spring this work was begun, and it was completed in the course of three months, at a distance of about five miles from Constantinople, and notwithstanding the strong remonstrances of the Byzantine Court. This place was fortified with several large cannon; by the use of these destructive engines the Turks had been driven from Belgrade, and since that time they had been employed in their own armies, although, as it appears, with but little science in the application of their force. Some slight aggressions in the neighbourhood of this fortress provoked hostilities between the Christians and the Turks; war was declared; the Sultan took a survey of the walls of Constantinople, and early in September returned to his own capital to prepare for an active siege in the following spring. During the winter Mohammed directed his unceasing attention to the great object of his desires; he employed an engineer named Orban or Urban, who had fled to him from the service of the King of Hun-

A. D. 1452.

gary, in founding cannon of immense size, which were to shatter the walls of the devoted city, and he spent sleepless nights in forming the plan of his assault, and devising other means for the capture of the place. Constantinople, at the same time, was distracted by faction. The emperor sent an embassy to the Pope imploring assistance, and promising the union of the two churches: a cardinal was sent back to ratify the union, but no succours followed in his train; while disputes rose high in the city between one party which approved and another which censured the proposed accommodation of ecclesiastical differences. In the beginning of February the great cannon began its slow journey from Adrianople, drawn by fifty pair of oxen, and kept in its position by two hundred men, who marched on either side: the towns and fortresses in the neighbourhood of Constantinople tendered their submission, or were reduced by force; and on the 6th of April Mohammed invested the imperial city with an army of three hundred thousand men, and a great store of engines and other implements for the siege. Fourteen batteries, with four moveable towers and a large battering machine, were erected against the walls, and sappers and miners were actively employed. The Turkish fleet, consisting of four hundred and twenty vessels of various sizes,[1] commanded by Baltaogli, a Bulgarian renegade, was at hand to cut of all succours, and invest the city from the sea. The inhabitants of Constantinople, in the mean time, were not in a condition, or at all events were but ill-disposed, to offer a formidable resistance to the besieging army. A list of only four thousand nine hundred and seventy, who were willing to serve against the enemy, was presented to the emperor by the Protovestiore Phranza, to which were added about two thousand strangers, and three or five hundred Genoese under the command of John Justiniani. The fleet in the harbour amounted to only fourteen galleys. The artillery on the walls was not very effective; but the Greeks succeeded in destroying the great battering machine by fire. Some hopes were infused into the Christians by the defeat of the Turkish fleet in the open sea; but the sudden conveyance over land of a considerable number of Turkish vessels from the Bosphorus into the upper part of the harbour, where the water was too shallow to admit the larger vessels of the Greeks, filled the besieged with consternation. The walls of the city were weakest on this side, and considerable danger was apprehended from the effect of a floating battery which the

Siege of Constantinople. April 6, 1453.

[1] According to Phranza, eighteen galleys of three banks of oars, forty-eight of two banks, twenty-five transports, and about three hundred of smaller size.

Turks immediately constructed. Hereupon Justiniani formed a design of burning the enemy's vessels in the night; but the secret was betrayed by the perfidious Genoese, and Justiniani was received on his approach by the discharge of a large cannon, which shivered his galley to pieces, and destroyed the greater portion of his crew. Another attempt to burn the vessels in the harbour was likewise ineffectual. At the end of forty days, many breaches had been made in the walls, and several towers had been thrown down: the weak defence of the Christians was considerably impaired by loss and by dissensions and mutual suspicions; and the courage and excellent conduct of the emperor could no longer avert the impending ruin of the city. In this extremity, Mohammed sent a last embassy into the place, demanding its surrender, on condition of granting the inhabitants their lives and liberty; but an answer was returned by which the emperor refused to comply with any terms which should rise higher than the payment of tribute. The Sultan, however, was determined to possess and to reign in Constantinople: he resolved on a general assault, and encouraged as well as commanded his army to make the last effort. On the morning of the 29th of May, the city was accordingly attacked at all points, by sea and by land. The principal quarter of attack was the breach which had been made in the wall near the tower of St Romanus. Mohammed sent forward thither the recruits, invalids, and other refuse of his army, who were soon cut down, and served to fill up the trenches with their dead bodies: the troops of Anatolia or Romania followed under their respective sanjaks or chiefs, and maintained a terrible encounter for the space of two hours; when at last the Sultan impelled onward his invincible janissaries, whom he had reserved fresh for the decisive assault, the contest continued to be severe. The Emperor fought bravely, and infused courage by his example into the defenders, until these were dismayed by the untimely retreat of Justiniani, who left his post in consequence of a wound which he had received, and by the shouts which announced that the Turks had entered the city by a gate which had been opened for a sally. The city, in fact, was taken; crowds of janissaries rushed upon the walls, where the emperor remained fighting to the last, declaring his determination not to survive the ruin of the empire, and where, having thrown aside his imperial insignia, in order that he might not be spared, he fell beneath their blows, and was mingled with the heap of slain. Thus nobly died Constantine Palæologus, disdaining to outlive the overthrow of a city which, about eleven hundred years before, had been made the seat of empire by the first Roman Emperor of his name. Constantinople

Capture of the city, May 29, 1453.

Death of Constantine.

was pillaged, and the booty was surrendered, as had been promised, into the hands of the soldiers; the inhabitants, for the most part, were sold as slaves; some of whom, having been repurchased by Mohammed, together with five thousand Asiatic families who were commanded to settle there, formed the basis of the future population, while the Turkish troops occupied the suburbs. Sta. Sophia and other churches were converted into Mosques; and the late capital of the Byzantine Empire became the residence of the Sultan and the chief seat of the Ottoman power. The walls of Galata, in the suburbs of Constantinople, which had been occupied by the Genoese, were destroyed; and the inhabitants of the place retained their lives and liberty as subjects of the conqueror. On the third day after the capture of Constantinople the work of plunder and destruction ceased, and a commencement of repairs and alterations was made, which were to fit the city for the seat of Ottoman grandeur.

CHAPTER XI.

FROM THE CAPTURE OF CONSTANTINOPLE TO THE DEATH OF SULTAN SELIM I.

FROM A.H. 857 A. D. 1453, TO A.H. 926 A. D. 1520.

Mohammed's conciliatory conduct. A.D. 1453.

MOHAMMED II. united the acuteness of a statesman to the talents of a general, and shewed himself capable of retaining by his wisdom the dominions which he had won by arms. His first care, after the capture of Constantinople, was to conciliate the affections of his new subjects. He declared himself the protector of the Christians, and sanctioned the election of a patriarch, to whom he granted investiture, with all the pompous ceremonials that had been customary under the Byzantine Emperors. George Scholarius, called also Gennadius, the first head of a Christian Church who owed his elevation to a Musulman, laboured successfully to gain the Sultan's esteem; he obtained from Mohammed an edict of security, which stipulated "that no officer of the Turkish empire should levy any imposition upon the Patriarch, or offer him any molestation; and that he and his suffragans should be exempt from all taxes." The same diploma secured the following three privileges to the Greeks: "that their churches should not be changed into mosques, that their marriages, funerals, and other rites, should continue to be performed according to the usages of the Greek Church; finally, that they should be permitted to celebrate Easter according to their ancient custom, and, for this purpose, that the gates of the Fanar (the Greek quarter) should, at that season of the year, remain open during three nights." Cantemir informs us that the authenticity of this diploma, which had been destroyed during a conflagration, was established in the reign of Selim I. by an old janizary who had been present at the capture of Constantinople.

Having thus secured the tranquillity of the Greeks, Mohammed directed his attention to the condition of the Genoese who had settled at Galata. The inhabitants of that quarter were mustered,

and their names enrolled; the houses of those who had fled on board European ships were entered, but instead of being pillaged, inventories were taken of the property they contained, a term of three months was allowed to the owners to establish their claims, and the goods of those who did not appear within that period were declared to be forfeited. To repair the walls of Constantinople, and to repeople the quarters of the city which had been deserted, masons and carpenters were assembled from every province of the empire, and five thousand families were commanded to remove into the city from Trebizond, Sinope, and Apocastion, under pain of death. Soleiman, one of the sultan's favourite slaves, was entrusted with the charge of providing the lime and cement necessary for the repairs of the walls, and was also empowered to enforce obedience from those who had been summoned to abandon their old habitations. But in the midst of these beneficial labours, the sultan shewed that he had not abandoned his ancient treachery and ferocity. He proclaimed that all the members of the Greek aristocracy who could prove their nobility, would be treated with more distinction than they had been by the Greek emperors, and that they should be assigned a rank analogous to that which they had formerly held. Many of them, deceived by this shew of kindness, presented themselves at the feast of St Peter, which was fixed upon for the purpose; but they paid dear for their credulity: the bloody heads of the whole number were soon displayed in the avenues of the palace. The Grand Vizier, Khalil, shared their fate: he was accused of treason; and his notorious avarice renders the charge not improbable.

In the meantime, serious dissensions had arisen between the Greeks of the Peloponnesus and their Albanian auxiliaries, and also among the Greeks themselves, when Demetrius and Thomas, the brothers of the last Byzantine emperor, proposed to embark for Italy after the capture of Constantinople. The Albanians refused them obedience, and openly revolted under the command of Peter the Lame, seemingly determined to secure the dominion of the Peloponnesus for themselves. Demetrius and Thomas indeed soon abandoned their cowardly project, and promised to Mohammed the tribute of twelve thousand ducats which he had imposed upon them; but the Greeks separated into hostile parties, and Emmanuel Cantacuzenus put himself at the head of the faction opposed to the Palæologi. The Albanians profited by this anarchy to ravage the country, and offered the sultan to pay him the same tribute as the Greeks, provided he would grant them the investiture of the Peloponnesus. In fact, the two despots who ruled it would have been dethroned but for the aid of a Turkish army sent to their

assistance by the Sultan. About the same time a treaty was concluded with the Venetians, in which that republic shewed little regard for the interests of Christendom.

Conquests of Mohammed. Mohammed enlarged his northern frontiers by the capture of several important places in Servia; but he more anxiously watched the operations of his fleet in the Ægean, which he designed to subdue the principal Grecian islands, and the advance of his army against Hungary. The valiant Hunniades, however, compelled him to raise the siege of Belgrade, after a battle in which the Sultan lost his bravest followers, and was himself severely wounded. He avenged himself for this defeat, however, by invading the Morea, and he subdued all the northern part, from Patras to Calavrita, without encountering any determined resistance. The quarrels between the Palæologi encouraged the renewal of his efforts; and in the seventh year after the capture of Constantinople, the last traces of a national government disappeared in the Peloponnesus.

Heroism of Scanderbeg, A. D. 1461. Though Greece and Servia had been conquered, Albania still remained unsubdued, an immunity she owed to the heroic perseverance of Scanderbeg, a dread of whose heroism prevented Mohammed from immediately destroying the shadow of a Greek empire established by Comnenus at Trebizond. The numerous victories of Scanderbeg, obtained with very inadequate forces, were owing partly to his knowledge of the country, but principally to the enthusiastic attachment of the Albanians to his person. He was often betrayed and deserted by friends and relations, but the fidelity of his soldiers was never shaken. Unable to subdue the hero, Mohammed granted peace to Scanderbeg, with free possession of Epirus and Albania, stipulating, however, that he should send his son to Constantinople as a hostage. Scanderbeg refused to accede to this condition, alleging in excuse the tender years of his child; but he accepted the peace, which was officially proclaimed.

Overthrow of the Empire of Trebizond, and conquest of Walachia. Having thus provided for the security of his European States, Mohammed resumed his Asiatic projects, and prepared a great armament for the destruction of Trebizond. David Comnenus, the ruler of that petty empire, had purchased the privilege of a nominal reign by the annual payment of two thousand ducats. His son-in-law Uzún Hassan, the chief of a powerful Turkish tribe, had persuaded Comnenus to withhold this tribute from the Sultan, and to pay it to himself for protection; but Uzún being conquered by Mohammed, his fate necessarily involved that of the weak Comnenus. The arrival of Mahmúd, the Turkish admiral, with his fleet before Trebizond,

preceded, by a few days, the appearance of Mohammed and his army. When the Sultan's forces encamped before the walls, the Turkish admiral had already attempted several attacks, but had always been repulsed with loss. Mohammed sent a very laconic summons to the emperor, commanding him either to depart in perfect liberty with his family and fortune, or to risk the loss of both; and Comnenus, losing all courage, resigned to the Sultan the keys of the city, and embarked with his family for Constantinople, stipulating merely for an annual pension equal to his former revenue. Mohammed, passing rapidly from Asia to Europe, resolved to undertake the conquest of Wallachia, at that time ruled by the wicked Wlad, whose atrocities had procured him the name of Drakul (the Devil,) by which he is generally known in history. This execrable monster delighted in nothing so much as witnessing human agony; he loved to dine with his court in the centre of a circle of Turks expiring under the horrid tortures of impalement. He spared neither sex nor age; and Engel assures us,[1] that he frequently compelled children to eat the roasted flesh of their parents. Mohammed had himself aided in placing Drakul on the throne of Wallachia; and he became his enemy not on account of his tyranny and cruelty, but because he had withheld tribute and refused homage; but the Wallachian dreaded so little the Turk's enmity, that he himself commenced hostilities by overrunning Bulgaria. After having ravaged the country, and burnt the towns and villages on his line of march, he repassed the Danube, dragging in his train twenty-five thousand prisoners. Mohammed, greatly enraged, took the field in person. Ere long, his camp was surprised by Drakul; but the Turks, dreading the resentment of their Sultan more than the enemy, rallied and obtained a decisive victory. Drakul, though a fugtive, still continued formidable; he hovered with a body of light cavalry round the Turkish camp, intercepting convoys and cutting off stragglers. At length he was so closely pressed that he fled into Hungary, where Matthias Corvinus threw him into prison. After the death of that Prince, Drakul made his escape and appeared once more in Wallachia, where he was finally murdered by one of his own slaves. The Turks exhibited his head in triumph through all the cities that had formerly owed him allegiance. It is from the death of Drakul only that the Turks date their supremacy over Wallachia, though, fifty years before, Mohammed I. had forced it to pay tribute, and to ensure its allegiance, had erected the strong fortress of Giurgevo on its frontiers.

A. D. 1520.

[1] *Geschichte der Wallachey*, p. 178.

After his return from Wallachia, Mahommed led a fleet against the island of Metelin, the ancient Lesbos; he encountered so fierce a resistance that he became weary of the siege and returned to Constantinople; but his vizier continued the attack, and having finally prevailed, put the garrison to death by torture. About the same time, the Sultan conceded to the Florentines the commercial privileges which he had formerly granted to the Venetians; an advantage which was bestowed as a reward for perfidy, the republic of Florence having long acted as the spy and agent of the Turks. Argos was also betrayed to them by a Greek priest, whom the fanaticism of schism had rendered more favourable to the Musulmans than the Latins. Venice was not slow in retorting these hostilities. A large armament was prepared; Luigi Loredano was appointed to command the navy, Bertholdo d'Este was entrusted with the guidance of the land-forces; and these great leaders, directing their course to Argos, recovered that city without much difficulty. The reduction of Argos fired the excitable Greeks of the Morea with the hope of recovering their independence; but the Venetians, after the death of their General, Bertholdo, weakly abandoned the line of fortifications they had begun to construct across the isthmus, and retreated in great disorder to Napoli di Romania. Their Grecian allies, thus abandoned, still continued to maintain a desperate guerilla warfare. Malatesta and Barbarigo, who succeeded Bertholdo in the command of the Venetian armies, suffered severe defeats at Patras and Calamata; but a severe loss to the republic was the death of Pope Pius II. who had nearly succeeded in arming Christianity for a new crusade. Mohammed seems to have felt little fear of the Venetians; in the very midst of his war with the republic, he completed the subjection of Bosnia, and destroyed the great rival Carmanian dynasty, which had been founded at the same time as that of the Ottomans, on the ruins of the Seljukian empire. But he found a more formidable enemy in Scanderbeg, who renewed the war at the instigation of the Pope and the Venetians. At the first news of Scanderbeg's hostilities, Mohammed sent one of his favourite generals, Sheremetbeg, into Albania, with an army of fourteen thousand picked men. Scanderbeg concentrated his forces at Okri, the Acrida of the Byzantines and Lychnidus of the ancient writers, where he gained a complete victory, slaying a greater number of the enemy than he himself had of soldiers. Two equally important triumphs over Balaban, a new Turkish general, followed, and Scanderbeg marched from the field of battle to attack the Albanian renegade Yakûb, who had penetrated to Berat with an army of sixteen thousand men. The

War with Venice, A. D. 1463.

armies met on the banks of the little river Argilata, and the combat was rather a fight of man to man than a regular battle; the Epirote prince sought the renegade Yakúb everywhere through the field; he at length found him, transfixed him with his lance, and cut off his head; and at this sight, the Turks, seized with terror, disbanded themselves and took to flight. Enraged at the defeat of so many of his best generals, Mohammed himself took the field at the head of one hundred thousand men, and advanced towards Croia. Harassed, however, by the incessant attacks of Scanderbeg, he was unable to commence an effective siege, and he left more than half of his forces under Balaban to continue the blockade. The Epirote attacked and defeated an army marching to join the blockading troops, and exhibited their leaders in chains to Balaban. Taking advantage of the terror produced by this spectacle, he attacked the Turkish camp, destroyed the greater part of the invaders, and once more liberated his country. Scanderbeg did not long survive this his last and greatest achievement; he died at Alessio, the ancient Lyssus, January 14, 1467, in the sixty-third year of his age, having been for more than a quarter of a century the principal obstacle to the unlimited extension of the Turkish power.

Conquest of Negropont and the Crimea.

The Venetian war lingered on both sides in mere predatory excursions until Mohammed, burning with the desire of vengeance, resolved on the conquest of Negropont, the ancient Eubœa, the largest of the Greek islands. His preparations for this enterprise were on the most extensive scale; his fleet consisted of more than three hundred vessels, carrying seventy thousand men; he himself led an army over land of still greater amount. Since the days of Xerxes, so great an armament had not appeared in the waters of the Ægean; the Ottoman army encamped on the same shores that were once covered with the Persian myriads, and the Sultan's tent was actually raised on the promontory that had been occupied by the pavilion of the great king. Few of the Venetian commanders shewed themselves adequate to the crisis; the Turkish fleet met no opposition in blockading the city of Egripo, the ancient Chalcis; and Mohammed was permitted, without interruption, to construct a bridge of boats over the Euripus. The garrison of Egripo made a gallant defence, and had they been assisted by their countrymen, it is probable that Mohammed would have been baffled. Four times the Turks vainly attempted to storm the city, losing in the fourth effort fifteen thousand men. The fifth assault was successful, but the garrison retired to the citadel, and surrendered on honourable terms. Mohammed, however, sacrificing every prin-

ciple of humanity and justice to his desire of vengeance for the fifty thousand Musulmans who had fallen during the siege, put the entire garrison to death with the most horrid tortures; Paul Erizzo, the gallant governor, was sawn asunder; his daughter, the beautiful and courageous Anne Erizzo, dragged before the Sultan, spurned equally his solicitations and his violence, and was massacred by his orders. From Europe the indefatigable Mohammed transferred his arms to Asia, where he subdued Uzún Hassan, quelled a rebellion in Carmania, and made his son Jem, afterwards so celebrated for his misfortunes, governor of the Anatolian provinces. The Genoese had long flattered themselves with the hope of having secured the friendship of the Sultan by their treachery to the Byzantine Emperors; but he took an early opportunity of shewing how lightly he regarded the ties of political gratitude, by attacking their settlements on the coast of the Black Sea, and annexing to his empire the important peninsula of the Crimea. He then turned his arms to the northern frontiers of his European states, laying waste Moldavia, Hungary, and the Illyrian provinces of Venice and Germany.

Peace with Venice. A. D. 1479.

Though the Venetians had bravely defended Lepanto and Croia, forcing the Turks to retire with loss from the walls of both places, the republic, forsaken by all the Christian princes, was unable longer to maintain the war; terms of peace were concluded, by which Croia and Scutari, in Albania, were yielded to the Sultan just as the inhabitants of the latter had driven the Turks from their entrenchments, after one of the most gallant defences recorded in history. Among the towns yielded by this treaty to Mohammed was Alessio, the burial-place of Scanderbeg; the Turks exhumed that hero's bones, and formed them into amulets, which they wore as ornaments set in gold and silver, hoping that they would communicate to them a portion of the Epirote Prince's spirit and valour.

The siege of Rhodes. A. D. 1480.

Transylvania and the Duchy of Austria were ravaged by the Turkish forces after the treaty with Venice; but Mohammed soon disregarded these plundering expeditions, and prepared for more important enterprises, the conquest of Italy and of the island of Rhodes. He was invited into Italy by the Venetians, who hoped that the appearance of the Turks in Apulia would deliver them from the dangers to which they were exposed by the ambition of the King of Naples, with whom they were at war. Mohammed's forces stormed the city of Otranto, and massacred or enslaved all the inhabitants. But the progress of the Turks in Italy excited little attention compared with the siege of Rhodes, which, from the known valour of the Knights

of St John, was universally regarded as the bulwark of Christendom. This enterprise against the Knights Hospitallers was undertaken at the suggestion of three renegades, who severally presented the Sultan with plans of the fortifications of the city of Rhodes; it is not unsatisfactory to add that all three subsequently expiated their treason by a miserable death. These traitors were Meligallo, a Greek nobleman of Rhodes, who had dissipated his fortunes in riot and extravagance; Demetrius Lofian, a native of Negropont, supposed to possess great skill in magic; and a German, commonly called Master George, who was celebrated for his talents as a mathematician and engineer. Of these, the first died of a shameful disease, the second was mortally wounded in a skirmish, and Master George, having gained admission into Rhodes by pretended repentance, was convicted of acting as a spy, and hanged, after having undergone the torture of the rack.

Mesíh Pacha, the commander of the Turkish armament, effected a debarkation under Mount St Stephen, about a league distant from the city of Rhodes, and immediately occupied the mountain and its adjacent hills. On these heights he constructed breaching batteries, mounted with guns of enormous calibre, and the largest mortars that had yet been used in war. The shot soon broke down the walls, but the shells did little injury to the garrison, who found shelter in the *souterrains* and casemates that had been providentially constructed by Peter d'Amboise, the Grand Master. On the 23d of July 1480, just at dawn of day, a shell from the largest mortar gave the signal for a general assault. Three thousand five hundred Turks rushed with resistless fury towards the breach, while an army of forty thousand men assailed the city in different points at the same moment. Already the standard of Mesíh Pacha floated over the battlements, and scaling ladders were fixed to the inner wall, when the avaricious Turk proclaimed on the ramparts that "pillage was not permitted; but that the treasures of Rhodes should be reserved for the Sultan." The ardour of the assailants was at once damped, the troops outside the town would not march to the aid of their comrades, and the knights, finding the zeal of their enemies abated, rushed forward to recover the ramparts. After a dreadful struggle of two hours, the Turks were finally repulsed, and Mesíh Pacha abandoned the siege, in which he lost altogether nine thousand soldiers killed and fifteen thousand disabled by severe wounds. Mohammed prepared a new armament to avenge this disgrace; but, while superintending his levies in Asia, he was attacked by cholera, which proved fatal in a few days. Universally regarded as the founder of their empire, it is not surprising that the Turkish historians bestow the

Death of Mohammed II. A.D. 1481.

most extravagant eulogies on Mohammed II. "He conquered," say they, "two empires, fourteen kingdoms, and two hundred cities;" but they do not disguise that he was notorious for violating articles of capitulation, and that he was the first who made fratricide a law of the State.

Accession of Báyezíd II.

The Grand Vizier, Mohammed Nishani, undertook to conceal the death of Mohammed II. from the army and the capital until the arrival of the legitimate successor, Báyezíd II. who was at a distance in his government of Amassia. But some of the Janissaries discovering the secret, sent notice of the deception to their brethren; a formidable army of revolters immediately appeared before Constantinople, forced an entrance into the city, pillaged the houses of the Jews and the rich inhabitants, and put the unfortunate Vizier to death. The arrival of Báyezíd put an end to the anarchy; but he was obliged to mark his accession by a large donation to the turbulent soldiers; an unfortunate precedent, which henceforward became so regular a custom that these presents were formally entered in the list of state expenses, and in the book of the revenues of the Janissaries.

Rebellion of Prince Jem.

Prince Jem, better known in Europe by the name of Zizim, on hearing the account of his father's death, resolved to make a vigorous effort for the empire; and mustering all the forces he had in Carmania, he marched against Brusa, hoping to render himself master of that city, the ancient metropolis of the Ottoman Empire. He succeeded in this attempt, but was soon after defeated by his brother's forces in the plains of Yenishéhz, and forced to fly towards Egypt. Jem was hospitably received at the Egyptian court, and, taking advantage of his vicinity, he made a pilgrimage to Mecca and Medina. On his return, he again collected an army and invaded Anatolia; but soon finding that his forces were far inferior to those of Báyezíd, he resolved to seek the aid of the Princes of Christendom; and, to effect that object, sent a renegade attached to his party with rich presents to the Grand Master of the Hospitallers at Rhodes, to solicit hospitality and the means of passing safely into Europe. Jem's ambassador was admitted to a solemn audience of the chapter; when he retired, the object of his mission was fully discussed by the whole assembly of the Knights, and the result of their deliberations was, that both the dignity and the interests of the Order required them to concede the demands of the Musulman Prince. A squadron was accordingly sent to escort him, and he was received at Rhodes with all the honours due to a powerful sovereign. Báyezíd, in great alarm, hastened to negociate a treaty with the Order; the Knights, however, dared not violate the laws of hospitality by giving up Jem; but the Grand

Master concluded a secret compact with the Sultan, in which, for the annual pension of forty-five thousand ducats, he engaged to detain the prince a prisoner in some of the European preceptories belonging to the Knights of St John. The fate of this unfortunate prince, ten years after he had confided himself to Christians, however, was truly calamitous, and may be recorded here to prevent any future interruption of the narrative. He was detained a long time a prisoner in France, constantly mocked with false hopes, until the Pope, Innocent VIII. bribed the Grand Master, D'Aubusson, with a cardinal's hat, to resign to him the guardianship of this profitable captive. In 1489, Jem was removed to Rome, where he was tormented by frequent proposals to change his religion, all of which he peremptorily rejected. When Alexander Borgia ascended the papal throne, he sent an embassy to the Sultan of the Ottomans, demanding the continuation of the pension for the detention of Jem, and offering also to put him to death for three hundred thousand ducats, paid in one sum. Before an answer could arrive from Constantinople, the Pope was forced to resign his prisoner to Charles VIII. King of France; but Borgia soon procured the death of the unfortunate prince by poison. Jem's misfortunes have been the theme of many a romance in Europe; his literary talents are still celebrated in the East, where his poems, especially that descriptive of France, enjoy a high reputation.

A. D. 1495.

Báyezíd, though he was naturally of a pacific disposition, was forced into war by the restless disposition of the Janissaries, and by the ambition of the Mamlúk Sultans of Egypt, who were making great encroachments on the Carmanian frontiers. The boundaries of Asia Minor and Syria, where the chain of Mount Taurus terminates in the sea, were the theatre of this arduous though desultory war. After a severe struggle, the Vizier, Daúd Pacha, compelled the tribes of Turcomans, settled in these defiles, to perform homage, and secured their allegiance by large presents.

Whilst the Vizier was thus employed in Asia, the Sultan received an embassy from the last Moorish Sovereign in Spain soliciting his aid against Ferdinand, king of Aragon and Castile, who was on the point of overwhelming the kingdom of Granada. The Ambassador's letters of credit were a curious example of the chivalrous and romantic spirit which animated the princes of the Alhambra, even in their decline. Among them was an Arabic elegy, which deplored the sufferings of the Musulmans, the downfal of Islamism in Spain, and its approaching expulsion from Andalusia, where it had ruled triumphant for seven centuries; it invoked, in the most touching terms, the pity and aid of all who felt respect for the Prophet of Mecca, and the faith he had established. Báyezíd,

a zealous Musulman, and himself a poet, replied by sending a fleet to ravage the coast of Spain, under the command of one of his pages, named Kemâl, (*perfection,*) on account of his rare beauty, and who afterwards, under the name of Kemal Keïs, became the great scourge of the Christian navies. Soon afterwards the first political relations between Russia and the Porte were commenced by the Czar John III., and after obstacles raised by the barbarous pride of both potentates had been overcome, a treaty, favourable to the interests of both parties, was concluded.

A. D. 1492.

Desultory wars against the Hungarians, Austrians and Poles, inflicting much misery, but leading to no definite result, were followed by a vigorous effort to drive the Venetians from their possessions on the eastern side of the Adriatic. An army of sixty-three thousand men marched to attack Modon and Lepanto; and at the entrance of the straits opposite the latter city, a Turkish squadron gained a signal victory over the Venetian fleet, owing to the desperate heroism of Borrák Keis. Lepanto, attacked both by sea and land, was soon forced to surrender; the Venetians, kept in constant alarm for their own city by the rapid progress of the Turkish armies in Friuli and Carinthia, made no effort to succour this their most valuable dependency. The loss of Modon and Durazzo speedily followed, and they were but poorly compensated by the conquest of the island of Cephalonia, which was subdued by a Venetian fleet. But some alarms on the side of Persia, and the renewal of the war in Carmania, disposed Báyezíd to peace, and a treaty was concluded, by which the republic surrendered its principal dependencies on the main-land of Greece, receiving in exchange Cephalonia and some of the minor Ionian Islands.

A. D. 1499.

The establishment of the Suffavean dynasty in Persia at the beginning of the XVIth century revived the fiercest spirit of sectarianism in the Moslem nations. Báyezíd, attached to peace and sunk in voluptuous debauchery, seriously offended the prejudices of his subjects by his slowness in attacking the heretical Shiites. Selim, the youngest of the Sultan's sons, a prince of a fiery and undaunted character, irritated at seeing himself excluded from the succession, took advantage of his father's unpopularity to struggle for empire. The first signal of his disaffection was his departure from his government at Trebizond, and his demand of a sanják (province) in Europe. Báyezíd not only refused compliance, but would not even permit Selim to pay him his respects at Adrianople. The haughty prince levied an army and passed over into Rumelia, where his presence excited so much alarm, that Báyezíd immediately consented to grant

Dethronement and death of Báyezíd.

A. D. 1512.

him the sanják of Semendia, near Widdin. Ahmed, the Sultan's favourite son, persuaded his father to recall this boon, and march an army against Selim. The young prince met the Sultan's forces, and was totally defeated; he owed his escape principally to the swiftness of his horse, celebrated in the east under the name of Karabúbet, (*the black cloud,*) a steed as famous among the Turks as Bucephalus was among the Greeks. Ahmed, having removed his rival, became himself a rebel, and Selim was recalled. The young Prince hastened to Constantinople, where the Janissaries and Sipahís rose in his favour. A tumultuous assembly of the soldiers and citizens, headed by the principal officers of state, collected round the seraï. Báyezíd received the mutineers on his throne, and demanded what they required. With one accord they exclaimed, "Our Padishah is old and sick; we wish to have Selim Sultan in his stead." At these words twelve thousand Janissaries raised the cry of war, and struck terror into the heart of Báyezíd. With a trembling voice he pronounced his submission, "I yield the Empire to my son Selim; may God bless his reign!" Selim, who waited outside, was then introduced; he kissed his father's hands with apparent respect, and received from him the symbols of sovereignty. Báyezíd solicited and obtained permission to retire to Demotika, but he died on the road, three days after his departure from the capital.

Accession of Selim I.

Selim, surnamed Yaúz, (the severe,) commenced his reign by the murder of his nephews and brothers; and even the Oriental historians, who regarded him as next to Mohammed II., the most favoured by heaven of all their Sultans, on account of his victories over the heretical Persians and his conquest of Egypt, describe in strong terms his wanton disregard of human life. They tell us that during his reign the most common form of imprecation among the Ottomans was, "May you become the Vizier of Sultan Selim!" "This arose," says the dogmatical Ali, "from the Sultan's custom of putting his Viziers to death after they had been about a month in office; so that every one made his will as soon as he received his appointment, and felt the pleasures of a resurrection every day that he came safe out of the council chamber." A singular anecdote connected with this subject is too characteristic to be omitted. The Grand Vizier, Pirí Pacha, a man of great courage and noble frankness, one day addressed Selim in a tone of mingled jest and earnest, "My Padishah, I know, that sooner or later you will put me, your faithful slave, to death, on some pretext or other; before that day comes, will you have the goodness to grant me a few hours of freedom, that I may put my affairs in order, and having arranged

my concerns in this world, prepare for an entrance into another?" Selim burst into a roar of laughter, and replied, "I have been thinking of the matter a long time, but I have no person so well qualified to fill the office of Vizier, as you, otherwise I would this moment comply with your reasonable request."

War with Persia. A. D. 1514.

The imperial treasures accumulated by Báyezíd were exhausted in donations to the avaricious Janissaries, and Selim, in order to raise funds for the war he designed to wage against Persia, sold very favourable treaties of commerce to the Venetian and Ragusan republics, and at the same time secured the tranquillity of his northern frontiers by a truce with the Hungarians. Selim was, or pretended to be, chiefly animated by religious zeal, a spirit of sectarianism added fresh fuel to the jealousies that necessarily existed between two sovereigns, rivals in power and glory; and Ismaël and Selim, descending personally into the arena, rekindled the old hatred between the followers of Omar and Ali. A new struggle then commenced, in which the kings and their subjects took an equal share; a struggle as sanguinary as it was prolonged, which decimated the population of the two empires. In the retirement of his seraglio, Selim conceived and matured the atrocious project of massacring all the Shiites in his dominions. He secretly sent emissaries to the different provinces to prepare lists of all suspected of heresy between the ages of seven and seventy; the number of persons inscribed on the fatal returns exceeded forty thousand, and all were mercilessly butchered. It is a remarkable proof of the state of opinion in the sixteenth century to find the ambassadors of the Italian Republics resident at Constantinople speaking of this wholesale butchery, not merely with tolerance, but with approbation.

Singular declaration of war.

Before he passed the frontiers, Selim sent a long letter to Ismaël, which has more the character of a sermon than of a declaration of war. A brief extract may serve as a specimen of this extraordinary document. "Our ulemas and doctors of law have pronounced sentence of death against you, Ismaël, as a perjurer and a blasphemer, and have imposed on every true Musulman the obligation of arming himself for the defence of true religion, and for the destruction of heresy and impiety in your person and those of your besotted followers. Animated by the spirit of this *fetva*, (ecclesiastical decree,) which is in strict accordance with the Koran and the code of divine laws, wishing on our part to strengthen Islamism, honourably anxious to deliver the nations and countries that groan beneath your yoke, we have resolved to lay aside our imperial ornaments, to put on our harness and coat of mail, to display our ever-victorious banner, to assemble our

invincible armies, to draw the vengeful sword from the scabbard of our wrath, to march with our trusty soldiers, whose sabres always inflict mortal wounds, and whose arrows would reach an enemy were he even in the constellation of Sagittarius. In pursuance of this glorious resolution, we have taken the field; we have already passed the waters of Istambol, (Straits of Constantinople,) and guided by the hand of the Most High, we hope soon to break your tyrannical arm, and dissipate those fantastic visions of glory and greatness that have dazzled your imagination and disordered your brain. We trust to withdraw from your crushing rule your subjects, shivering with fear, and to stifle your infernal genius in the columns of flame that your evil spirit has everywhere kindled. Thus shall we accomplish on you the holy maxim which says, '*He who sows discord will reap affliction.*' Nevertheless, ever anxious to observe the law of our Prophet, (on whom be peace,) in spirit as well as letter, before commencing war, we lay before you the words of the Koran instead of the edge of the sabre, and exhort you to embrace the true faith. The dispositions of mortals are various; the human race resembles mines of gold and silver. Vice is interwoven in the very nature of some; such persons are incorrigible, and an attempt to lead them into the paths of virtue is a task more hopeless than the effort to wash the skin of a negro white. In others vice has not taken so deep a root; they may return when they please from their evil courses, by mortifying their senses and restraining their lusts. The most efficacious means of curing a depraved disposition is faithfully and deeply to search the conscience, to look steadily at faults, to entreat the pardon of God with true repentance and sincere sorrow. We invite you to adopt this plan, to hold communion with your own soul, to renounce your dangerous errors, and to march towards virtue with a firm and courageous step. Further, we require of you to abandon the possession of the territories you have wrested from us by illegal violence, and to which you have not even the shadow of a just pretence. We demand that you should surrender them to our appointed deputies, and if you have any regard for your safety, you will perform this requisition without delay."

This singular homily was followed by two others, in the same strain, intermingled with quotations from the poets, and satirical verses, said to have been composed by the Sultan himself. Ismaël made a dignified reply; he said, in substance, that Selim's letters were manifestly written under the intoxicating influence of opium, and to replace the quantity of that drug which must have been used in the manufacture of such an epistle, he sent a gold box of the best opium as an appropriate present to

Shah Ismaël's reply.

the Sultan. Selim was so irritated by this cool and contemptuous reply, that he ordered the Persian ambassador to be hewn in pieces. Selim having reviewed his army, which amounted to one hundred and forty thousand men, addressed a kind of sermon to his soldiers, taking for his text the magnificent orientalism which the traditions of Abú Horeira attribute to Mohammed, "In the shade of the sabres Paradise is prefigured;" but, probably, most heed was given to his peroration, in which he promised the richest rewards to all who distinguished themselves in the ensuing campaign. When he crossed the frontiers of Azerbiján, he found the country laid waste before him, and, after several long and harassing marches, he could discover no traces of the enemy. The Janissaries began to mutiny, but the firmness of the Sultan stopped the rising spirit of disaffection, and the soldiers had at length the gratification of discovering Ismaël's forces in the valley of Shaldirán. Without giving his men time to rest, Selim instantly prepared for battle, regardless of the advantageous position occupied by the Persians; and, notwithstanding his tried courage, Ismaël somewhat quailed when he beheld the brilliant cavalry of the Ottomans descending from the heights. The shock with which the two armies met, each animated by religious rancour, resembled more the fury of civil war than the meeting of ordinary enemies. Ismaël in person cut through the cavalry of the Sultan's left wing, but on the right the close columns of the Persians were nearly annihilated by the batteries of the Turkish artillery, which had been masked until the masses of the enemy were almost close to the muzzles of the guns. Ismaël pursued his advantage over the cavalry until he reached the lines of the Janissaries, where he was received with a close rolling fire of musketry. Horse and man went down before this murderous discharge; Ismaël himself fell from his steed wounded in the shoulder and leg; his life was only saved by the desperate fidelity of a few faithful followers who sacrificed themselves to protect his escape. He fled towards Tabríz, but not thinking himself safe in his capital, continued his retreat to Derghezín. Selim took possession of the Persian camp with all its treasures; he issued immediate orders for the massacre of all his prisoners, except the women and children, whom he reserved to sell as slaves. Thirteen days after the battle, the Sultan appeared before Tabríz, which was surrendered without a blow; he pillaged this city which Ismaël had made the capital of Persia, and sent all its treasures to Constantinople. He would have had advanced further and established his winter-quarters in Azerbiján but for a mutiny of the Janissaries, who were anxious to enjoy their plunder in a place of security.

Battle of Shaldirán.

Selim vented his rage and disappointment on his viziers and officers, deposing some and strangling others, after which he retired to Amassia. During the winter Ismaël sent four ambassadors with rich presents to redeem his favourite wife, who had been made prisoner at Shaldirán, but the barbarous Selim, instead of complying with his request, threw the ambassadors into prison, and forced the captive queen to marry one of his secretaries.

Early in the spring, the Sultan took the field and subdued several strong castles in the Armenian and Georgian mountains, which he garrisoned as well for the sake of protecting his northern frontiers in Asia as for the extension of the Ottoman supremacy over the barbarous tribes of the Caucasus. Seditions, followed as usual by a conflagration, compelled him to return to Constantinople, but he entrusted the command of his army to Bíklú Mohammed Pacha, who conquered the important province of Kurdistan. The Kurds, sincerely attached to the faith of the Khaliphs of Bagdad, had borne very impatiently the yoke of the heretical Persians. After the battle of Shaldirán, insurrections, secretly planned by Selim, burst forth simultaneously at Amida, Bidlis, and Diarbekr. The latter city was blockaded by the Persians for fifteen months, when Bíklú's approach compelled them to raise the siege; after which the united army of Turks and Kurds made themselves masters of Mardin, now the strongest place in the Ottoman Empire, without encountering any opposition. The citadel, however, held out, and Ismaël sent a powerful army to recover the city and check the progress of the Ottomans. The hostile forces met at Karghandedé, a village east of the ancient city of Kotsh-hissan. The Persians commenced the attack with great vigour, but being thrown into confusion by the fall of their general, they were repulsed and chased from the field with much slaughter. The citadel of Mardin held out sometime longer, but it was finally stormed and the garrison put to the sword. Less resistance was experienced in other places; Nizibin, (Nisibis,) so celebrated in the wars between the Parthians and the Romans, set an example of submission, which was imitated by all the cities included within the ancient limits of Northern Mesopotamia. The complete subjugation of Kurdistan soon followed, but this success was as much owing to the diplomatic skill of the Sheikh Idris, Selim's ambassador to the chiefs of the Kurdish tribes, as to the military skill of Bíklú Mohammed.

Conquest of Kurdistan.

Scarcely had this new province been annexed to the Turkish Empire when the Sultan resolved on declaring war against the Mamlukes of Egypt, who had threatened to intercept his communications with Kurdistan. To secure

War with Egypt. A. D. 1516.

Syria as a frontier has been the policy of all the rulers of Egypt, from the days of the Pharaohs and the Ptolemies down to the present time; but when Selim obtained possession of Kurdistan, Sultan Gaurí deemed it necessary to collect an army at Aleppo, which gave great offence to the Ottomans, and provoked a war. The armies of the rival Sultans met in the meadows of Darík, where Mohammedan traditions place the tomb of the Patriarch David. The Egyptians were speedily defeated, a result owing as much to their own disunion as to the vast superiority of the Turkish artillery. Gaurí, after having displayed great personal bravery, failing in every effort to rally his troops, rushed into the thickest of the enemies, and found what he desired, an honourable death. The city of Aleppo, with all its rich treasures, said to amount to more than a million of ducats, and the towns of Malatia, Aintab, and Kalaterkúm, were the first fruits of a victory which may be said to have ensured the conquest of Syria. Damascus soon after surrendered on terms, and Ottoman garrisons were admitted into Gaza and other fortresses on the very frontiers of Egypt. While Selim was completing the reduction of Syria, the Mamlukes were engaged in the election of a new sultan. After much discussion their choice fell on Tuman Bey, a warrior of high reputation. Before entering Egypt, Selim sent two of his officers to claim the allegiance of the Mamlukes, but they were both slain. War being renewed, the Egyptians sent an army to recover Syria, under the command of Ghazalí. Near Gaza the Mamlukes encountered the advanced guard of the Turks, and, after an obstinate combat, in which whole ranks were swept away by the Ottoman artillery, they fled for shelter into the desert. Selim now advanced into Egypt, having first bribed Ghazalí, who had been so recently defeated, to betray the cause of his sovereign. The artifices of this traitor rendered the valour of the Mamlukes unavailing; Tuman Bey was defeated near Cairo, and the city itself became the prey of the conquerors. The Mamluk sultan made a vigorous effort to recover his capital, and for three days and nights an obstinate combat was maintained in the streets of Cairo. At length Selim, insidiously proclaiming an amnesty, the brave defenders of the city laid down their arms, and were all ruthlessly butchered. A second battle in the vicinity of the Pyramids was equally unfortunate to Tuman Bey; he was forced to abandon his kingdom, and seek refuge with an Arabian chieftain, Hassan Meré, on whose gratitude he had strong claims. But this wretch, violating every obligation of friendship and hospitality, surrendered the unfortunate fugitive to Selim, who threw him into prison, and, after a short captivity, put him to death. The victorious sultan would have extended his conquest above the

Egypt subdued.

Cataracts, but the Janissaries mutinied as they had before done in Persia, and compelled Selim, after completing the arrangements for the government of his new province, to retire to Syria.

On his return to Europe, the sultan renewed his treaties with some of the principal Christian states. The Venetians promised to pay him the tribute for the island of Cyprus which they had formerly paid to the sultans of Egypt; the Hungarians renewed their ancient truce; and the King of Spain procured a treaty guaranteeing the safety of Christian pilgrims to Palestine and Jerusalem. But, in the midst of these pacific arrangements, Selim was engaged in making the most extensive preparations for war. He designed at the same time a second invasion of Persia and a second siege of Rhodes; but, while passing from Constantinople to Adrianople over the field where he had formerly given battle to his father, he was seized with a fever, produced by a neglected imposthume in the thigh, whence ulcers spread rapidly over his entire frame. After forty days of torture rather than sickness, he breathed his last, lamented, notwithstanding his extravagant cruelties, by all his Ottoman subjects, who pardoned his excesess for the sake of his labours to extirpate heresy, and his acquisition of the title, "Protector of the two holy cities," (Mecca and Medina,) by the overthrow of the Mamluk Sultans.

Death of Selim. A. D. 1520.

The reigns of Mohammed II., Báyezíd II., and Selim I. embrace a period of seventy years, in which the Ottoman power was uniformly progressive. In the next chapter we shall find limits fixed to its extension, and Europe delivered from the dread of seeing the Crescent take the place of the Cross on the towers of its cathedrals.

CHAPTER XII.

FROM THE ACCESSION OF SULEIMAN THE GREAT TO THE PEACE OF CARLOWITZ.

FROM A. D. 1520. A. H. 926 TO A. D. 1700. A. H. 1112.

Accession of Suleiman the Great, A. D. 1520.

THE superstitious value assigned by the Orientals to the number ten induced the Ottomans to form high expectations of Suleiman's future glory when he ascended the throne of his father Selim, for he was born in the first year of the tenth century of the Mohammedan era, (A. H. 900, A. D. 1494,) and was the tenth sovereign of the house of Othman. His first public actions were well calculated to strengthen such hopes; he restored to their country six hundred unhappy Egyptians who had been brought captive to Constantinople; he repaid to the merchants the value of goods confiscated in the preceding reign for undesigned breaches of fiscal regulation, and he severely punished some ministers of state convicted of cruelty and corruption. The king of Hungary, believing that the death of Selim afforded him a fair opportunity for recovering his independence, refused any longer to pay the stipulated tribute, and allowed the Turkish ambassador sent to demand it to be murdered by the populace. The Sultan immediately assembled a large army, passed the Hungarian frontiers, and after having stormed several places of inferior importance, laid siege to Belgrade. This important bulwark of Christendom was obstinately defended, and might have repulsed the assailants, had not a quarrel, partly religious and partly national, arisen between the Servians and Hungarians, which forced the governor to capitulate. The Turks did not adhere to the capitulation; they murdered several of the Hungarians, and sent the Bulgarians to Constantinople, where their descendants may still be traced in a quarter of the city and a village on the Bosphorus, both bearing the name of Belgrade. Encouraged by this victory, and still more by the distracted condition of Christendom, Suleiman resolved on a more important enterprise, the siege

of Rhodes, which the knights of St John had rendered the terror of the Mohammedans in the Levant.

Siege and capture of Rhodes. A. D. 1523.

Europe was distracted politically by the rivalry between Francis I. and Charles V., while the religious dissensions arising from the reformation daily acquired fresh strength; the Hungarians were weakened by the feuds of their aristocracy, and the Venetians were not unwilling to betray the common cause of Christendom for their private gain. Such a favourable crisis was not the only circumstance which stimulated the Sultan; traitors from Rhodes had informed him that the city was badly supplied with provisions, and that the fortifications were in several places dismantled. Immense preparations were made for the enterprise; the battering train consisted of more than a hundred pieces of artillery, among which were two of enormous calibre, throwing balls between four and five feet in circumference. The Grand Master of the Knights, Villiers de l'Ile Adam, prepared for a vigorous defence; he distributed the principal gates to the knights according to their nations in order to keep up a spirit of emulation; he levelled all the houses in the suburbs, and employed the materials in the repairs of the fortifications. But the valour of the Christians could not counterbalance the overwhelming force of the Turks; after a desperate defence, protracted beyond hope, the Grand Master was forced to capitulate, and, contrary to his expectations, found the sultan a generous conqueror. "I grieve," said Suleiman when the brave head of the knights was presented to him, "that I am forcing this gallant Christian in his old age to abandon his home and his property." The conquest of Rhodes was followed by the reduction of a revolt in Egypt; Suleiman celebrated the double victory by the marriage of his sister with the Vizier Ibrahim, whom he had raised from the condition of a slave to the highest dignities of the empire.

Campaign of Mohacz, A. D. 1526.

Suleiman was not long permitted to enjoy tranquillity; the Janissaries revolted from sheer want of any thing else to do, and it became necessary to find employment for their turbulent spirits in a new war. It was long uncertain whether the arms of the Turks would be directed against the Persians or the Germans, but the urgency of the French monarch, Francis I., induced the sultan to invade the Austrian territories. The Hungarians met the invaders in the field of Mohacz; a fierce engagement ensued, in which victory was doubtful for more than two hours, until the fall of the Hungarian King Louis threw the Christians into confusion, and the fire of the Turkish artillery mowed down the disorderly crowd; thenceforward it was not so much a rout as a slaughter, for the Turks refused quarter to their

prisoners. The loss of the Christians amounted to more than thirty thousand men, including eight bishops, and the principal nobles of Hungary. The entire country was at the mercy of the conquerors, and Suleiman nominated John Zapolya its king. But preceding treaties had insured the Hungarian succession to the Archduke Ferdinand, brother of Charles V.; no sooner had the Turks retreated than the Diet declared for Ferdinand, and proclaimed Zapolya a usurper. Defeated and deserted, Zapolya had no hope but in the aid of the Sultan, which he obtained on the condition of swearing an offensive and defensive alliance. Again Suleiman invaded Hungary, where he was joined by Zapolya; Ofen, then the capital of the kingdom, surrendered after a feeble resistance, but in spite of the capitulation, the Janissaries massacred the garrison, plundered the city, and sold the inhabitants as slaves. From Ofen the Sultan advanced against Vienna, which was ill prepared to sustain a formidable siege. But what the Germans wanted in numbers was supplied by valour; assault after assault was repulsed, breaches were repaired as if by magic, and Suleiman, for the first time in his life, was forced to abandon his enterprise. The raising of the siege of Vienna was celebrated throughout Europe as the deliverance of Christendom; it was attributed by some to the treachery of the Vizier Ibrahim, who was suspected of aiming at the throne of Hungary; but this theory is destitute of any plausible invention; the only cause, in addition to the heroic defence of the garrison, was the turbulence and discontent of the Janissaries, which had been already manifested at Ofen. Thenceforth the war lingered; expeditions were interrupted by negotiations, and at length the first treaty was concluded between Austria and Turkey, in which Ferdinand obtained very favourable conditions by submitting to many degrading humiliations.

Siege and deliverance of Vienna, A. D. 1533.

Ere this treaty was signed, hostilities had been commenced against Persia. After the capture of several important forts, Ibrahim advanced to Tabríz, of which he gained possession almost without resistance, and immediately directed his efforts to save the inhabitants from the ferocity of his soldiers; and Suleiman hastened to join his victorious army, and led them over the mountains towards Bagdad, but the Turks suffered severely during this dangerous march from the inclemency of the season, and the difficulty of the roads. Bagdad, the ancient capital of the Khaliphs, was abandoned by its garrison, and Suleiman took possession of the city. Ibrahim, in the midst of the joy inspired by this triumph, obtained from the Sultan an order for the execution of his illustrious rival, Iskender Jelebi, whose influence in the

War with Persia.

state he had long dreaded; but this crime added little to his power, and prepared the way for his approaching downfal. On the night succeeding Iskender's murder, the Sultan dreamed that his victim appeared before him, and bitterly reproached him for slaughtering the innocent, and shutting his eyes to the machinations of the Vizier. This vision produced a deep impression on Suleiman's mind, and soon after his return to Constantinople he saw reason to suspect that Ibrahim was ambitious of wearing a crown. Disguising his resentment, he invited the Vizier to a splendid banquet; but no sooner had Ibrahim entered the gates of the serail than he was seized by the executioners, strangled and beheaded. Never had a Vizier possessed more unbounded power than this renegade Greek, and never was there one whose fall was so sudden and unexpected.

In the mean time Khair-ed-dín, better known to Europeans under the name of Barbarossa, having obtained possession of Algiers and Tunis, terrified the whole of the Western Mediterranean by his daring piracies; he ravaged the coasts of Sicily and Southern Italy, pursuing the fugitives even into the interior of the country, destroying with fire everything he was unable to take away. The Emperor Charles V. assembled a mighty armament both to punish the daring freebooter, and to restore the King of Tunis, whom Barbarossa had dethroned. In the latter enterprise he succeeded, and concluded a treaty with the restored monarch, the most honourable which any Christian prince had yet made with a Mohammedan potentate. Khair-ed-dín avenged his defeat by fresh ravages in Southern Italy, and believing it in his power to destroy the maritime power of the Christians, he persuaded his master to declare war against the republic of Venice.

Venetian war.

Corfu, celebrated in the age of Homer for its fertility and luxury under the name of Phæacia, and more fatally known for its political discords as Corcyra that kindled the Peloponnesian war, had been twice wrested from the Byzantine emperors by the Norman adventurers of the eleventh century. It had then become part of the kingdom of Sicily, but was subsequently abandoned to the Venetians, who divided its lands in fiefs among their principal nobles. Sulieman himself headed the invasion of this island, which he justly regarded as scarcely inferior in importance to Rhodes. But the Venetians had made vigorous preparations for his reception; their artillery was scarcely inferior to that of the Turks in calibre, and it was much better served. While Suleiman stood in the trenches he saw four of his soldiers struck down by a single ball, and this effect, which in that age seemed a prodigy, induced him to raise the siege. The Turks took revenge for their defeat by the conflagration of Butrinto and the

capture of Paxo. In Hungary the Germans suffered a ruinous defeat near Goria, more through the dissensions of their leaders than the prowess of Turks, and Khair-ed-dín deprived the Venetians of all their islands in the Archipelago.

Suleiman at this time touched the highest point of all his greatness; while Khair-ed-dín, having defeated Andrew Doria in the gulf of Arta, rode triumphant in the Mediterranean. Suleiman Pacha, a warrior of more than eighty years of age, subdued the southern districts of Arabia, and conducted a large armament to India in the hope of expelling the Portuguese from that country. For twenty days he besieged the strong fort of Diú in Gujerat, but was finally compelled to retire by want of provisions. This expedition would have succeeded, if the Pacha had adopted the prudent policy of uniting all the Mohammedans of Hindústan in a league against the Christians; but with the usual barbarity and want of foresight displayed by the Turks, he treated the native princes of Arabia and India as if they had been enemies, and actually hanged the Emír of Aden from the yard-arm, though he had come on board the admiral's vessel as a friend and ally. The Venetian war was protracted by a series of sanguinary but indecisive enterprises, which weakened both parties alike; but the interruption of commerce was worse than any defeat to the republic, the Doge and senate resolved to purchase peace at any price, and a treaty was concluded by which the Venetians were deprived of their chief possessions in the Morea and Western Greece.

Conquest of Arabia, and invasion of India. A. D. 1539.

Although Zapolya was indebted for his crown to the Sultan, he felt that his alliance with the Turks rendered him unpopular among his subjects, and he therefore made secret overtures to Ferdinand; the Austrian Archduke acted a double part, for he negotiated at the same time with his rival and the Sultan, dealing out impartial treachery to both. The sudden death of Zapolya, who left behind him only one son, fourteen days old, suddenly changed the aspect of affairs; it was falsely reported that the infant was spurious, and the Sultan sent an envoy to inquire into the truth of the matter. Isabella received the envoy with the child in her arms, and to strengthen her assertions, uncovered her bosom and suckled the infant in the presence of the whole court; the envoy was so delighted with this mark of confidence, that he swore a solemn oath in the name of his master to protect Zapolya's child, and secure him the throne of Hungary. Suleiman soon after took the field under pretence of fulfilling the promise made by his envoy; but it soon appeared that he sought his own advantages rather than those of his ally; instead of attacking

The seven years' war in Hungary.

Ferdinand he secured for himself the best portions of Hungary which had belonged to Zapolya, and formally annexed Ofen to the Turkish dominions. On his return to Constantinople he was gratified by intelligence of the failure of the Emperor Charles V. before Algiers, more through the violence of the tempests than the valour of Khair-ed-dín. The King of France, hoping to derive advantage from the defeat of his rival, permitted his fleet to unite with that of the Ottomans, but little advantage resulted from the junction, which gave great offence to all Christendom. Eager to put an end to the Hungarian war, Suleiman resolved once more to take the field in person'; and in this his tenth campaign he strenuously exerted himself to maintain strict discipline, to the want of which he ascribed his incomplete success in former years. The Austrians were unable to compete with the Turks in the field, they shut themselves up in their fortresses and cities, but few of these would sustain the heavy fire of the Turkish artillery; Gran, the bulwark of Hungary, was forced to capitulate, and Stuhlweissenberg, where the ancient kings of the Magyars were crowned and buried, shared the same fate. Early in the following year, Wessegrad, where the crown of Hungary had been deposited, surrendered on conditions which were violated by the janissaries, and the Ottomans carried their arms into Slavonia and Croatia. Charles V. and Ferdinand, despairing of retrieving their losses, humbled themselves to solicit peace; the negotiations were protracted by the extravagant demands of the Sultan and his viziers, and by the mutual suspicions of treachery in all parties; but at length a truce for five years was signed, in which were included, in addition to the Sultan and the Archduke, the Emperor Charles, the Pope, the King of France, and the Republic of Venice.

A. D. 1547.

Ambassadors from the principal Christian powers came to Constantinople with ratifications of the treaty, and at the same time there arrived an ambassador from Allah-ed-dín, one of the most powerful of the Mohammedan princes of India, to solicit the Sultan's aid in the expulsion of the Portuguese from Hindústan. The Turkish historians dilate with great pride on the magnificent presents brought by the Indian envoy, and displayed at his triumphal entry, but a far more imposing spectacle was the brilliant reception given to the Persian Prince Elkas, who had sought refuge in Turkey from the just vengeance of his brother Shah Tahmasp. Suleiman received the fugitive at Adrianople, displaying on the occasion the whole strength of his military resources, and the rich spoils which his troops had accumulated during their long career of victory; he loaded Elkas with presents, to which the Sultana Khánem made the unusual addition of splendid silk dresses embroidered

with her own hands. The Sultana, whom the French historians claim as their countrywoman, under the name of Roxolana, was in reality a Russian by birth, and had acquired such influence over the Sultan that he raised her from the rank of a concubine to that of his legitimate wife. She had during the preceding ten years sedulously laboured to excite a war against Persia, partly from a desire to give her son-in-law, Rústem Pacha, an opportunity of displaying his military talents, but chiefly with the hope that Suleiman would head the army in person, and appoint her eldest son, Selim, his viceroy in Europe. Her intrigues succeeded, Suleiman invaded Persia, heading his army in person, and confiding his European dominions to Selim; at the close of the campaign he could boast of having subdued thirty-one cities, destroyed fourteen others, and fortified twenty-eight important posts which had been hitherto without defence. Scarcely had the Sultan returned when the Hungarian war was renewed in Transylvania; the truce had been badly observed by both parties, but it had been most flagrantly violated by Ferdinand, who had treacherously gained possession of the territories ceded to the young Zapolya. Martinuzzi, a monk of extraordinary talents, had betrayed his mistress Isabella to Ferdinand, and had been rewarded by a cardinal's hat, but his object was to secure the principality of Transylvania for himself, and to effect this he secretly commenced negotiations with the Turks, disheartened by their ill success in the campaign. The Archduke discovered these intrigues, and procured the assassination of Martinuzzi; but the Turks amply avenged his fate, and conquered the greater part of the province. The city of Erlan alone gave an example of successful resistance which has immortalized its name; the women in the garrison emulated the courage of the men, and when the Turks were finally compelled to retreat, they shouted their compliments to the garrison on the bravery of their defence.

The Sultana Khánem, commonly called Roxolana.

The Sultan was now approaching his sixtieth year, and the fatigues of eleven campaigns which he had conducted in person had weakened, though they had not broken, his constitution; he therefore resolved to intrust the conduct of the Persian and the Hungarian wars to his viziers. This intelligence gave great offence to the janissaries in Asia; they began to form plots for deposing the Sultan, and raising his son Mustapha to the throne. Information of the conspiracy was conveyed to Suleiman, who immediately announced that he would take command of the army in person. Passing over into Asia he received the homage of the different princes, whom he welcomed with unusual kindness, in order to disarm suspicion. Mustapha joined the army

Execution of Prince Mustapha.

at Ereglí; he was received with all the honours due to his rank, and escorted to the royal tent with great pomp, but when he entered the tent he found, instead of his father, the seven mutes who had been employed to strangle the vizier Ibrahim, and ere he could recover from his surprise, he was thrown on the ground and murdered, vainly calling upon his father, who witnessed the cruel tragedy from behind a curtain. The Persian war was languidly conducted after the death of Mustapha, and Suleiman, wearied of hostilities which led to no result, signed a treaty of peace with Shah Tahmasp, the first that had ever been concluded between the Turks and Persians. Suleiman returned to Constantinople, suffering severely from remorse for the murder of Mustapha, and his grief was soon aggravated by the loss of the Sultana Khánem, who had secretly instigated the crime to secure the inheritance for her son Selim. The Sultana's intrigues introduced the fatal custom of confining the Turkish princes in the *harem*, instead of intrusting them with the government of provinces, and thus a severe blow was given to the permanence of the empire.

The wars in Hungary still continued, in spite of renewed truces, and the Spanish and Turkish fleets contended for supremacy in the Western Mediterranean, but these hostilities produced no event of permanent importance. At length the complete defeat of an armament sent against Malta induced Suleiman to place himself at the head of an army destined for the conquest of Hungary, although his increasing infirmities rendered him unable to mount a horse, or even to bear the fatigue of transport in a litter, unless the roads had been previously levelled. Sigismund Zapolya hastened to meet the Sultan with rich presents; he did homage for the crown of Hungary, receiving from Suleiman promises of protection and assistance in his struggle to recover the inheritance of his father. Szigeth was the great object of the Sultan's ambition; its strength had already baffled the Turkish arms, and the Sultan hoped that its conquest would enable him to terminate his reign with glory similar to that which had marked its commencement. Zriny, who commanded the garrison, made an obstinate resistance, and Suleiman's passions were so excited by this unexpected vigour that he fell a victim to apoplexy. The Grand Vizier concealed the Sultan's death for three weeks, during which time Szigeth was reduced to a heap of ruins, and its brave defenders annihilated, after having destroyed nearly ten times their own number of the besiegers.

Death of Suleiman, A. D. 1566.

Scarcely had Selim ascended the throne when his safety was menaced by a formidable revolt of the janissaries, whose demands for their usual gratuity on the accession of a sove-

Selim II.

reign were greater than on any former occasion, exceeding the amount of the Sultan's treasures. All the wealth which Suleiman had collected was exhausted in satisfying the mutineers, but the void was soon supplied by the rich presents of the provincial governors and foreign ambassadors. The largest donations were made by the Grand Admiral Pealè, who resigned to his master the enormous plunder he had acquired from the devastation of the coasts of Apulia, and by Pertew Pacha, who similarly resigned the booty gained in Transylvania. Selim, unlike his father, was anxious for peace; he readily acceded to the proposals of negotiation made by the Emperor Maximilian, and after long discussions a treaty was concluded, by which the Sultan engaged to respect the possessions of the emperor and his brothers in Hungary, Dalmatia, Croatia, and Slavonia, while they in turn recognised the rights of the *vaivodes* appointed by the Turks in Transylvania, Moldavia, and Wallachia. Peace was also made with Persia, and the Grand Vizier Sokolli was at liberty to direct his attention to the internal improvement of the empire. His first project was to cut a canal uniting the Don and the Volga; it failed through the unskilfulness of the engineers, and the treachery of the Khan of the Crimea, who dreaded that the completion of such a work would place his kingdom completely at the mercy of the Turks. A more important enterprise was to cut a ship canal through the Isthmus of Suez; but before this could be attempted, it was necessary to reduce to obedience the wild tribes of Southern Arabia, to deprive the Venetians of the island of Cyprus, which gave them the mastery in the Levant, and to subdue the Mainotes in the Morea, a race always impatient of the Turkish yoke. The conquest of Yemen, or Southern Arabia, was a task of great danger and difficulty. It was finally accomplished by Sinan Pacha, who established tranquillity in the country, and secured for the Sultan the same authority which the Khaliphs had preserved over the holy cities, Mecca and Medina.

Conquest of the island of Cyprus, A. D. 1571.

After the subjugation of Arabia, Selim directed all his energies to the conquest of the island of Cyprus, a project which he had formed long before his accession to the throne. The instigator of this enterprise was a Jew named Joseph Nassy; he was a native of Portugal, and in that country had become a compulsory Christian, under the name of Don Miguel. Having visited Constantinople on a mercantile speculation, he returned to the religion of his fathers, and through fear of the Inquisition, resolved to abandon his native land. Selim, who was then governor of Kutahia, became acquainted with Nassy, and

was indebted to him for large loans and supplies of Cyprus wine. The crafty Jew represented to the prince the advantages that would result from the conquest of the island which produced his favourite beverage, and so gratified the vanity of the young prince, that he swore if ever he conquered Cyprus, to make Joseph Nassy its sovereign. After Selim's accession to the throne, Nassy, who still retained his influence, urged the Sultan to attack Cyprus, the armament against which was one of the most formidable that ever sailed from a Turkish port, while the preparations for the defence of the island were feeble and inefficient. The invaders disembarked without opposition in the harbour of Limasol, thanks to the ignorance of the Venetian *proveditor*, who forbade his troops to resist the descent. Having easily conquered the open country, Mustapha Pacha laid siege to Necosia, and after battering the walls for seven weeks, opened several practicable breaches. On the 9th of September 1570, orders were given for a general assault, and though the garrison made little or no resistance, the Turks refused quarter to the citizens, of whom twenty thousand were slain, and two thousand of tender age dragged into captivity. The sack of the unfortunate city lasted eight days, but the vengeance of a Greek heroine deprived the Turks of the fruits of their victory; she fired the galleys in which the plunder had been deposited; they were blown up, and among the victims who perished were eight hundred Cypriot ladies destined for the slave-market at Constantinople. From Nicosia the Turks advanced against Famagusta, which was vigorously defended by its governor, Bragadino. After having closely blockaded the place from September until the beginning of April, Mustapha began a more active siege, and opened a terrible fire upon its walls from his breaching batteries, while his engineers assailed the chief bulwarks by the more slow but sure operation of the sap. The joint operation of batteries, mines, and bombardment, seemed to have rendered Famagusta a heap of ruins, but the courage of its defenders was unshaken, and every attempt to carry it by assault was defeated; but famine was an enemy more potent than the Turks, and on the 1st of August Barberino, finding that all his provisions were exhausted, and that only seven barrels of powder remained in his magazine, agreed to terms of capitulation. These were, however, cruelly violated by the Turkish general; no sooner was Famagusta in his power than he ordered the garrison to be massacred, and the gallant Barberino to be flayed alive—an instance of atrocious perfidy scarcely to be paralleled even in the annals of Oriental barbarism.

In the meantime the pope, the republic of Venice, and the king

of Spain had organized a formidable league against the Ottoman power, which seemed to menace the independence of Christian Europe. A formidable fleet was prepared under the command of Don John of Austria, the natural son of Charles V., and when the contingents of the various allies had joined, it sailed to attack the Turkish navy in the Gulf of Lepanto. On the 7th of October 1571, a battle was fought, which may be said to have decided the fate of Christendom. It lasted nearly eight hours, and ended in the utter ruin of the Turkish navy. The Mohammedans lost two hundred and eighty ships; thirty thousand of their sailors were slain or drowned, three thousand four hundred were taken prisoners, and fifteen thousand Christian captives were delivered from slavery. The allies lost fifteen galleys and eight thousand men. The number of the wounded was still more considerable, and among them was the celebrated Cervantes, the author of *Don Quixote*. It is mortifying to add that the dissensions of the Christian leaders rendered this victory fruitless, and that the Ottomans were permitted, without interruption, to repair their losses. The remainder of Selim's reign offers nothing remarkable; he died of a drunken debauch, leaving behind him six sons and three daughters. The honours of this reign belong to Suleiman, whose glorious memory concealed the weakness of his successor, but could not avert its ruinous consequences.

Battle of Lepanto, 1571.

Death of Selim II. A. D. 1574.

During eight years the Grand Vizier Sokolli, in spite of Selim's negligence and debauchery, had maintained the splendour to which the Ottoman Empire had been raised by Suleiman; but on the accession of Morad III. that able minister was gradually stripped of his influence, and the glory of Turkey at the same instant began to decline. The new Sultan was completely under the influence of the ladies of the harem; he was jealous of the almost unlimited power possessed by the Vizier, and he endeavoured to counterbalance it by delegating his power to unworthy favourites, whose chief merit was their opposition to the wise plans of Sokolli. The Sultan's first act was to issue orders for the murder of his five brothers; after which, to stifle the public indignation, he gave largesses to the janissaries and the ministers of religion, and granted new titles of honour to his principal officers. The renewal of a treaty with Austria did not put an end to the hostilities on the frontiers. With all his merits, Sokolli never understood the value of the laws of nations. He encouraged breaches of truce in the frontier provinces, and frequently violated the privileges of the diplomatic agents resident at Constantinople. But notwithstanding these violations of international law, the

Reign of Morad III.

Turkish court was crowded by European ambassadors, among whom appeared an envoy from England, sent by Queen Elizabeth, not only to procure protection for the commerce of her subjects, but also to form an alliance with the Sultan against their common enemy Philip II. of Spain. While Sokolli lived, all these complicated negotiations were made subservient to the interests of the Sultan, but when he was assassinated, not without Morad's connivance, his ignorant successors lost all the advantages he had gained.

The civil wars which devastated Persia after the death of Shah Tahmasp induced the Turks to invade that country, but their success did not correspond with their expectations; the war was a series of desultory skirmishes, and scarcely distinguished by one decisive action. Osman Pasha indeed obtained two sanguinary victories, and made himself master of Tabriz; but on his death the Turkish army was forced to retreat. The Sultan at length became weary of so fruitless a war, and soon after the accession of Shah Ahbas, a peace was concluded by which the provinces of Georgia, Azerbijân, Shírwân, and Loristan were ceded to Turkey. A singular article was added to this treaty, stipulating that the Persians should renounce their offensive heretical doctrines, and become reconciled to the orthodox faith of Islâm; but nobody could believe that such a stipulation would be observed, and it seems to have been inserted merely to afford a pretext for renewing the war at a favourable opportunity.

A. D. 1578.

In the meantime disorganization was rapidly spreading through various parts of the empire. The janissaries, enraged at a depreciation of the currency for the first time, attacked the palace where the Sultan sat in council with his Viziers, and refused to disperse until they received the heads of the ministers accused of tampering with the coin. A revolt of the army in Egypt was with difficulty suppressed. Sinan Pacha, who had so often led the Turks to victory, was murdered at the instigation of the Sultan, and the garrisons of Ofen in the west, and Tabriz in the east, mutinied on account of their depreciated pay. The Governor of Tabriz negotiated with the mutineers until he collected an army of Kurds, and then treacherously inviting them to a parley, he cut them all in pieces. Eighteen hundred picked warriors were sacrificed on this occasion.

A. D. 1590.

Alarmed by the repeated revolts of the janissaries, Morad resolved to engage them in a new war, and the Grand Vizier Sinan led a large army into Hungary. But this expedition, which rivalled in its preparations the most splendid of Suleiman's, was frustrated by the incapacity of the leaders, and the

A. D. 1593.

insubordination of the troops. Indeed the Turks would have been deprived of all their former Hungarian conquests had not the Austrians been scarcely less demoralized than their enemies. While both parties seemed to vie with each other in military misconduct, Morad was seized with a slight fever, which his superstitious terrors rendered mortal. A salute fired by an Egyptian galley broke some windows in the krosk where the Sultan lay, and his belief that this was an evil omen produced such an effect on his mind that he died the following night.

Death of Morad II. A. D. 1595.

The death of Morad was concealed until his eldest son Mohammed III. reached the capital. This was the last time that such a precaution was necessary in Turkey, for Mohammed was the last prince intrusted with the government of a province; all his successors passed immediately from the seclusion of the harem, or rather the prison erected for the sons of the Sultan, to the throne. The new monarch, imitating his father's example, commenced his reign by the slaughter of his nineteen brothers, and the drowning of all the slaves whom Morad had left pregnant. A revolt of the janissaries and the progress made by the Prince of Wallachia, who had rebelled, induced Ferhad to hasten his march to the northern frontiers; but he was soon deprived of office through the intrigues of his rival Sinan, and on his return to Constantinople was strangled in prison. Sinan was unable to force Prince Michael to a pitched battle, and though he conquered Bucharest and other strong towns, in reality he suffered more severely than if he had been defeated, for the Wallachians incessantly harassed his flanks and rear, beat up his quarters, cut off stragglers, and interrupted convoys. The Austrian armies, under the command of Prince Mansfeld, obtained distinguished success in Hungary. They defeated the Turks in two general engagements, and made themselves masters of several important fortresses, including Gran and Wessegrad. So alarmed was the Sultan by the arrival of repeated messengers, each announcing some fresh misfortune, that he ordered public prayers to be offered, and a fast of three days observed, in order to deprecate the wrath of God. The Vizier Sinan was deprived of his office, but was reinstated in a few days, and the first use he made of his recovered influence was to persuade the Sultan to take the field in person. But before the commencement of the campaign Sinan died suddenly, and his place was supplied by his rival Ibrahim Pacha, the son-in-law of Mohammed. The Sultan opened the campaign by the siege of Erlan, which the Austrians neglected to succour until it was too late. When the imperialists at length took the field, Mohammed was disposed to retreat, but was with difficulty dissuaded by his favourite, the historian Sead-

Mohammed III.

ed-dín. The two armies met in the plain of Keresztes. In the very first encounter the Hungarians and Germans broke through the Turkish centre, capturing more than a hundred pieces of cannon, and driving their opponents behind the baggage. Mohammed would have been ruined had not the imperialists, in spite of all the efforts of their leaders, broken their lines to plunder the camp. Mohammed rallied the infantry in their front, while Cicala, at the head of the cavalry, charged their rear. The effect was decisive, and the victory, which was all but won, was changed into a most calamitous defeat. Cicala's services were rewarded by the place of Grand Vizier, from which Ibrahim was removed; but the new minister was unfit for his situation, and his violent changes kindled civil wars in Egypt and the Crimea. He was soon removed, but the evil influence of his administration was not corrected by his dismissal. Ibrahim was restored, but he neglected everything save vengeance on the supposed authors of his disgrace; and while the Sultan's ministers were engaged in these miserable intrigues, the armies on the northern frontier were neglected. Michael daily acquired fresh strength in Wallachia, and the imperialists obtained a decided superiority in Hungary, which, however, they did not long retain. The Austrians might have recovered the country if the government had kept faith with its soldiers; but the pay of the troops was withheld, and provisions irregularly supplied, so that two thousand French and Wallachian troops were driven almost by necessity to desert to the Turks, and they proved, in subsequent campaigns, the most desperate enemies of their former comrades. Ibrahim took advantage of the errors committed by the court of Vienna. He besieged and took the important fortress of Kanicha, almost in the presence of the imperial army, commanded by the Duke of Lorraine, and his light troops extended their incursions into the hereditary dominions of Austria.

Revolt of Karayasíjí. A. D. 1600.

But while Ibrahim was retrieving the fortune of the Turkish arms in Hungary, a formidable revolt threatened to deprive the Sultan of his Asiatic dominions. The leader of the rebels was Abd-al-halím, better known by the nickname of Karayasíjí, or "the black scribe." It was at first attempted to win this daring leader by bribes. He was proffered the government of a sanjak or province on condition of his betraying his principal associate, Hossein Pasha. Karayasíjí, who was jealous of Hossein, accepted the conditions, and delivered his rival to the Turks, but continued the rebellion on his own account with fresh vigour. Two Viziers were sent against him, and were defeated with ruinous loss, after which the victorious rebel issued *firmâns* in his own name; the first example of so outrageous a violation of

the rights of the Ottoman Sultans since the foundation of the empire.

Insurrection of the Spahís. A. D. 1603.

Michael, Prince of Wallachia, dreading the perfidy of the Germans, entered into negotiations with the Turks, and renewed his allegiance to the Sultan; but he was soon assassinated by order of the Vizier, who dreaded his turbulent disposition. The Austrian war continued to exhaust the resources of both powers in sanguinary engagements, which led to no decisive result, but in Asia Karayasíjí was defeated in a desperate battle, and soon afterwards died of mortification. His followers cut his body into small pieces, and burned each part in a separate place, to prevent the Turks from insulting his remains; but far from being daunted by his loss, they renewed the war with fresh spirit, and defeated the Sultan's forces wherever they met them. These losses produced a revolt of the Spahís or cavalry at Constantinople; but by the intrigues of Hassan, the Grand Vizier, the janissaries were induced to support the side of the government. By their aid the Spahís were subdued, and forced to surrender the chiefs to the executioner. But this event produced an implacable hatred between the two divisions of the army, which lasted for several years. The Sultan was terrified by the influence which Hassan possessed with the janissaries, instead of being grateful for the suppression of the revolt. The unfortunate minister was deprived of his office, and soon after strangled: his place was given to the governor of Egypt, Ali, usually called the Severe, whose stern cruelty justified the propriety of his surname.

Amid these intrigues at Constantinople, the Austrian war was continued, and the revolt in Asia spread wider every day. Shah Abbas, the powerful ruler of Persia, had long sought an opportunity of commencing hostilities against Turkey; his chosen ambassador, Sir Anthony Shirley, had visited the principal European courts, to form a grand alliance against the Ottoman power; but before this could be accomplished, the ravages of the Turkish garrison in Tabíz forced the Shah to commence hostilities. Abbas entered Azerbíján attended only by a few squadrons of cavalry; but the Kurdish clans, irritated by the recent outrages of the Turks, flocked to his standard, and he was soon enabled to meet and defeat the Ottomans in a pitched battle, which led to the recovery of Tabríz and the whole province of Azerbíján. Before measures could be taken to retrieve these losses, Mohammed III. died rather suddenly, leaving the empire in a state of confusion, from which it never completely recovered.

Death of Mohammed III. A. D. 1603.

Ahmed I., who had not yet attained his fifteenth year, ascended

the throne. He refused to stain his accession by fratricide, and he banished the ladies and eunuchs of the harem whose influence had been so prejudicial to the government during the preceding reigns. The youthful monarch directed his earliest attention to the Austrian and Persian wars. In Hungary success attended his arms; but in Asia Shah Abbas obtained a decisive victory in the neighbourhood of Tabríz, and the dispersed fugitives renewed the revolt which had already produced so much misery. Nassík Pacha encountered the rebels near the river Obrimas; he was utterly routed, the greater part of his army cut to pieces, and he himself escaped only by the fleetness of his horse. Nassík brought intelligence of his own defeat to the Sultan, throwing the blame of it on the Viziers. He urged Ahmed to take the field in person; and the young monarch, without waiting until the days of mourning for his mother had expired, passed over into Asia. But he went no further than Brusa, the cradle of his race; having visited the tombs of the six first Ottoman Sultans, he returned to Constantinople, where he had to suppress a fresh revolt of the janissaries. The dangerous state of Asia induced the Sultan to commence negotiations with Austria, which terminated in the treaty of Litvatorok. This treaty singularly marks the gradual decadence of the Ottoman empire; for the first time peace was concluded with the formalities used by the other nations of Europe; the insulting pretensions of Ottoman supremacy were abandoned, and the claim of tribute from Hungary was resigned.

Reign of Ahmed.

A. D. 1606.

Immediately after the conclusion of peace with Austria, the Grand Vizier Morad led an army against the rebels in Asia; but while he was engaged in subduing one body of the insurgents, another, under the command of Kalenderoghli, burned the city of Brusa, and approached so near the Bosphorus that the Sultan ordered a levy *en masse* to protect the capital. But the insurgents wanted strength and courage for such an enterprise as an attack on Constantinople; they directed their march towards Caramania, but were intercepted by the army of the Grand Vizier, and almost annihilated. Those who survived the slaughter sought refuge in Persia, where they were enrolled in the army of the Shah; and another body of insurgents, under Khalil the Long, shared the same fate. Morad next marched against Persia; but Shah Abbas commenced negotiations, which were protracted over the whole season of the campaign, and ere they led to any decisive result, the Grand Vizier died in the ninetieth year of his age. A treaty, however, was concluded after a long delay, by which the Ottomans consented to abandon the provinces wrested from Persia during

the two preceding reigns. The peace with Austria was threatened by disputes respecting Transylvania; and about this time, also, the decline of the maritime power of the Ottomans became apparent. The Florentines and the Cossacks insulted the coasts of Asia without meeting any interruption from the Turkish fleet, and the Knights of Malta almost banished the Mohammedan flag from the Western Mediterranean. The death of Ahmed, after a very short illness, produced results which tended further to weaken the Ottoman Empire, and to dissipate the fear with which it had so long inspired Christian Europe.

Death of Ahmed. A. D. 1617.

Mustapha, the brother of Ahmed, ascended the throne in prejudice of the rights of his nephew; but long confinement in the harem had reduced him to a state of hopeless idiotcy. The secret of his imbecility was betrayed by the kislaraga, and Othman, son of the late Sultan, was substituted in his place. In the beginning of Othman's reign war was declared against Poland; and a Turkish army passing the Pruth, advanced against the Poles, who were encamped on the Dniester. The battle which ensued revived for a time the old alarms of Christendom; the Poles were not merely defeated, but annihilated: out of fifty thousand men not more than four hundred succeeded in making their escape. The Sultan himself now resolved to take the field; he advanced northwards by slow marches, at the head of an army sufficient to ensure victory, were it not for the dissensions between his allies and his officers. Their quarrels rendered the campaign fruitless; the fortified camp of the Poles was seven times attacked, and seven times the assailants were repulsed with great loss. This useless effusion of blood soon wearied all parties, and peace was renewed on terms more favourable to the Poles than could have been reasonably expected. The ill success of this expedition alienated the hearts of the soldiers from the Sultan, and at the same time rendered Othman suspicious of the janissaries. He resolved in his next expedition to employ other troops, and when intelligence arrived of a revolt of the Druses, he signified his intention of proceeding to subdue the rebels at the head of an army levied in Egypt. A less cause would have provoked the janissaries to insurrection. They marched tumultuously to the palace, demanding the heads of those who had advised the Sultan to disregard their privileges. The first and second court of the palace were gained with little difficulty; but the mutineers paused in uncertainty as to their next proceeding, when some unknown person called out, "We will have Mustapha for our Sultan." The troops at once adopted the suggestion; search was made for the unfortunate idiot; he was found in a dungeon, where he had been kept two days without food; he was dragged thence, scarcely

conscious of his destiny, and recognised as sovereign by the soldiers and the people. Othman endeavoured to negotiate with the rebels; but they would not listen to his offers, and a detachment of spahís took him prisoner. After enduring the most revolting indignities, he was strangled by the command of Mustapha's mother, being the first Ottoman Sultan murdered by his revolted subjects.

A. D. 1622. The following fifteen months were a period of frightful anarchy. The spahís and janissaries wielded at their will the power of the state; the provinces refused obedience; the capital was an immense slaughter-house, where all parties made the name of the imbecile Mustapha an excuse for murder, until at length it was resolved once more to change the sovereign, and raise Morad, the eldest son of Ahmed, to the throne.

Morad IV. had not attained his twelfth year when he began to reign. Few have commenced their career under such un-

MORAD IV. favourable auspices; the factious soldiery compelled him to exhaust all the treasures of the state in largesses to gratify their avarice and prodigality; the rebel Abaza, under pretence of avenging the murder of Othman, devastated Syria, and Bagdad fell into the hands of the Persians. Morad, on receiving this intelligence, commanded that the Grand Vizier and some other dignitaries should be put to death; thus commencing the sanguinary career which procured for him the name of the Ottoman Nero. The new Vizier, Hafiz Pacha, marched against Abaza, and defeated the rebel; but this success was more than counterbalanced by the revolt of the Khans of the Crimea, and the incursions of the Cossacks on the northern frontiers. These fierce barbarians fitted out a fleet of boats, ravaged the European shores of the Bosphorus, and pursued their prey to the very entrance of the harbour of Constantinople. They subsequently ventured with their light shallops to attack the Ottoman fleet in the Black Sea, and would probably have succeeded in taking several of the galleys by boarding, had not a gale sprung up, which gave a decisive advantage to the large ships, and enabled them to run down the frail boats of the Cossacks.

Bagdad, regarded by the Mohammedans of all sects as a holy city, was coveted not only by the Sultan but by the meanest of his subjects; and no expedition could have been more popular than that undertaken by the Grand Vizier to recover it from the Persians. The Turks obtained many signal advantages in the commencement of the campaign; but these were all frustrated by the mutinies of the janissaries; their disorganization led to their total defeat under the walls of Bagdad, and a still more disastrous retreat through Mesopotamia, in which famine aided the swords of the enemy to destroy

the greater part of the army. These disasters led to a dangerous mutiny of the janissaries at Constantinople, which was not suppressed until the Sultan had yielded up two of his best ministers to glut the fury of the insurgents.

The new Vizier, Khalíl Pacha, having arranged some disputes which arose on the Polish frontier, and secured the shores of the Bosphorus from the incursions of the Cossacks, led an army into Asia to suppress the rebellion of Abaza, and to check the progress of the Persians. Abaza proffered submission, and opened the gates of Erzerúm to the janissaries; but receiving secret information that the Vizier was maturing some plan for his destruction, he resolved to anticipate the plot. His followers, at a given signal, turned their arms against the janissaries, and massacred them without mercy; of the entire body one private soldier only was spared to carry the intelligence to Constantinople. The campaign against the Persians was also disastrous. The Sultan was so indignant at his losses, that he deprived Khalíl of his office, and gave the seals of empire to Khosrew Pacha, who commenced his administration by putting to death the instigators of the recent mutinies. He then marched against Erzerúm, and advanced with so much rapidity that the rebels were taken unawares, and Abaza could only purchase life by immediate submission. The Grand Vizier, to the great indignation of some and the surprise of all, strictly observed the terms of the capitulation. He brought Abaza to Constantinople and presented him to the Sultan. Morad, who in secret did not altogether disapprove of Abaza's hostility to the turbulent janissaries, conferred the government of Bosnia on the chivalrous avenger of Othman, although Abaza was so ignorant of the geography of the country that he asked the imperial ambassador whether Vienna and Bohemia were not two castles on the frontiers of Hungary.

A. D. 1628.

During this time Constantinople was the centre of a series of diplomatic intrigues connected with the rising power of Bethlem Gabor. Bethlem Gabor. This bold adventurer having become Prince of Transylvania, as vassal to the Sultan, had wrested a large portion of Hungary from Austria, and induced the emperor to confirm his title. The great object of his ambition was the crown of Hungary, which he had not the courage to place upon his head; and concealing his ambition under the specious pretext of supporting evangelical liberty, he did all in his power to win the favour of the Musulmans. His principal support at Constantinople was the English ambassador Sir Thomas Roe, who deemed it essential to the safety of the Protestant religion, and the interests

of Protestant states, that the power of the House of Austria should be humbled. But Bethlem Gabor had no views beyond his own personal aggrandizement; he negotiated at the same time with the Emperor and the Sultan, equally disposed to betray both; but just as he was on the point of obtaining investiture of Wallachia and Moldavia, with the title of King of Dacia, a dropsy cut him off in the midst of his projects and his crimes.

As Morad advanced in years he became weary of the state of tutelage in which he was kept by his mother, and resolved to take upon himself the administration of public affairs. Encouraged by the death of Shah Abbas, the Vizier resolved to renew the war with Persia. His march through Asia was marked by a series of judicial murders, and by frequent revolts of the troops. At length he reached Mesopotamia, in the coldest season ever known in that climate, and finding that the swelling of the rivers rendered it impossible to advance upon Bagdad, he entered Kurdistân, and, after devastating the country, laid siege to Hamadan, the ancient Ecbatana. This rich and magnificent city was taken almost
A. D. 1629. without resistance; but never was triumph more cruelly used since the days of Jenghizkhan. The houses were consumed with flames, the fruit-trees wantonly cut down; the walls, which resisted the force of the conflagration, were battered to pieces by manual force; and all the inhabitants, without distinction of age or sex, were ruthlessly massacred. From Hamadan Khosrew proceeded through the frontier provinces to besiege Bagdad; but the intelligence of his cruelties, instead of daunting the Persians, had inspired them with the courage of despair: and, after sustaining enormous losses, the Vizier was forced to retire from the walls, and shelter the shattered remnant of his army behind the Tigris. The Sultan, who did not anticipate such a result, deprived Khosrew of his office; but the crafty Vizier intrigued with the troops, and excited a mutiny of the janissaries at Constantinople, scarcely less formidable than that which had led to the murder of Othman. The new Grand Vizier, in spite of Morad's tears and supplications, was murdered by the mutineers in the Sultan's presence; and the monarch himself was saved only by the rapidity with which his domestics closed the inner gates of the palace. Morad, having obtained an interval of tranquillity by yielding to the demands of the mutineers, directed his vengeance against Khosrew. The Vizier defended himself by force of arms against the general intrusted with the *firmân* for his execution; but being abandoned by his confederates, he voluntarily yielded his neck to the bowstring.

Rejeb, who succeeded to the office of Grand Vizier, being jealous

of the favour which a young man named Mousa enjoyed with the Sultan, stimulated the janissaries to a fresh revolt, under pretence of avenging the fate of Khosrew. This was far the most formidable rebellion which Morad had to encounter; not only was the favourite sacrificed, but the Sultan's deposition was openly proposed, and would have been effected but for the energetic resistance of the aga of the janissaries and a spahí named Rúm Mohammed, who possessed considerable influence over the troops. These disorders lasted more than two months, until at length Morad laid the axe to the root of the evil by putting to death the perfidious Rejeb. He then summoned the troops to appear before him, and having conciliated the janissaries by throwing the blame of the revolt on the spahís, he induced the former through affection, and the latter through fear, to swear an oath of passive obedience to his commands on the holy Koran. Thenceforward began the reign of terror. All the leaders of the revolt were sentenced to death, in spite of the promised amnesty, and except a very few, who received warning in time to make their escape, were massacred rather than executed. During this calamitous period, Arabia was devastated by civil wars, which led to the plunder of Mecca and the desolation of the Hejaz by the Ottoman troops; but Morad paid little attention to this distant war, being too much engaged in preserving the tranquillity of his capital. Every night the Sultan went round Constantinople, to see that his edicts requiring every passenger to carry a light, and prohibiting the use of coffee and tobacco, were strictly observed. Every morning strangled carcasses, exposed in the streets, proved how mercilessly these laws were enforced. The history of Morad's reign, for several years, is an unvaried repetition of massacres and executions: high and low were equally the victims of the tyrant, and no man could tell by what course he could escape from his jealousy and caprice.

Insurrection of the Janissaries at Constantinople. A. D. 1632.

The distracted state of Persia induced the Sultan to renew the war against that country; he took the command of his army in person, and his march was a series of frightful butcheries. Having succeeded in taking Erivân through the treachery of the Persian governor, Morad ventured on the long premeditated crime of fratricide; he ordered the officers who conveyed intelligence of his triumph to Constantinople to put his brothers Báyezíd and Suleiman to death, trusting that the joy of the citizens for victory would divert their attention from the fate of the unfortunate princes. But in this expectation he was disappointed; the citizens of Constantinople solemnized a general mourning instead of a general rejoicing, and even in the Sultan's

A. D. 1635.

camp the news of the crime produced discontents which would have proved dangerous had not the attention of the soldiers been directed to fresh enterprises. Tabríz was the next great object of Morad's hostility; the city was taken without difficulty, but it was nevertheless given up to plunder, and then consigned to the flames. On his return to Constantinople, Morad extended his tyrannical cruelties to the Europeans at Pera and the ambassadors from the Christian powers; but in the midst of his excesses he received intelligence that the Persians had ventured upon a winter campaign, and not only retrieved all their losses, but carried their arms into the Turkish provinces. Morad would have taken the field instantly, but the affairs of his European dominions required his attention, and though he solved most of his difficulties by the sword of the executioner, nearly two years elapsed before he found himself at leisure to undertake the siege of Bagdad. Dreading the popularity of Prince Kazím, the Sultan was guilty of a second fratricide ere he joined the army in Asia; and this crime was the first of a long series of murders which marked every halting-place on his march. After an obstinate resistance of forty days, the governor of Bagdad capitulated, but a quarrel having arisen between some Persian divisions and the janissaries while the garrison was evacuating the city, hostilities were renewed, and Morad commanded that no quarter should be given. Twenty thousand Persian soldiers were destroyed in obedience to this fatal mandate; and a few days after, in consequence of the explosion of a powder magazine, which it was supposed had been fired by design, ten thousand unarmed Persians, who resided in Bagdad and its vicinity, were butchered. The Shah was so disheartened by this calamity that he sought peace, and on condition of regaining Erivân, he abandoned Bagdad and its pachalick, which has ever since remained annexed to the dominions of Turkey. Soon after the Sultan's return to Constantinople he was attacked by a fever, the result of intemperance, but was recovering when he was invited to an entertainment by one of his favourites; the debauch in which he indulged on this occasion proved fatal in a few days; but when on the point of death, he gave orders for the execution of his brother Ibrahim, and exhibited great joy when he was informed, with pardonable duplicity, that the mandate had been executed. Ibrahim was secretly saved by the Sultana Walidè, who risked her own life on the occasion, for Morad insisted upon seeing his brother's body, and was with difficulty held down in bed by his attendants.

Ibrahim, whose life had been thus saved, was still hiding in a remote part of the harem when his officers came to announce his accession to the empire. Dreading that the

Ibrahim I.

intelligence was merely a cruel artifice of Morad, he refused to open the doors, and the ministers of state had to use violence before they could be admitted to the presence of their new sovereign. Equally weak in mind and body, wholly devoted to sensual pleasures, Ibrahim was wholly unfitted for the government of an empire, but in the early part of his reign these defects were concealed by the vigorous administration of his Grand Vizier, Kara Mustapha. This able minister arranged new treaties with Poland, Austria, and Persia, took Azov from the Cossacks, and put an end to their piracies in the Black Sea, and introduced several important reforms into the administration of the finances and the government of the provinces. But the Sultan, incapable of appreciating these benefits, and instigated by his favourites in the harem, to whom the stern demeanour of the Vizier was any thing but pleasing, was induced to pronounce sentence of death on Kara Mustapha, and his principal friends were involved in his fate. Having thus removed his Mentor, Ibrahim gave himself up to every species of debauchery, and wasted the treasures of the state on luxuries equally extravagant and absurd. In one of his debauches he named a favourite buffoon Aga of the janissaries, and a maker of artificial fireworks Kapitan Pacha or admiral of the fleet; they had the good sense to refuse this dangerous honour, but the fact of the offer having been made, became generally known, and excited great indignation in the fleet and army. It was partly to avert the dangerous consequenee of these discontents that war was declared against Venice, and an expedition fitted out for the conquest of the island of Crete. Having effected a landing, the Ottomans laid siege to Canea, which after a brief resistance, capitulated. Yússúf, its conqueror, returned to Constantinople in order to collect reinforcements for completing the conquest of the island, but on his remonstrating against an absurd command to put to sea before his fleet was refitted, he was strangled by the Sultan's order, though all the ministers of state united their efforts to save his life. His successors carried on the war with less vigour, but the Venetians were unable to resist the Ottomans effectually either in Dalmatia or Crete; and, as if the elements had conspired with the Turks, all their maritime forces in the Archipelago were annihilated by a violent tempest. But the incapacity of Ibrahim and his unworthy Grand Vizier, Ahmed Pacha, prevented the Turks from taking advantage of such favourable events, and when it was found that the Venetians had repaired their losses, discontent spread through the empire. The janissaries were loud in their murmurs; Ahmed, dreading their fury, resolved to destroy their leaders, whom he invited to a feast given in honour of the betrothing of

his son, to a daughter of the Sultan. The guests were warned in time of the plot devised for their destruction; they escaped to a mosque, where they assembled the janissaries, the spahís, the principal ministers of religion, and the doctors of law, and after a long discussion resolved to demand the head of the Grand Vizier. Ibrahim refused his assent, but his resistance only gave strength and extension to the mutiny; disregarding the Sultan's remonstrances, they put to death the Grand Vizier and several other royal favourites, after which they resolved to dethrone Ibrahim, and confer the sovereignty on his son Mohammed, a youth only seven years of age. So obvious was Ibrahim's incapacity, that even his mother acquiesced in the propriety of his deposition, on condition that his life should be spared; but the spahís having exhibited symptoms of a design to restore the dethroned Sultan, his guards strangled him in prison.

A. D. 1648.

The military revolution which had placed Mohammed on the throne was long the source of misery to Turkey; the licentious soldiers acted as if the government was their own, deposing and electing Viziers at their pleasure. Sofi-Mohammed having been raised to the office of prime minister by the janissaries, became odious to the spahís; the latter had recourse to arms under the pretence that it was their duty to avenge the murder of Ibrahim, while the janissaries resolutely defended the ministers of their choice. After a tedious and sanguinary struggle the spahís were defeated with great slaughter; but the Vizier had little reason to be proud of his victory, for he was henceforth the mere tool of the janissaries and their agas, by whose aid he had triumphed over his enemies. Weary of their tyranny, he attempted to form a party for himself, but the influence of the harem was exerted against him; he was deprived of office, and put to death. The provinces were not more tranquil than the capital; insurrections burst forth in various parts of the empire, and a second siege of Candia failed in consequence of the insubordination of the soldiers. For several years the history af Mohammed's reign offers nothing to the reader but mutinies of the troops, intrigues of the harem, and changes in the administration, the consequence of both. At length the defeat of the Ottoman fleet in the Dardanelles, the capture of Lemnos and Tenedos by the Venetians, and the increasing perils of the northern frontier, induced the hostile parties to consent that Koeprilii, whose abilities they all dreaded, should be appointed Grand Vizier; he refused to accept the office unconditionally, and the concessions he obtained rendered him virtually the absolute sovereign of the empire.

Mohammed IV.

A. D. 1556.

Koeprilii commenced his administration by putting to death the

principal leaders of the late revolts; he then strenuously exerted himself to retrieve the naval disasters of the Ottomans, but the cowardice of the janissaries enabled the Venetians to obtain a signal victory. On the third day after the battle of Mocenigo, the Venetian admiral, by way of bravado, paraded his squadron before the Turkish fort of Kúmtúrní, when the commander of the Ottoman artillery pointed one of the enormous cannons of the fort so skilfully, that the ball struck the magazine of Mocenigo's ship, which instantly exploded. The confusion into which the Venetians were thrown by this unexpected event, deprived them of the fruits of their former victory. Koeprilii gave dresses of honour to the few Ottomans who had exhibited courage in these battles, but at the same time he delivered to the executioner a multitude of every rank whose cowardice he had noticed. This severity restored discipline to the janissaries, and the first proof of their improvement was the recovery of Tenedos, which was reconquered in the very presence of the Venetian fleet. Lemnos was gained with equal facility, and the Ottomans recovered several of their losses in Dalmatia. The winter did not put an end to the operations of the active Vizier; he spent it in tranquillizing Transylvania, which was thrown into confusion by the ambition and intrigues of Prince Rakoczy, the worthy successor of Bethlem Gabor, and in preparations for an expedition to suppress the formidable revolt of Abaza Hassan in Asia Minor. The Sultan intended to have taken the command of this expedition in person, but the Vizier was unwilling to expose his master or himself to the turbulent janissaries, and he intrusted the army to Múrteza Pacha. Abaza, though victorious in the field, felt that the spirit of revolt could not long contend against habitual feelings of allegiance, and sought pardon: Múrteza treacherously invited the gallant rebel, with his chief associates, to Aleppo, and after having feasted them with apparent friendship, caused them all to be seized and murdered. The Vizier applauded this treacherous severity, which he emulated in his own administration; during the five years that he held the reins of power, he put to death more than thirty-six thousand persons, and even on his death-bed gave orders for fresh executions. But it would be unjust to attribute these massacres to Koeprilii's natural disposition, for it is probable that milder measures would have failed to remedy the anarchy which before his administration pervaded the empire.

Ahmed Koeprilii succeeded his father as Grand Vizier; and as the disputes respecting Transylvania had long been continued without any prospect of speedy termination, he was not disposed to protract debates, and having stated his ultima-

A. D. 1661.

tum to the Austrian ambassador, and not receiving a satisfactory answer, he resolved upon war, and led a more formidable army into Hungary than had appeared there since the days of Sultan Suleiman. The frontier fortress of Neuhausel made a brave resistance, but after its fall the imperialists seemed to have lost all hope; bands of Turks and Tartars ravaged Moravia, Silesia, and Hungary; they wasted the country with fire and sword, and brought back more than eighty thousand captives for sale in the slave-markets. Count Zinry, in a dashing winter campaign, retrieved the honour of the Hungarians, but in the ensuing spring the Ottomans recovered their superiority. At length a decisive battle was fought in the plains of St Gothard; the Turks and the imperialists displayed equal valour, but at length the scale of victory was turned in favour of the latter by the bravery of their French allies; and Koeprilii was so disheartened by the defeat, that he commenced negotiations, which soon led to a renewal of the former treaty between Austria and Turkey. The restoration of peace with Austria was followed by the renewal of the war against the Venetian republic; but before the Vizier sailed for Candia he threw into prison the Jewish imposter Sabathai Levi, whose claims to be received as the Messiah had been acknowledged, not only by the Jews in Turkey, but by their brethren in Leghorn, Venice, and Amsterdam. Sabathai was arrested by order of the Sultan, who resolved to make proof of his pretended miraculous claims by setting him up as a mark for the archers of his guard; upon this the impostor declared that he was only a simple rabbi, differing in nothing from his brethren. The Sultan then declared that he must choose between Islamism and impalement, upon which Sabathai declared himself a Mohammedan, but to save him from the vengeance of his former dupes, it was necessary to give him a small employment about the court. Having taken measures to suppress some disturbances in Egypt and Anatolia, Koeprilii proceeded to Crete, with a firm resolution not to quit the island until he had completed its conquest. After some naval skirmishes, which led to no result, the Vizier commenced the memorable siege of Candia, unparalleled in ancient and modern annals for its long duration, the importance attached to its possession, the multitude of the besiegers, the valour of the besieged, and the enormous number of mines exploded by both parties. During a period of more than two years the Venetian general Morosini kept the enemy at bay, and defeated fifty-six attempts to take the city by storm; the besieged fired eleven hundred and seventy-two mines, and the besiegers about four thousand; the losses of the former amounted to thirty thousand men, those of the

The Jewish imposter Sabathai Levi. A. D. 1666.

latter exceeded an hundred thousand. The Vizier granted the garrison an honourable capitulation, which was strictly observed; he remained nine months in Crete after the conquest of the island to regulate its government, and then returned to Constantinople covered with glory.

Conquest of Candia. A. D. 1669.

Peace had been scarcely concluded with Venice when war was declared against Poland. The loss of Kaminiec so terrified the Poles, that they sought a renewal of ancient treaties; but having failed to pay the stipulated subsidy, hostilities were renewed. Fortunately for the Poles, the command of their army was given to John Sobieski; he passed the Dneister on the ice, attacked the Turks in their entrenchments at Khorim, and obtained the most decisive victory which the Christians had gained for more than a century; out of thirty-two thousand Ottomans scarcely more than fifteen hundred succeeded in making their escape from the field of slaughter. A second and scarcely less important victory at Lemberg secured the safety of Poland, but the turbulent disposition of the Polish aristocracy prevented Sobieski from reaping all the advantages which might have been expected from such brilliant success. These defeats induced the Vizier to listen to proposals of peace; scarcely was the treaty concluded when Koeprilii was attacked by dropsy, produced by his indulgence in wine and brandy, which proved fatal in spite of the efforts of his physicians. He held the reins of power longer than any other Vizier mentioned in the Ottoman annals, and no minister in these records could compete with him in energy, integrity, and ability.

A. D. 1672.

Kara Mustapha, the new Vizier, was anxious to declare war against Austria, in the hope that by aiding Tekeli and the other insurgent nobles of Hungary he might be able to render that kingdom tributary to the Sultan; but the affairs of the Russian frontier engaged him in hostilities with the Czar. The Ottomans were unfortunate in two campaigns, and the name of the Russians, hitherto despised, began to be formidable at Constantinople. When these disputes were reconciled, the Sultan announced his designs on Hungary by conferring the title of King on Tekeli, and levying an army better organized than any which the Turks had yet possessed. At Essek, the Turkish troops under the command of the Grand Vizier, formed a junction with the Hungarian insurgents headed by Tekeli, and with a large body of Tartars from the Crimea. At a council of war it was resolved to march direct upon Vienna, and the army advanced to the Raab with unusual rapidity. The Imperialists made but a feeble resistance, and in a short time the Turks arrived before the walls of the

Administration of Kara Mustapha.

Austrian capital, after having destroyed every town and village on their route, and reduced forty thousand of the unfortunate peasantry to slavery. The history of the celebrated siege and deliverance of Vienna is well known. The garrison resisted the unparalleled fire of the Turkish artillery and mortar batteries until their munitions of war were exhausted, and their lines of defence reduced to heaps of ruins. At the very moment when ruin seemed certain, Sobieski, at the head of the Polish chivalry, was seen descending from the mountains of Kalemberg. He attacked the Turks in their camp, and completely routed their mighty army. All the camp equipage, artillery, baggage, and munitions of war belonging to the besiegers, became the prey of the victors. Kara Mustapha escaped with the sacred standard of Mohammed; but it was in vain that he attempted to revive the courage of the Turks; the Poles and the imperialists, pursuing their success, recovered most of the fortresses which had been wrested from the empire in the days of Suleiman; and the cruelty of the Vizier, who beheaded every governor that capitulated, only hastened his own ruin. While he was trying to organize a new army in Belgrade, the messengers of the Sultan arrived with the firmán for his execution, and he was strangled in his bed. But Mustapha's successor, Ibrahim Pacha, could not resist the progress of the imperialists, who though compelled to raise the siege of Ofen (Buda), gained many important advantages; while the Venetians, having renewed the war, captured Santa Maura and Prevesa. The ensuing campaign was still more unfortunate, but the fall of Ofen (Buda), the capital of Hungary, which the Turks themselves called the bulwark of Islamism, the fortress and key of the Ottoman empire, filled all the Sultan's dominions with consternation. With great difficulty an army was assembled and sent into Hungary, under the command of a new Vizier, but he was even more unfortunate than his predecessors, for he was routed with dreadful slaughter by the imperialists at Mohacz, in the very plains where one hundred and sixty years before the Hungarians had been deprived of their king and their independence. These misfortunes were followed by the loss of the Morea, which the Venetians, under the command of Morosini, conquered in a single campaign, and of the most valuable fortresses in Dalmatia and on the Gulf of Corinth. The janissaries attributed these calamities to the Sultan, whose passion for the chase, they said, diverted his attention from affairs of state. Abandoning all care of the war, they marched to Constantinople, dethroned Mohammed, and placed his brother Suleiman on the throne.

The deliverance of Vienna.

Dethronement and murder of Mohammed IV.

A. D. 1687.

Suleiman II., on his accession, had to encounter all the difficul-
Suleiman II. ties which usually beset a sovereign raised to the throne
A. D. 1691. by an insurgent soldiery. The janissaries and spahis, joined by the lowest of the populace, committed the most frightful excesses, attacking and storming the houses of the principal ministers of state, pillaging their property, and polluting the sanctity of their harems. At length the citizens were driven to take up arms in their own defence; the standard of Mohammed was displayed, and the insurgents, exhausted by their own violence, were forced to submit to the restoration of order. But during these commotions the imperialists on one side, and the Venetians on the other, extended their conquests in Hungaria, Bosnia, Greece, and Dalmatia, while the provinces, following the example of the capital, exhibited the most frightful pictures of anarchy and civil war. At length the fall of Belgrade seemed to announce the speedy overthrow of the Ottoman empire in Europe; a consummation which could scarcely have been averted had not the office of Grand Vizier been conferred upon Koeprilii, the brother of the conqueror of Candia. He recovered in a single campaign Nessa, Weden, Simendra, and Belgrade, and drove the imperialists back to the Save; but just as fortune was beginning to smile upon the Sultan, he fell a victim to dropsy, and was succeeded by his brother Ahmed II.

Koeprilii, confirmed in his office by the new Sultan, crossed the Danube and advanced to meet the imperialists at Peterwardein. The engagement which ensued was one of the most desperately contested during the war; its issue was uncertain until Koeprilii fell mortally wounded, upon which the Ottomans fled with precipitation, abandoning their artillery, baggage, and military chest, which, however, was nearly empty. The successors of Koeprilii were remarkable for nothing but their incapacity. The Poles, Austrians, and Venetians continued to press their advantages, and
Death of Ahmed II. A. D. 1695. the Ottomans everywhere were defeated. In this state of affairs Ahmed was seized with the same disease which had already proved fatal to his three brothers who preceded him, and died after a brief illness.

Mustapha II., on his accession, issued a proclamation imputing
Mustapha II. the recent calamities of the empire to the indolence of his predecessors, and declaring his resolution to undertake the conduct of the war in person. Two victories over the Venetian fleet, followed by the recovery of the island of Scio, diffused great joy through Constantinople at the commencement of the new reign, which was still further increased when the Sultan, having taken the field, captured Lippa, and exterminated its garrison. The imperialists, under the command of Veterani, occupied a fortified

camp at Lugos. The Sultan, with an army five times more numerous, attacked them in their entrenchments, and obtained a great victory, but it was so dearly purchased that he attempted no enterprise of importance during the rest of the campaign. The news of the victory, however, produced useful results in another quarter. Azov, which had been besieged by a Russian army under the command of Peter the Great, seemed on the point of falling, when the courage of the garrison was revived by intelligence of the victory at Lugos. They sallied forth, beat the Russians back to their camp, and compelled the emperor to retire, after he had lost thirty thousand men before the walls. The following campaign was destitute of importance, but in that which next ensued the fortune of the imperialists was amply retrieved by Prince Eugene. He overthrew the Turks at Zeuta with greater loss than they had yet suffered in any battle since the deliverance of Vienna; twenty thousand of their best troops fell in the field, ten thousand were drowned in an attempt to escape over the Theiss. Among the slain were the Grand Vizier, three inferior viziers, more than thirty agas of the janissaries, and the principal officers of the feudatory troops. The plunder was immense, including artillery, ammunition, baggage, and the military chest. Among the trophies were the Sultan's seal of state, usually entrusted to the Grand Vizier, seven horse-tail ensigns, and four hundred and twenty-three standards. From this defeat the Ottomans never recovered; they commenced negotiations through the mediation of England and Holland, which Peter the Great, who had retrieved his losses, and conquered Azov, vainly endeavoured to interrupt, and a treaty was commenced at Carlowitz between all the belligerent powers, which, after many protracted conferences, was happily concluded on the 26th of January 1699. (A. H. 1110.) This peace clearly manifested the decadence of the Turkish empire, which retarded for a while by the sanguinary measures of Morad IV. and the vigorous administration of Keoprilii, could no longer be arrested by Sultans or Viziers, nor concealed from the knowledge of all, by hordes of undisciplined troops, and idle boasts of superiority.

Peace of Carlowitz. A. D. 1699.

CHAPTER XIII.

FROM THE PEACE OF CARLOWITZ TO THE PEACE OF CAINARJE.

FROM A.D. 1699, A.H. 1110, to A.D. 1774, A.H. 1188.

THE peace of Carlowitz marks an interesting epoch in the history of the Ottoman empire; previous to that event the Turks had isolated themselves from European diplomacy, and regarded the changing politics of Christendom as matters of perfect indifference. They had also refused to recognise the civil existence of their Christian subjects, and treated them as slaves destitute of civil rights; but their recent reverses had abated their pride, and they now sought diplomatic relations with the European powers as eagerly as they had before avoided them, and they granted many important privileges to the various Christian communities subject to their dominion. Ambassadors from Austria, Poland, and Russia arrived in Constantinople to ratify the treaty of Carlowitz, and to arrange such additional articles as were necessary to complete the negotiations; they were received with unusual honours, and their additional demands were conceded without debate. This yielding disposition was produced by the dangers which menaced most of the provinces of the empire; perilous commotions arose successively on the frontiers of Persia, at Basra, in Arabia, in Egypt, in the African presidencies, and in the Crimea, which would have led to ruinous results if they had been accompanied by foreign war.

Diplomatic relations between the Turks and the Christian powers.

The canal of Diáb, which joins the Euphrates to the Tigris, having been long neglected, burst its banks, and instantly changed the fertile plains into a barren morass. It was impossible for the unfortunate peasants to pay the taxes imposed upon them; when an attempt was made to levy the impost they had recourse to arms, and were secretly instigated to perseverance by their Persian neighbours. The insurgents were finally defeated, and a pyramid of their heads attested equally the triumph and the cruelty of the conquerors; but the victory neither restored trade nor fertility to the plains of Diáb, and the Turkish finances were deprived of this

source of revenue at a time when it was most necessary to recruit the exhausted exchequer. This want of money prevented the Sultan from making the usual presents to the Arab hordes for protecting the pilgrims to Mecca, and they in revenge plundered the sacred caravans without scruple. The Turcomans and Kurds devastated the Asiatic provinces, several of the robbers were seized and their heads sent to Constantinople; but this severity, instead of intimidating the savage hordes, only added the stimulus of revenge to their love of plunder. In the Crimea, a disputed succession convulsed the entire country, and kept the Porte in constant fear lest the arbitration of Russia should be sought by the contending parties.

But these commotions did not arrest the wise reforms devised by Koeprilii; his first care was to alleviate the burthens imposed upon the Christian subjects of the Porte; he remitted the capitation-tax imposed upon them in Servia, and the arrears of the contribution to the war, which had been required from those of Greece and Syria; he inquired into the abuses in the enrolment of the janissaries, and struck off the lists several who received pay without performing any military service; finally, he introduced a more efficient system of naval discipline, and made promotion dependent on merit. But in the midst of his career an unforeseen misfortune led him to resign his office. His nephew Alibeg fell in love with one of the ladies of the harem, and made her acquainted with his passion; the secret was discovered by some enemies of the Vizier, who revealed it to the Sultan; the lovers were immediately put to death, and Koeprilii, equally grieved and indignant, solicited permission to retire. His resignation was accepted, but he did not long survive; he died in a few weeks, leaving behind him a reputation for wisdom and integrity which has not since been rivalled by any Turkish statesman.

A. D. 1702. At the instigation of the Grand Mufti Feizullah, the Sultan chose for his new Vizier Daltaban Pacha, an ignorant Servian, who could neither read nor write, but whose valour had rendered him popular with the soldiery. Daltaban commenced his administration by issuing an edict to regulate the dresses of Jews, Christians, and women, which obtained him more popularity with the fanatical Turks than Koeprilii had gained by all his wise edicts. He seized on the property of his predecessor, and persecuted all the members of the Koeprilii family; he also issued severe edicts against the Jesuit missionaries, who had been protected, if not encouraged, under the former administration. From the moment of his accession to power, Daltaban had formed plans for rekindling the war with Russia, and the disturbances in the

Crimea furnished him with a plausible excuse for assembling an army on the frontier; but he found himself unexpectedly opposed by the Mufti, and by Rami Pacha, who had negotiated the treaty of Carlowitz. The Vizier could devise no other means of quelling this opposition than poisoning the Mufti at a feast; he made preparations for the purpose, but the plot was revealed to Feizullah, who immediately made complaint to the Sultan. Daltaban had already alienated his master by the brutality of his manners, the accusation was consequently heard with favour, and the Vizier was summoned to the royal presence. He went readily, unsuspecting evil, but on his entrance Mustapha II. commanded him to resign his seals, and then ordered him to be committed to a close prison. Three days afterwards Daltaban paid with his head for the power which he had possessed for only four months.

Rami Pacha, the advocate of peace, was appointed Vizier. Like his predecessor, he owed his elevation to the influence of the Mufti, but unlike him he yielded too readily to all the suggestions of that ambitious priest. He resolved to carry out the reforms projected by Koeprilii, and introduced many beneficial changes in the financial system: by these judicious measures he raised a sufficient sum to defray the expenses of repairing the aqueducts at Adrianople, and to purchase from the Arabs protection for the caravans to Mecca. But whilst he neglected no honourable means of replenishing the exchequer, he shewed a rare example of equity and moderation in his personal affairs; he restored to the family of the Koeprilii the estates which Daltaban had seized, and during his administration no instance occurred of any interference with the inheritance of the officers of state, except they were indebted to the treasury. He punished with the bastinado some officers of the janissaries found guilty of peculation, and this severity was regarded as an insolent violation of their privileges by these turbulent soldiers. The chief source of his unpopularity, however, was his connection with Feizullah, whose relatives and dependents were thrust into the principal offices of state, though few of them were fit for such situations. Some delay in the payment of the troops produced a military riot at Constantinople, which, being encouraged by the officers, grew into a formidable insurrection. The citizens, irritated at the Sultan's long abode in Adrianople, favoured the revolters, and the Ulema, or chiefs of the law, declared that the rebellion was sanctioned by religion. The Sultan attempted to baffle the plans of the insurgents by protracted negotiations; but the janissaries at length grew impatient, and marched upon Adrianople, where they were joined by the forces which had been hastily levied by the Vizier. Mustapha

Insurrection of the Janissaries.

A. D. 1703.

II. was unwilling to hazard himself further in civil war; he went to his brother Ahmed, and simply announced to him, "Brother, the faithful demand you as their sovereign," and then laid the ensigns of dignity at his feet. Ahmed III. was immediately proclaimed, and to conciliate the revolters, he appointed the Grand Vizier, Mufti, and Aga of the janissaries whom they had selected.

Execution of the Grand Mufti.

The morning after his installation, as Ahmed III. proceeded in state to the mosque, the revolters surrounded his horse, and demanded the punishment of traitors, but especially of the Mufti Feizullah. The unfortunate Mufti had already been sent into exile, but he was brought back by his guards and delivered over to his enemies. Three days elapsed before his successor issued the *fetva* or legal decision which legitimated the execution of a minister of religion; during the interval he was treated with the greatest cruelty and indignity, and when the *fetva* arrived, all the ingenuity of malice was exercised in rendering his death painful and disgraceful. Clothed in his pontifical habits, he was placed on a sorry steed with his face to the tail, while a Jew was compelled to hold the bridle; when his head was cut off by the executioner, the infuriated populace seized his body, and literally tore it in pieces.

Ahmed, after witnessing this scene of horror, came to Constantinople, that according to usage he might be girt with the imperial sabre in the mosque of Ayúb. The ceremony was performed with great pomp; but it was a melancholy procession, for at its head the deposed Mustapha was borne in a close litter guarded by white eunuchs. Behind him came his mother, his sister, and thirty carriages filled with the ladies of his harem, from whom he was separated for ever. When the ceremonial was concluded, the deposed Sultan and his four sons were sent to the prison expressly erected for princes in the new seraglio, and there he died in a few months after his abdication.

Ahmed III. soon felt that he could not keep his throne unless he deprived the leaders of the late rebellion of their influence or their lives; he temporized until he got the most turbulent into his power, and then delivered them to the executioner. The life of the Vizier whom the insurgents had chosen was spared, but he was forced to resign all the treasure which he had illegally accumulated, and he was then exiled to Lepanto. Damad Hasan was appointed his successor, and the first act of his administration was highly creditable to his character. He sent for Rami Pacha, assured him of safety, and to protect his person and property, both of which were perilled in Constantinople, conferred upon him the government of Cyprus. His next care was to remove the remainder of those officers who

had been forced upon the Sultan during the late insurrection. He arrested the Mufti and the most turbulent of the Ulemas, and sent them on ship-board before they had time to communicate with their associates. Scarcely, however, had he performed this great service when he was deprived of his office, but was permitted to retain his rank and property. His successor, Ahmed Pacha, only held his place for a few months, and the seals of office were given to Mohammed Pacha, better known by the surname of Baltanji, or "the hewer of wood," for such had been originally his occupation. He soon proved his unfitness for office, and was forced to make room for Ali Pacha of Charlí, who, though of humble origin, displayed more wisdom in his administration than any of his immediate predecessors.

Escape of Charles XII. of Sweden into Turkey, A. D. 1709.

The administration of Ali Pacha was chiefly remarkable for the protection afforded to Charles XII. of Sweden after his defeat at Pultowa; the reasons that induced the royal fugitive to seek shelter in Turkey have been inadequately described by his biographers, but the recent publication of the Ottoman archives shews that the Swedish monarch was actuated by no sudden impulse, but rather adopted the wisest course open to him at the time. The Porte had long been jealous of the increasing power of Russia; the progress of the Swedish war was therefore watched with anxiety, and Ali Pacha was particularly anxious to have an accurate account of the successes obtained by Charles or Demírhas (the iron-headed) over Ak-bik (the white-bearded), Peter of Russia. For this purpose he commissioned Yúsúf Pacha, the governor of Oczakow, to send an ambassador to congratulate Charles upon his victories, and to suggest the expediency of his forming an alliance with Turkey. The hope of receiving Turkish aid induced Charles to hazard the battle of Pultowa, and after his ruinous defeat he resolved to fly into Turkey, not so much for the purpose of finding refuge, as claiming the fulfilment of the Vizier's promises. He sent a thousand of the Swedes who had escaped from Pultowa into Moldavia as a corps of observation on the Polish frontier, and addressed pressing solicitations to the Porte to prepare an army with speed. But though the Vizier was anxious for war, the Sultan was resolved on the maintenance of peace, and his reluctance to hostilities could not have been overcome but for an act of imprudence on the part of the Russians themselves. They suddenly crossed the Moldavian frontier, surprised the Swedish corps of observation at Czernowitz, and cut the greater part of it to pieces. This violation of the Ottoman territory excited great indignation at Constantinople; the Porte was seriously alarmed for its frontiers, and for the safety of the

king of Sweden, whom it deemed itself bound in honour to protect with all the means in its power. All the disposable forces in Rumelia were ordered to advance to the frontiers, and a fortified camp was formed near Bender, where Charles had taken up his abode. At the same time, however, negotiations were commenced with Russia, and instead of giving Charles an auxiliary force, the Porte offered to act as mediator between him and Augustus, King of Poland. Charles complained bitterly of the duplicity of the Vizier, and found means to have his grievances made known to the Sultan. Ahmed was indignant on finding that the intrigues of Ali had brought him so perilous a guest; he immediately deprived him of his office, and conferred the dignity of Vizier on Nooman Koeprilii, whose ancestors had rendered such services to the empire. But the administration of Koeprilii was unworthy of his fame; resolved to do every thing himself, he wasted his time in the petty details of business, while the more important affairs of the empire were either neglected or intrusted to unworthy favourites. But he was guilty of a more perilous error; while he wrote urgent letters to the King of Sweden to return to his own country, he spread a report that the Sultan was about to send a numerous army with Charles into Poland. The deception did not answer the expected purpose of intimidation, but it confirmed Charles in his obstinacy, and it spread a desire for war through the ranks of the janissaries, and indeed, of the whole Turkish army.

Koeprilii was removed from the administration, and Baltanji Mohammed was again summoned to assume the office of Vizier. War was forced upon the Sultan and his minister, but they made the best preparations to ensure success; the Vizier commanded in person, and the equipment of the army was superintended by the Sultan. The Russian emperor having weakened his army by sending large detachments into Moldavia and Wallachia, posted himself in an entrenched camp between the Pruth and a morass, but his position was commanded by the neighbouring heights, which the enemies secured, and thus effectually prevented his advance or retreat. Harassed by hunger and thirst, the fire of the Turkish artillery, and the desultory attacks of the Crimean Tartars, Peter must have surrendered at discretion, had not the Empress Catherine, who accompanied him in the campaign, sent all her jewels as a present to the Vizier, and thus induced him to commence negotiations. Baltanji Mohammed concluded the treaty in spite of the remonstrances of the Crimean Khan and the King of Sweden; the conditions were onerous to Russia, but yet were not so advantageous to Turkey, as the Sultan might reasonably have expected from the aspect of affairs. Baltanji

Danger of the Russians averted by a treaty of peace. A. D. 1711.

was deprived of his office, but his successors resolved to maintain the peace, and the Sultan, wearied of the intrigues which the King of Sweden directed, resolved to send him to his own dominions. Charles, as is generally known, refused obedience; with only three hundred Swedes he fought against six thousand Turks and twenty thousand Tartars, until he was overwhelmed by numbers and sent prisoner to Demotika. After remaining a captive for nearly eleven months, Charles at length saw that his hopes of receiving aid from Turkey were visionary; he therefore sought and obtained permission to return home. Nearly at the same time the treaty with Russia was confirmed, and some of the most rigorous demands of the Porte were so modified as to leave Peter the Great nearly in the same condition he was before the war.

Departure of Charles XII. from Turkey.

The new Grand Vizier, Ali of Nicea, made these concessions to Russia because he had formed a project of wresting the Morea from the Venetians, the accomplishment of which required all the forces that the Ottoman Empire had at its disposal. Though much time was spent in preparations for the invasion, the Venetians neglected the measures necessary for their defence, and when the Turks appeared before Corinth, the fortifications were found in such a dilapidated state as to be incapable of protracted resistance. At the moment that the citadel was about to be attacked by storm, the garrison surrendered on terms; but the blowing up of a powder magazine, either by chance or treachery, of which the Venetians and Turks mutually accuse each other, was deemed a breach of the capitulation,—a general pillage and massacre ensued, and most of the citizens of Corinth, whether Greeks or Venetians, were put to the sword. The capture of Corinth was followed by the immediate surrender of the island of Egina and the city of Argos; Napoli di Romania was taken after a brief siege, and the other fortified places of the Morea speedily shared the same fate. After having conquered the Peninsula in about a hundred days, the Grand Vizier returned to Adrianople, where he was honoured with a triumphal entry.

Recovery of the Morea.

His success in the Morea inspired the Vizier with such confidence that he ventured to declare war against Austria; he assembled a numerous army at Belgrade, and crossing the Save on pontoons, marched upon Peterwaradin, which he hoped to take by surprise. But Prince Eugene, though with inferior forces, hastened to the defence of the town, and took up a strong position behind the entrenchments which the Turks had erected when besieging the place in a former war. The battle which ensued was long doubtful, but at length the German dis-

War with Austria.

cipline prevailed, the Turkish cavalry was hurled back on the infantry, and the whole army became a mass of confusion. The Vizier made vigorous efforts to rally his troops, but he was at length struck down by a mortal wound, and his soldiers not only abandoned the field of battle, but their camp and baggage. Prince Eugene followed up his victory by laying siege to Temeswar, the last bulwark of the Turks in Hungary, and, after a lapse of one hundred and seventy-five years, this important fortress was restored to Christendom.

Peace with Austria.

The attention of all Europe was soon fixed on Belgrade, to which Prince Eugene laid siege; numbers of the French and German princes came to tender him their services as volunteers, while the best generals of the Austrian army sought to be employed under so illustrious a commander. Ibrahim, the new Vizier, advanced against the imperialists with an army more than double their numbers, but he was routed with dreadful slaughter; his artillery, baggage, and military chest were abandoned to the conquerors, and Belgrade capitulated the second day after the battle. Negotiations for peace were soon after commenced under the mediation of England and Holland; after long delay a treaty was concluded, which confirmed Austria in the possession of Belgrade, but at the same time allowed the Turks to retain the Morea and the islands they had taken from the Venetians.

Disadvantageous as this peace was for Turkey, its conclusion was hailed with equal pleasure by the Sultan and his subjects. Damad Ibrahim, instead of sharing the usual fate of Viziers who had made unsuccessful campaigns, was received with the highest honours, and his progress from the frontiers to the capital was one continued triumph. After his return he devoted all his energies to maintaining peace with the neighbouring powers of Austria and Russia, nor could all the representations of the English ambassador engage him to manifest the slightest interest in the political disputes which agitated the north and the west of Europe. He took advantage of the tranquillity which his policy had secured to indulge his taste for shows and buildings. Under his administration the Mohammedan festivals were celebrated with unusual splendour, the mosques in the principal cities renovated, the fortifications on the frontiers repaired, and the palaces of the Sultan decorated with more architectural taste than had yet been manifested in Turkey. But while the Vizier was thus engaged, the distracted condition of Persia afforded an opportunity of Russian aggrandizement, which excited great alarm in Constantinople. The Afghans having captured Ispahan, and compelled Shah Hossein to resign his diadem to their leader, easily made themselves masters of the southern and

eastern provinces; Prince Tahmasp, who had resolved to maintain his hereditary rights, sought assistance from Russia and Turkey, but was informed that he could only obtain aid by ceding the northern provinces to the one, or the western provinces to the other. While he hesitated between the two sacrifices, Peter the Great appeared with an army on the frontiers, and this promptitude induced Tahmasp to embrace the Russian alliance. His determination excited equal alarm and indignation in Constantinople; it was deliberated in the Divan whether war should not be immediately proclaimed against Russia; but after a long debate, the pacific counsels of the Vizier prevailed, and it was resolved to conclude a partition-treaty, by which both parties might indemnify themselves for their services in restoring tranquillity to Persia. In this treaty the Vizier was signally duped by Russian diplomacy; the Czar's share was strictly defined by the rivers Araxes and Kur, while the Turco-Persian frontier was so loosely settled, that it must have been designedly left open for the future chances of war or negotiation.

A brief campaign gave the Turks possession of the districts which had been assigned them by the partition-treaty, and Ibrahim, exulting in the restored tranquillity, directed his attention to internal improvements, amongst which may be mentioned the first establishment of a printing-press in Constantinople. But while he was thus worthily engaged, a new revolution in Persia threw the Turkish Empire into unexpected confusion. Tahmasp having, by a sudden change of affairs, regained the throne of his ancestors, demanded the restoration of the provinces which had been so recently wrested from the Persians; and before the Vizier could organize an army for their protection, captured the principal towns on the frontiers. This intelligence produced a revolt of the janissaries, who attributed these reverses to treachery; the insurrection, which might easily have been suppressed in the outset, was allowed to gather strength, until resistance became unavailing. The Sultan tried to conciliate the rebels by the sacrifice of his Vizier and two other obnoxious officers, but finding that the insurgents still persevered, he abdicated the throne, and with his own hand placed the ensigns of imperial dignity on the head of his nephew. Placed on the throne by one revolution, and after a reign of twenty-seven years compelled to abdicate by another, Ahmed III. is one of the most memorable of the Ottoman sovereigns; if his administration was not brilliant, it was beneficial, especially after he had bestowed his confidence on Damad Ibrahim. Though forced to yield Belgrade to the Austrians, he recovered Azov from the Russians, and the Morea from the Venetians, and he greatly extended his eastern

Abdication of Ahmed III. A. D. 1703.

frontiers at the expense of Persia. Two kings, Charles of Sweden and Stanislaus of Poland, had been dependents on his hospitality, and his states were proverbially a refuge for the unfortunate. To him Constantinople was indebted for many beautiful edifices and useful institutions, particularly four public libraries and a printing establishment.

Mahmúd, who had been thus suddenly called to the throne, found much difficulty in appeasing the turbulent janissaries. A fortnight elapsed before the tranquillity of Constantinople was restored, and the shops opened; during this period the insurgents destroyed the favourite pleasure houses and gardens which Ahmed had erected in the European fashion, and massacred several officers who were obnoxious for the strictness of their discipline. To prevent any renewal of the disturbances, the chief leaders of the revolt were inveigled into the palace and treacherously murdered. The janissaries attempted a new insurrection, but the Vizier Kabakulak secured the support of the greater part of the army, and compelled them to lay down their arms. His punishment of the rebels by public executions and private assassinations was atrocious. The Turkish historians aver, that in six months no less than fifteen thousand perished by his means. The war with Persia was renewed; the Turks recovered some of the losses which they had suffered at the close of Ahmed's reign, and Tahmasp hasted with a large army to protect his frontiers. Instigated by the boasts and flatteries of his courtiers, Tahmasp gave battle to the Turks near Hamadan. The contest was fierce but brief; the Turkish cavalry cut that of the Persians to pieces, and then falling on the flanks of the infantry, threw their lines into ruinous confusion. The Persians lost all their artillery, baggage, and ammunition; Hamadan surrendered on the day after the battle, and Tahmasp lost in one day all that the genius and courage of his general had gained for him in the preceding campaign.

Notwithstanding this victory, the Turkish leaders, probably fearing that Tamas Kouli Khan, (better known by the name of Nadir Shah,) who commanded the Persian armies in the East, might march with a new army against them, concluded a treaty with Tahmasp on terms more favourable than the Shah could have expected. The public indignation at their concessions was so great, that the Sultan deemed it prudent to dismiss the Grand Vizier and the Mufti, who had been the most prominent in recommending peace. But the treaty was still more unpopular in Persia; Kouli Khan, on his return to Ispahan after the conquest of Herat, dethroned Tahmasp, and set in his place a shadow of sovereignty, in the person of a child not a month old; he then demanded the re-

A. D. 1732.

storation of all the places which the Turks had wrested from the Persians, and scarcely waiting for a reply, he invaded the pachalic of Bagdad. The Persians laid siege to the renowned city of the Khaliphs, but a Turkish army marched to its relief; and Kouli Khan, or, as he now began to be callad, Nadir, was signally defeated. In a second engagement he was more successful; but finding that a Turkish war interfered with his ambitious designs in Persia, he commenced negotiations; before they could be brought to a conclusion, Nadir contrived to involve the Sultan in a war with Russia.

War with the Empress Catherine of Russia.

In consequence of the successes of the Persians in the northern provinces, the Porte directed the Khan of Tartary to lead an army through the Caucasus, and on his march to strengthen the bonds of allegiance by which the mountain-tribes were united to the Sultan. This expedition excited jealousy and alarm in the Russian authorities; they threatened to resist the advance of the Tartars by force; and the Khan, after having traversed the greater part of the Caucasian provinces, received so severe a check from a Russian detachment, that he commenced a retreat. Nauplieff, the Russian minister at Constantinople, sharply complained that the territories of his mistress had been violated; to which the Divan rejoined, that the province of Kabarta, where the skirmish took place, did not belong to Russia, and that the Russian invasion of Poland was a more atrocious violation of treaties than the march of the Tartars. These discussions were the first revelation of the plans which had been formed in St Petersburgh for the occupation of the Caucasian countries, including Georgia and Circassia; and during the century which has since elapsed, these plans have been steadily pursued, through good and adverse fortune. The resistance to the march of the Tartars procured Russia a very favourable treaty with Persia, and this inspired the Czarina with such confidence, that she ordered her generals to lay siege to Azov, without the formality of a declaration of war. Surprised, but not intimidated, the Sultan broke off further negotiations, and sent an army to the frontiers. Fourteen days after the departure of the janissaries, the deposed Ahmed was poisoned; for it was believed that his presence in the palace might suggest plans of insurrection, should any reverses occur in the war against Russia and Persia.

Nadir's successes in Daghistan and Georgia made the Porte anxious for peace, which the victor was not unwilling to grant, as he had now openly usurped the throne, and was anxious to be formally recognised as Shah of Persia. It is a singular proof of Nadir's wisdom, that, in the articles of the treaty, he laid the foundation of a union between the chief Mohammedan sects; and though

his plans for effecting so desirable an object were eventually frustrated, yet during his reign there was a sensible abatement of the hostility which, since the days of the Khaliphs, has raged between the Sunnites and Shiites.

In the meantime the Russians invaded and overran the Crimea. The defence of the peninsula had been intrusted to the Khan, but it was so badly conducted, that many believed he had been bribed to betray his country. While the Divan deliberated on the means of repairing these disasters, it was notified that if war continued, Austria would join Russia; and at the same time terms of peace were proposed, which would have compromised the existence of the Ottoman empire. The Sultan rejected the proffered terms, and addressed a circular to all the European powers, justifying himself for not complying with such exorbitant demands. His courage was not manifested in vain; though the Russians stormed Oczakow and devastated the Crimea, the Austrians were everywhere defeated, and forced with great loss to retreat beyond their own frontiers. A second campaign proved still more favourable to the Turks; the Russians were forced to confine themselves to their entrenched camp in the Crimea; but the Austrians suffered three great defeats, which deprived them of all influence in Servia and Bosnia. By violating the Polish territory, the Russians were enabled to penetrate into Bessarabia and Moldavia; but the atrocious outrages perpetrated by their Cossacks, and sanctioned by their generals, alienated the Christian population of these provinces, and confirmed the boyars in their allegiance to the Sultan.

A. D. 1733.

The alliance of Austria and Russia against Turkey.

The campaign of the Russians in Bessarabia and Moldavia coincided with one of the most singular and disgraceful negotiations in which Austria had ever engaged with the Ottomans. Disappointed by the results of the first campaign, the Court of Vienna empowered the generals Wallis and Niepperg to make proposals of peace. The negotiators acted independently of each other, and their subordinate agents exceeded the instructions of both; after an unparalleled display of cowardice and incapacity, a treaty was signed, by which the Austrians consented to abandon Belgrade and all the acquisitions they had obtained in the former war by the valour of Prince Eugene. Russia was included in the treaty of Belgrade, but she was better served by her diplomatists, and obtained some addition of territory with a secure frontier. The peace of Belgrade was one of the most glorious ever concluded by the Ottomans; it was to Austria, what the treaty concluded by Peter the Great on the banks of the Pruth was to Russia. But the re-

Peace of Belgrade.

verses which the Austrians suffered in the field resulted rather from the incapacity of their generals than from the valour or ability of the Turks, and their sacrifices in the treaty were owing more to the precipitancy and jealousy of their negotiators than to the diplomatic skill of their opponents. The frontier established between Austria and Turkey by the treaty of Belgrade, was the the line of the Czerna and Unna; it subsists, with some insignificant changes, to the present day.

There were many points left open for discussion in the treaty of Belgrade, but in arranging them the Porte manifested a desire for conciliation, which was probably inspired by the approach of a new war with Persia. Nadir Shah was anxious to gain possession of the cities, which the Persians regarded as holy, from their connexion with the misfortunes of Ali's family, and he deemed the possession of the pachalic of Bagdad necessary to the security of his dominions. But his pretext for declaring war was, that the religious articles in the late treaty had not been executed. After a sanguinary but indecisive struggle, peace was restored on nearly its former conditions. During this war, Turkey was continually brought into closer connexion with the general policy of Europe, and Constantinople became the centre of diplomatic intrigues, which, without leading to any immediate result, brought the Porte to be regarded as an integral part of the European system, and the integrity of its empire to be estimated as an important element in arranging the balance of power. A treaty offensive and defensive was concluded between Turkey and Sweden; negotiations for a similar treaty between Turkey and France, directed against the Empress Maria Theresa, was on the point of being signed, when intelligence arrived of her having made peace with Prussia; the Porte was alarmed at the number of forces thus left at her disposal, and wisely refused to risk any interference in the war of the Austrian succession. Soon afterwards the treaty of Belgrade was rendered perpetual; Maria Theresa was acknowledged heiress of the empire, her husband, Francis of Lorraine, was recognised as emperor, and an additional treaty concluded with him in his capacity of Grand Duke of Tuscany. Soon afterwards the murder of Nadir Shah by some of his officers, and the civil wars which distracted Persia, relieved the Sultan from all anxiety respecting his eastern frontiers; he took advantage of the peace and security thus afforded him to indulge his taste for building and expensive shows, and thus lost the opportunity of repairing the injuries which the late expensive wars had inflicted on the Turkish finances.

A. D. 1743.

While the empire was thus at peace with surrounding na-

tions, its internal tranquillity was disturbed by revolts in almost every province, and repeated attempts at insurrection in the capital. These, with one exception, were finally crushed by the energy of the government; but the excepted case was a war of religion which long threatened ruin to the entire system of Islamism. Abd-al-Waheb, an Arab of the Wahabè tribe, believing that the primitive faith of Islam had been corrupted by practice, began to preach the necessity of a reformation; his austerities, his reputation for wisdom, and his eloquence, gained a multitude of converts, and as his strength increased, he began to use force against the refractory. The temptations of plunder were added to the stimulants of religious zeal; and a share of the booty taken in battle was always distributed among the conquerors, according to the strict law of the Koran. Mohammed ebn Saoud, who had married the daughter of Abd-al-Waheb, was the first military champion of the new doctrines; and though his forces were few, his enterprises displayed so much daring as to produce great alarm in Constantinople. The Sultan issued a proclamation against the new sect, which the jealousy between the Turkish governors in Arabia rendered abortive. But the excitement produced by the schism, combined with Mahmúd's natural tendency to superstition, had a fatal effect on the Sultan's health. He died on his return from the mosque, after a glorious reign of twenty-four years, and was succeeded by his brother, Othman III.

Rise and progress of the Wahabees.

A. D. 1754.

Othman, taken from the palace or rather prison where the Ottoman princes were jealously confined, to enter on an active career of life, displayed that mixture of gloom and impatience usually produced by long seclusion. He affected to blame the conduct of his brother, though he was too timid to make sudden changes in the administration; he particularly censured the laxity of manners which had been produced by the increasing intercourse with Europeans, and issued sumptuary edicts regulating the dresses of the different classes of his subjects, and particularly requiring that females should be kept in strict seclusion. It was his custom to stroll in disguise through the streets of Constantinople for the purpose of learning the opinions of his subjects; but artful courtiers penetrated his disguise, and took care that he should only meet those who were prepared to forward their interests. During his reign the fires in Constantinople were frequent and most destructive; but the Sultan had not energy sufficient to check the discontent to which the greater part of these fires was attributed, and his incessant changes of Viziers produced confusion in all branches of the administration. His last appointment, Raghíb Mohammed Pacha, was, however, highly creditable; he was the most learned

Othman III.

Vizier who had appeared in Turkey for more than a century, and the last that deserved to rank as a statesman. Othman died before he could reap the benefits of this appointment, and was succeeded by his cousin, Mustapha III. the son of the deposed Ahmed.

Death of Othman, A. D. 1757. Mustapha III.

Raghíb was retained as Grand Vizier by the new sovereign, who bestowed on him the highest marks of favour, and gave him his sister in marriage. Raghíb contrived to persuade Mustapha that he really exercised supreme power; but every matter of importance was transacted by the Vizier alone, while the Sultan was amused by superintending public buildings and regulating the costume of his subjects. Though there were some petty insurrections in the northern provinces of Asiatic Turkey, and some disturbances excited by the Wahabees in Arabia, yet the empire rarely enjoyed so much internal tranquillity as during the administration of Raghíb. Never since has the Porte been so respected by European powers: Christendom was divided by the great seven years' war, and the alliance of Turkey was eagerly sought by the contending parties. Influenced by the English ambassador, Porter, the Vizier contemplated a league, offensive and defensive, with Frederic the Great of Prussia, based on the commercial treaty which he had already concluded with that power. Preliminaries were arranged, when the death of Raghíb put an end to a project which would have endangered the house of Austria; Mustapha, who was more inclined to favour the court of Vienna than that of Berlin, openly censured the policy of the late Vizier, and declared his resolution to adopt a contrary course.

After the death of Raghíb, Mustapha took the administration into his own hands, and made the successive grand viziers the mere instruments of his will. Equally energetic and capricious, he changed the governors of provinces and the officers of state so often, that few had time to learn the duties of their station before they had to yield their posts to more ignorant successors. Such vacillation produced disturbances in most of the provinces, but especially in Georgia and the adjacent districts. The Imeritans were from the time of the conquest obliged not only to pay an annual tribute in money, but also as many slaves as the governor chose to demand; instigated by the Russians, they declared that supplying slaves was contrary to the principles of the Christian religion; force was employed to compel compliance with the demand, and the Imeritans flew to arms. The Montenegrins of Bosnia also raised an insurrection to procure a redress of grievances, and discontent almost approaching to revolt appeared among the Christians of Moldavia and Wallachia. These disturbances were attributed to Russian

intrigues; the Sultan complained to the cabinet of St Petersburgh, but the evasive replies he received, inspired him with personal enmity to the empress Catherine, who had just seized the throne of Russia.

Premature declaration of war against Russia, A. D. 1768.

A graver source of anxiety arose from the interference of Russia in the affairs of Poland, and the close union between the courts of St Petersburgh and Berlin in their Polish policy. With his usual foresight, Raghíb had declared that the alliance between Frederic the Great and Czar Peter III. was an untoward event equally perilous to Turkey and Poland; Mustapha shared in this belief, and not unreasonably feared that the occupation of Warsaw was preliminary to a march on Constantinople. After a long series of discussions with the European ambassadors and the members of the divan, the Sultan resolved on war, contrary to the advice of his wisest counsellors, who recommended that hostilities should be avoided until the frontiers were put in a proper state of defence. Mustapha, equally obstinate and impatient, would brook no delay; the Russian ambassador was sent to the Seven Towers; the warlike Khan of the Crimea, who had been long in disgrace, was restored to power; and the sacred standard of the Prophet was unfolded with more than usual pomp. The last event had nearly produced fatal consequences; the envoy of Austria, with his family, went to see this pompous ceremonial; unfortunately the mob, whose fanaticism on such occasions is wrought to the highest pitch, discovered that Christian spectators witnessed the solemnity; a band of infuriated bigots stormed the house in which the envoy stood, severely injured himself and his family, and would have torn them to pieces but for the prompt interference of the authorities. A large bribe induced the envoy to pardon this insult, but his forgiving disposition was not pleasing to the court of Vienna, and he was immediately recalled.

Southern Russia devastated by the Tartars of the Crimea.

The war was commenced by the Khan of the Tartars, who made an incursion into Southern Russia at the head of more than a hundred thousand men, and laid waste the entire country with fire and sword. He returned laden with booty, and followed by thousands of captives consigned to slavery; but before he could make arrangements for a second incursion he was poisoned by his physician, who was said to have been bribed by a Russian agent. The Porte named as his successor Dewlet Gheraï, a prince utterly destitute of courage or capacity. The empress Catherine made the most vigorous preparations to carry on the war; four armies were formed along the frontiers; arms and ammunition were supplied to the insurgent Georgians and Imeritians on one side, and to the Montenegrins on

the other, so that Turkey was at the same moment assailed on the north, the east, and the west. Success at first seemed not to correspond with these exertions; Prince Galitzin crossed the Dniester and advanced to besiege Choczim, which its governor Hasan was prepared to surrender; but before the Russians arrived Hasan was slain by the garrison, and the intrepid Kahreman elected governor in his place by the mutinous soldiers. Galitzin, disappointed in obtaining the place by capitulation, hazarded an assault, but he was repulsed with such slaughter, that he deemed it prudent to retire beyond the Dniester. The Sultan was so delighted with this dawn of success, that he assumed the title of *Ghazi* or Champion of the Faith, and commanded the Grand Vizier to hasten his march to the frontiers. The army marched slowly; those who were intrusted with the charge of procuring provisions neglected their duty, and the Vizier himself shared in the system of peculation. Choczim was a second time fruitlessly assailed, but the Turks were unable to profit by the disaster of the Russians; Kahreman, who hastened to bring news of this second victory, was treacherously murdered, and the Vizier made no attempt to pursue the retreating enemy. Mustapha was violently enraged when he found that the expectations he had formed from early success were disappointed; he vented his rage on his ministers, and on the same day the heads of the Grand Vizier, the Prince of Moldavia, and the chief interpreter of the Porte, were displayed at Constantinople. But these executions could not remedy the disorders of the army, which melted away from the want of pay and provisions; Choczim, on a third attempt, yielded to the Russians, and the Turks abandoned the greater part of Wallachia and Moldavia. As the boyars of these countries seemed willing to submit to the Russians, a *fetva* was imprudently issued at Constantinople sanctioning the massacre of all the Moldavians and Wallachians who yielded to the Russians, and enjoining that their goods should be confiscated and their children enslaved. The immediate results were, that the boyars claimed the protection of Russia, and formally transferred their allegiance to the empress.

Successes of the Russians.

Whilst the *fetvas* fulminated by the ecclesiastical authorities increased the spirit of revolt in Moldavia and Wallachia, the Mainotes in the south of Greece were induced to hazard an insurrection by the intrigues and promises of Russia. In the first year of the war, a Russian fleet destined for the Archipelago sailed from Cronstadt; the intelligence of the expedition produced not less surprise than alarm at Constantinople, for the Turks were so ignorant of geography that they could not conceive how there could be a maritime communication between the Baltic

Revolt of the Morea.

and the Mediterranean. When the Russians actually appeared on the coast of Greece, a formal complaint was addressed to the Venetians for permitting their passage through the Adriatic Sea, which the Divan supposed to have been the only means of communication with the Baltic. The handful of men landed by the Russians could give no effectual assistance to the Greeks; after a brief struggle the insurgents were abandoned by their allies, the power of the Turks restored, and the revolt punished by a ruthless and indiscriminate massacre.

From Greece the Russians sailed in search of the Turkish fleet, which was stationed in the port of Tchesmè, on the coast of Asia Minor. In the engagement that ensued the ships of the Turkish and Russian admirals took fire at the same time, and were blown up with the greater part of their crews. This calamity suspended the engagement, but in the course of the following night the Russian fire-ships sent into the bay set fire to the Turkish fleet, which was absolutely annihilated. This event might have led to the immediate overthrow of the Ottoman Empire, had not the Turks, under the direction of Baron de Tott, a French engineer, fortified the Dardanelles, and thus secured the capital. Soon afterwards the Algerine fleet arrived in the Archipelago, and deprived the Russians of their maritime supremacy, compelling them to abandon Lemnos.

Rapid successes of the Russians.

The Ottomans were not more fortunate by land than by sea; it was late in the season before the Grand Vizier put his forces in motion to recover the advantages which his delay had permitted the Russians to gain. After some indecisive skirmishes, the armies met at Kartal, in Moldavia; a brief but sanguinary battle gave a decisive victory to the Russians, and the Turks were so disheartened by their defeat, that they deserted from the army in whole battalions. The Russians made good use of their success, and ere the close of the year made themselves masters of Akerman and Bender on the Dniester, and of Kilia, Ismael, and Ibrail on the Danube, so that nearly the whole Turkish frontier was left without protection.

Conquest of the Crimea.

In great alarm for its existence, the court of Constantinople proposed to purchase the assistance of Austria by arranging a partition of Poland. This proposition preceded by ten months the visit of Prince Henry of Prussia to the court of St Petersburgh, when the project of dismembering Poland was concerted between him and the Empress Catherine. Austria refused to entertain the proposal, but offered her services as mediator. Amid the negotiations that ensued, Russia conquered the Crimea, and proclaimed the independence of that peninsula. The

Tartars willingly accepted the protection of the empress, but they finally learned that with the cabinet of St Petersburgh protection was only another name for domination.

Disheartened by repeated losses, the Sultan recalled to his councils Múhsinzadè, the Grand Vizier whom he had dismissed for opposing the Russian war. Múhsinzadè justified the wisdom of his recall by taking prompt measures to restore the discipline of the army; he at the same time punished desertion, and removed its cause by restoring order to the commissariat. With great difficulty he collected a respectable army, which he concentrated at Shumlah, in order to protect the passes of the Balkan, and wisely resolved to confine himself to defensive operations. In the mean time the secret treaty for the partition of Poland had been determined upon by Austria, Prussia, and Russia, which of course changed the relations of these powers to the Porte. Negotiations for peace were commenced and protracted for several months, Russia on the one hand being indisposed to relinquish her conquests, and the Sultan obstinately refusing to sacrifice any portion of his dominions. Under these circumstances war was renewed; the Turks gained several advantages over the Russians, their military spirit began to revive, and when they had forced their enemy to raise the sieges of Silistria and Varna, they began to entertain hopes of a successful issue. The death of Sultan Mustapha, just as he was contemplating taking the field in person, was a source however of fresh calamities, for his successor Abi-al-Hamid possessed equal pride and obstinacy, but far inferior abilities.

The ill success of the Russians in the Archipelago excited great joy in the breast of the new Sultan; but his hopes were soon dashed by disastrous intelligence from the banks of the Danube, where the Turks had been disgracefully routed at Kozlige, and in revenge for their shameful defeat had massacred their officers. The Russians profited by their success by seizing the heights between Shumla and Constantinople, so as completely to cut off the retreat of the Vizier, and secure for themselves the passage of the Balkan, should it appear expedient to invade Rumelia. Múhsinzadè, thus circumstanced, resolved to accept peace on any conditions; the Russians were equally anxious for an accommodation, and the preliminaries were soon arranged. The treaty was signed at Cainarjè on the anniversary of the calamitous peace which Peter the Great had been forced to conclude on the banks of the Pruth, for the Russians delayed their signatures several days in order to boast of the coincidence.

The treaty of Cainarjè, A. D. 1774.

The treaty of Cainarjè established the nominal independence of the Tartars in the Crimea, Cuban, and Bessarabia, but really abandoned them to the domination of Russia; it yielded the two Kabardas, the fortress of Azov, the free navigation of the Black Sea and the Mediterranean, and an indefinite promise of better government to the Moldavians and Wallachians. The most fatal condition to the Turkish dominion, and at the same time the most honourable to Russia, was the recognition of the latter power as protectress of the Moldavians, the Wallachians, and of the Christians generally in the Sultan's dominions. It deserves also to be remarked, that Russia concluded this peace without the mediation or intervention of any other power, a system which has since been invariably pursued. Both on this and every subsequent occasion the cabinet of St Petersburgh has claimed the merit of moderation, and certainly the demands made at Cainarjè were less exorbitant than the successes of the war would seem to justify; but the submission of the Porte to the dictation of articles of peace by Russia alone was a more important acquisition than all the northern provinces, for Turkey seemed no longer to exist but on Russian sufferance.

Results of the treaty.

CHAPTER XIV.

FROM A. D. 1774, A. H. 1188, TO A. D. 1854, A. H. 1270.

BY the treaty of Cainarjè, the Russian frontier was advanced to the Bug, but in no respect were its consequences more conspicuous, or more injurious, than in the revolution which it enabled Russia silently to effect in the Crimea, of which it was the obvious determination of the Empress to obtain the permanent possession. It was still a dependent province of Turkey though placed by the treaty under the protection of Russia; and following out the policy which she has invariably pursued in similar circumstances, and which had proved so successful in the case of Poland, she fomented internal discussions in that peninsula, surrounded the Khan with her creatures, and at length decided that the khanate should be made elective. The sovereignty of Crim Tartary had been for many generations so far hereditary in the family of Geray that the Porte had uniformly conferred it on a member of that house; and at the time that the Empress Catherine introduced the novelty of an elective khanate, the principle and the practice were both unknown to the inhabitants of the Crimea, the great body of whom, including the minor chiefs and the people, still clung to the Turkish connexion, and to the usages of their fathers. That connexion and these usages it was the interest of Russia to destroy, as they insured the fidelity of the natives to the religious and political head of the Mussulman races: the reigning khan was accordingly deposed in 1776, and the Tartars ordered to choose a successor. The person nominated declined the unprofitable honour, and Schaghin Geray, a creature of Russia, was raised to the vacant throne. He was induced, in 1783, by the representations of the Russians, to demand the surrender of the island of Taman, in the Cimmerian Bosphorus, from the Turkish Pasha who held it—his messenger was put to death, and this insult the Russians offered to punish. The offer was accepted by the feeble-minded khan, and a Russian army was forthwith marched into the

Designs of the Empress Catherine on the Crimea.

Crimea for that purpose; but after having penetrated to the east-
Seizure of the Crimea, 1783. ern coast it suddenly retraced its steps, and instead of driving the Ottomans out of Jaman, took possession of the country it had come to succour, by force or stratagem seized all the strongholds, and, throwing off the mask endeavoured to compel the people, at the point of the bayonet, to take the oath of allegiance to the Czarina. They refused and prepared to resist, when the Russian general, Paul Potemkin, attacked them with his soldiers, and slaughtered thirty thousand Tartars of either sex and every age, in cold blood and in the midst of profound peace. Thus was the Crimea won by Russia, and won by one of the foulest acts of sanguinary treachery to be found in the annals of mankind, ancient or modern. It was immediately occupied by the Russians as a military dependency, and from this period was virtually separated from the Porte; for, although the Sultan complained of the infraction of treaties, and even threatened war, his protests and his menaces were equally disregarded; and by the conjoint advice of
Cession of the Crimea to Russia, 1784. France and Austria in 1784, the sovereignty of the Crimea, the island of Taman, and a portion of the Kuban territory, were finally ceded to Russia. The fate of Schaghin Geray, with whose unpatriotic facility this series of calamities began and ended, was tragical. He was first compelled to resign his authority as sovereign of the Crimea, and then to transfer it to the Empress Catherine. In exchange for these sacrifices, he received a pension with permission to reside in Russia. His pension was irregularly paid, and the unfortunate Khan reduced to want. Dissatified with himself, and disgusted with the life of poverty and obscurity which he led in Russia, he sought and obtained permission to leave it, and to repair to Turkey. After residing for some time in Moldavia he went to Constantinople, whence he was ordered to Rhodes, where he was strangled in the house of the French Consul.[1]

In the year 1787, Turkey, alarmed at the rapid strides which
War with Austria and Russia, 1787. Russia was making towards the conquest of the Ottoman Empire, and aware that the Emperor Joseph of Austria had assented to the proposal of the Empress Catherine, that it should be partitioned as Poland had been, and that Egypt should fall to the share of Austria, declared war against both Russia and Austria. An Austrian army of eighty thousand men was sent into Moldavia, while the Russian army, under Marshal Potemkin, amounting to two hundred thousand

[1] Macneill—Progress and Present Position of Russia in the East, p. 40. History of Russia—Cabinet Library, ii. 292.

men, and supported by a powerful fleet in the Euxine, operated on the line of the Bug. Against so formidable a combination, the Turks were unable to contend successfully; and though their exertions to repel the invaders, and to preserve their territory inviolate, were strenuous and heroic, the unequal struggle was terminated, at the end of five years, by the treaty of Yassy (capital of Moldavia), which was concluded in the year 1792.

Treaty of Yassy, 1792.

In the course of this war, Belgrade, Cerenitz, and Bucharest, were taken by the Austrians—the Turkish fleet was defeated in the Black Sea—Oczakof, on the Dniester, was stormed by the troops under Potemkin, after an obstinate defence of four months, and the garrison put to the sword—and Ismail, in Bessarabia, in 1789 a strong Turkish fortress on the north bank of the Danube, but now an insignificant village, was taken by assault by Suwarof, when thirty-three thousand Turks were killed and wounded, and ten thousand made prisoners. By these reverses the road to Varna was menaced, and that to Adrianople laid open; and it seemed as if this, the last effort which Catherine lived to make against Turkey, was about to end in the realization of her designs, when peace was concluded on terms less onerous to the Porte than would have been granted to it, had not her own position in Europe demanded that the war should be brought to a close. In 1788 Sweden had contracted an alliance with Turkey, and declared war against Russia; and Great Britain, now thoroughly alive to the danger of allowing Russia to get possession of Turkey, interposed various obstacles to the progress of the Russian naval arrangements, and fitted out a fleet for the Baltic. Prussia, which had hitherto observed a sulky neutrality, marched an army into Poland; France looked with alarm on the union between Austria and Russia for a common object; and the Emperor Joseph having died in 1790, his brother Leopold concluded a separate peace with Turkey in 1791, and thus left the Czarina without an ally. Reasons so cogent as these for bringing hostilities with Turkey to an end it was impossible for the Empress wholly to disregard; but what weighed with that imperious woman more heavily than any other consideration was, the state of her treasury, which her double contest with Sweden and Turkey had completely exhausted. Peace had therefore become necessary to Catherine, but as she was too proud to sue for it herself, the preliminaries were arranged at the courts of London, Berlin, and the Hague, by Bernsdorf, the Danish minister. In the midst of this war, the Sultan Abial-Hamid died, and was succeeded by Selim III., who ascended the throne in 1789, and with whom the treaty of Yassy was concluded. By that treaty

Alliance with Sweden.

Death of Abial-Hamid.

Russia advanced her frontier to the Dniester, and thus opened the Black Sea to her Polish provinces of Podolia and the Ukraine. She exacted from the Porte what the Porte had a very questionable title to grant—a guarantee for the kingdoms of Georgia and the adjacent countries, and a promise to do the same in the Caucasus—and it was also agreed that the ancient rights of the principal towns in Wallachia and Moldavia should be confirmed, and that the stipulations of all previous treaties should remain in force. It is from this treaty that the direct influence of Russia in the Danubian principalities takes its rise, and it is computed, that in the war which it closed, the Turks lost 330,000, the Russians 200,000, and the Austrians 130,000 men.

Selim III. 1789.

It was the fate of Sultan Selim to be surrounded by difficulties from within and from without from the hour that he ascended the throne to that in which his troubled career was terminated by the bowstring; and though it was obviously for the interests of Turkey that she should not be involved in those European disputes which were generated in such abundance by the French Revolution of 1792, the ambition of Buonaparte drew her within the vortex, and had nearly inflicted upon her injuries as severe as those which she had sustained at the hands of her hereditary and implacable foe, Russia. It does not lie within the scope of this work to examine the motives which led to the French expedition to Egypt in 1798, or to consider that event otherwise than as it affected the Ottoman empire, but that much we must endeavour to do, however briefly.

There was an old tradition in France which had descended from the age of Philippe Auguste and the Crusades, that the possession of Egypt would confer upon that country the command of the Mediterranean, and the control of the commerce of the East and West; and though it slumbered for centuries it was never wholly forgotten by either the monarchs or the people. Had St Louis succeeded in the last of those insane enterprises which had for two hundred years distracted the attention of every nation in Western Europe there can be very little doubt that he would have recovered Egypt, and annexed it permanently to the crown of France; and in 1672, the celebrated Leibnitz addressed a memoir to Louis XIV., recommending him to follow that course instead of making war on Holland, as he was then about to do. This tradition Napoleon, at that time a general in the army of the French republic, and as the conqueror of Italy, the most popular man of the day, revived and resolved to act upon; and his avowed intention was to establish a French colony on the Nile which should supply to France the loss of St Domingo—

French traditions respecting Egypt.

to open up Africa, Arabia, and Syria, to French manufactures, and to assail the British empire in India by organizing an army, half European, half Asiatic, on the banks of the Indus. He had likewise urgent personal reasons for adopting this hazardous determination. The times were unsafe, the Directory uneasy, and his military reputation in danger of declining if it was not supported by new and extraordinary exertions. "I have tried every thing," said he, to Bourrienne, the night before they left Paris, "but they (the Directory) will not hear of my proposal. I might turn them out and make myself king, but that must not be thought of yet: the nobles would never consent; I have sounded them—the time is not come. I should be alone. I will dazzle these gentry yet."[1] The subject had passed through his mind when at the head of the army in Italy; and his secretary tells us that in his evening walks he would exclaim, "Europe is but a mole-hill. There never have existed mighty empires, there never have occurred great revolutions, save in the East, where live six hundred millions of men—where is the cradle of all religion—the birth-place of all metaphysics."[2] Having succeeded, though not without difficulty, in persuading the Directory to enter into his views, he set sail from Toulon, on the 19th of May 1798, with a fleet of fifteen sail of the line, four frigates, seventy-two brigs and cutters, and four hundred transports, carrying thirty-six thousand soldiers, the flower of the French army, besides ten thousand sailors. The possession of Malta, which the fleet reached on the 16th of June, was secured by a previous arrangement with the Grand Master; and, having escaped the vigilance of the English fleet under Lord Nelson, it reached Alexandria on the 1st of July. The troops were landed on the following day; and the city of Alexandria, which was feebly defended by a small body of Mamelukes, was taken by assault. Leaving three thousand men under Kleber, to garrison Alexandria, Napoleon set out with the main army for Cairo; and having dispersed a considerable force of cavalry and infantry, under Murad Bey, which had assembled at the village of Chebreise to oppose his progress, he encamped on the 23d of July at Embabeh, on the left bank of the Nile, and within sight of the Pyramids. Here Murad Bey had collected all the available forces of Egypt, consisting of eight thousand Mameluke cavalry, then considered the best horsemen in the world, and about sixteen thousand infantry, composed

Buonaparte's views.

Departure of the Expedition, 1798.

Capture of Alexandria.

Battle of the Pyramids.

[1] Memoirs of Napoleon Buonaparte, from the French of M. F. de Bourrienne. By J. S. Memes, L.L.D. Vol. i. p. 115.

[2] *Id.* p. 3. Buonaparte was at this time only twenty-nine years of age.

of Arabs and Copts, and resolved to give battle to the French general. He was utterly routed, however, by the superior skill and strategy of his opponent, and retreated into Upper Egypt with the small remnant of the brilliant array which had fought the battle of the Pyramids. Egypt was now won after a campaign of three weeks; and, two days after the dispersion of Murad Bey's host, Buonaparte entered Cairo as a conqueror. The conduct of this remarkable man in his intercourse with the Turkish government, was marked even at this early stage of his wonderful career by the same duplicity and want of principle that distinguished it in aftertimes in Europe; and while he endeavoured to soften the prejudices of the natives by a strict and impartial administration of justice such as they were little accustomed to, he assured them that he came among them as their friend, and as the avenger of the injuries they had long suffered from the tyranny and oppression of the Mameluke Beys. To the Porte, on the other hand, which felt that the invasion and subjugation of one of its richest provinces by a friendly power in a time of profound peace was a violent infraction of international law and right, he proclaimed his anxiety to remain on terms of amity; though at that very moment he had conceived a plan for the dismemberment of the Ottoman empire, and was even intriguing with such of the Turkish pashas as he thought likely to forward his designs.[1] In this perfidious scheme he was assisted by Talleyrand, who had been sent to Constantinople as ambassador by the Directory; and so successful was that astute diplomatist in blinding the Divan to the real objects contemplated by the French, that it was not till Egypt had been subdued, and the troops of the Sultan defeated and dispersed, that it opened its eyes to the danger by which Turkey was menaced. Ruffin, the resident French chargé-d'affaires, was sent to the Seven Towers. An eloquent manifesto, explanatory of its ground of action, was published by the Porte, and war was declared against France; but it is doubtful how far the energetic resistance of the Turks would have availed against an enemy so fertile in resources, had not the battle of the Nile, on the 1st of August 1798, and the complete destruction of the French fleet, by Lord Nelson, arrested the progress of Napoleon's arms, and utterly dissipated the magnificent visions of Oriental conquest in which he then indulged. The loss of the fleet was indeed a calamity that would have destroyed any man but Napoleon Buonaparte, who, with his army, was cut off from all communication with Europe, and deprived of the means of returning thither, should the acci-

Duplicity of Buonaparte.

His intrigues with the Pashas.

War declared against France.

Battle of the Nile.

[1] Alison's History of Europe, vol. iv. 187, 9th Edition.

dents of war or politics render it necessary to do so, and the despair which it excited in the minds of his soldiers, now thoroughly undeceived as to the nature and objects of the Egyptian expedition, had well nigh destroyed that discipline upon which everything depended;[1] but the inflexible will of Napoleon, and his confidence in his "destiny," enabled him to bear up against all the dangers by which he was beset, and to revive the drooping spirits of his men after the first burst of grief had expended itself. It was now, when separated from the whole western world, and when occupying a doubtful position in the capital of Egypt, that he planned and executed that attack upon Syria with which his name is so closely identified in the annals of the East, and which, while it tarnished his personal reputation, added nothing to his military glory. The principal army of the Sultan was collected in that country which, as in the time of the Crusades, abounded in fortified places, and could be reached only by a march across a burning and an arid desert. Undismayed by these considerations Buonaparte set out with 13,000 infantry, 900 cavalry, and 49 guns. The French army, after undergoing incredible sufferings on the march from Cairo, and defeating the Mamelukes at El Arisch, invested Jaffa (the ancient Joppa) on the 4th of March 1799. An assault was ordered on the 6th, and, though bravely defended, the place was taken after much slaughter. The town was given up to pillage, and 4000 of the garrison, consisting chiefly of Albanians and Arnouts, who had surrendered to Buonaparte's aides-de-camp, Beauharnais and Crozier, on condition that their lives should be spared, were marched down to the sand-hills in fetters on the 10th, and there put to death in cold blood by Napoleon's orders. This dismal tragedy took hours in its performance, and the shrieks of these helpless victims of military vengeance, as they stood bound together under the murderous fire of their inhuman butchers, rang in the ears of those who heard them to their dying hour.[2] Such of them as the musketry had not killed were despatched by the bayonet, while others who had burst their bonds and leapt into the sea were shot in the water. The extermination of these miserable men was complete—not a soul escaped—and to this day heaps of unburied bones attest to the hideous cruelty of an act which for its atrocity has no parallel in modern warfare. The Arab in his journey turns aside from the field of blood, and the European traveller sickens at the sight of those bleached memorials which remind him of an incident

The French invade Syria.

Capture of Jaffa.

Massacre of 4000 Turkish prisoners.

[1] Bourrienne, *passim*, vol. i.

[2] Bourrienne, i. 174.

so disgraceful to western civilization, that none but the creatures and followers of Napoleon have ventured to defend it.

Buonaparte besieges Acre.

After this foul massacre Napoleon proceeded to invest Acre, which he considered to be the key to Syria, and which, if taken, would open to him the gates of Damascus, and the highway to the Euphrates; but here he was repulsed, chiefly through the extraordinary exertions of the British admiral, Sir Sydney Smith, who had been despatched to the assistance of the Pasha of Acre with two ships of the line (Tigre and Theseus) and some smaller vessels. By the active aid and the personal activity of that gallant officer, seconded as both were by the obstinate valour of the Turks whom the butchery at Jaffa had rendered desperate, the repeated assaults of the French were repelled; and on the 21st of May they raised the siege and retired upon Jaffa, followed by the Turks, who harassed their rear, and put to death every straggling soldier whom they encountered. The invasion of Syria having thus failed Buonaparte determined to return to Egypt, but before leaving Jaffa he gave orders, which were executed, that all the sick and wounded in the hospitals whose cases were incurable, should be poisoned, and in this way he got rid of those mutilated and diseased wretches who would have encumbered his march and retarded his progress. The number of soldiers so destroyed has never been accurately ascertained, and cannot be ascertained now. Buonaparte himself, at St Helena, spoke of seven or eight, Bourrienne mentions sixty,[1] our countryman, Sir Robert Wilson, stated it at 580, and Miot,[2] a recent French writer, speaks of it in vague and not numerical terms. It is impossible therefore to determine how many sick and wounded persons received opium by Buonaparte's orders, and it would be useless to discuss seriously the morality of an act which is condemned by the common instincts of our humanity; but it is honourable to the profession to which his chief physician, Desgenettes, belonged, that when Napoleon sounded him on the subject, he declined to mix himself up with so foul a transaction, and bluntly told his general that his business was to preserve, not to destroy, life.

Poisoning of the sick and wounded.

Buonaparte reached Cairo with the remains of his army on the 14th of June after a march of twenty-five days, accomplished under every species of privation; and while he was meditating a visit to Upper Egypt, he received a despatch from Marmont, whom he had left at Alexandria as governor, informing him that a Turkish army of 9000 men, chiefly janissaries, had landed at Aboukir, stormed the fort, and put the French

Battle of Alexandria.

[1] P. 169.

[2] Alison, i. 210, note.

garrison to the sword. On the following morning he set out for Alexandria with his small force, now reduced to 8000 men, where he arrived on the 25th of July. On the 26th he attacked the entrenched positions of the Turks, which were most resolutely defended; but so great was his strategetic skill, and so perfect the ability of the officers and men whom he commanded, that he carried all of them with immense loss to his opponents. This action, known as the battle of Alexandria, closed the career of Napoleon in the East. On the 23d of August he embarked secretly with his suite for France on board of two frigates which had been prepared for his reception, and left the command of the army in Egypt, which he thus deserted, to General Kleber; who, though he complained loudly of the crafty policy to which he had been sacrificed, determined to discharge faithfully the duties that had been imposed upon him. His position, however, soon became critical. El Arisch was taken by the Turks, the plague reappeared in his camp, and discontent was rapidly spreading among his soldiers. Under these circumstances, which fully justified such a step, he resolved to open negociations with the British Admiral, Sir Sydney Smith, for the evacuation of Egypt; and on the 29th of December 1799, a short treaty, consisting of only three articles, was signed by Sir Sydney on the part of the English, and by General Desaix and M. Poussielgue on the part of the French. By this treaty, it was stipulated that the Porte should restore to France all the possessions she had taken from her during the war; that the relations between the French Republic and the Ottoman Empire were to be re-established on the same footing as before the war; and that an armistice of three months was to be granted, during the existence of which the French troops serving in Egypt were not to be molested, and were to be allowed to make the preparations necessary for a return to France with their arms and baggage. Unfortunately the British ministry took a different view of this transaction from those who were personally engaged in it, and having declared that Sir Sydney Smith had exceeded his powers, they refused, through Admiral Lord Keith, the commander-in-chief in the Mediterranean, to sanction an arrangement which had been made without their authority, and insisted that the French army should surrender at discretion as prisoners of war. This the gallant Kleber haughtily declined to do, and turning his arms against the Turkish army 40,000 strong, under the Grand Vizier, he defeated it at Heliopolis with great slaughter, and drove it as a mass of fugitives across the desert. He even succeeded in conciliating the friendship of that old and energetic enemy of the French, Murad Bey, who consented to hold, as

Buonaparte embarks for France.

General Kleber's negociations with Sir S. Smith.

a vassal of France, the provinces of Girge and Assuan in Upper Egypt; and re-capturing Cairo, which he had evacuated in terms of the repudiated treaty of El Arisch, he determined to wait there the issue of events. In April 1801, this brave soldier, who, notwithstanding Buonaparte's personal dislike, and his secretary's covert insinuations, was one of the most upright men who had accompanied Napoleon to Egypt, was assassinated while walking in his garden, and the command of the French army devolved upon General Menou, an officer whom Bourrienne describes as possessing inferior military talents, but whose defects would probably have been less severely criticised had he been as successful in his struggle with the English troops, which followed shortly after his assumption of the supreme command, as his predecessors had been in their encounters with the undisciplined soldiery of Turkey.[1] There can be no doubt, now, that Sir Sydney Smith's convention was a wise measure; that it was founded on a just appreciation of the interests of both Turkey and Great Britain; and that, had it been ratified, it would have removed the French from Egypt without farther trouble, loss of life, or expense, while it would have tended more directly than any other measure that could be thought of to re-establish the *status quo ante bellum:* but the mistake of refusing to confirm it could not be rectified afterwards, though it was tried, and the expedition to Egypt under Sir Ralph Abercromby, which reached Alexandria on the 1st of March 1801, was required to repair that diplomatic blunder. In the series of battles between the French and English which ensued the French were signally defeated, and ultimately the armies at both Cairo and Alexandria were forced to capitulate; but on the same honourable terms which had been previously offered in the rejected treaty of El Arisch.[2]

Assassination of Kleber, 1801.

British expedition to Egypt, 1801.

The expulsion of the French from Egypt so far improved the condition of Turkey, that the Porte was no longer harassed by the presence in one of its principal provinces of an energetic enemy, nor

[1] Buonaparte's character of Menou.—"Menou appeared to have all the qualities fitted for the command. He was learned and upright, and an excellent civil governor. He had become a Mussulman, which, how ridiculous soever, was agreeable to the natives of the country. A doubt hung over his military capacity, but none over his personal courage."—NAP. in MONTHOL.

[2] "The military results of this conquest were very great, 312 pieces of cannon, chiefly brass, were found upon the works of Alexandria, besides 77 on board the ships of war. No less than 195,000 pounds of gunpowder and 14,000 gun cartridges, were taken in the magazines; while the soldiers who capitulated were 10,011, independent of 517 sailors, and 605 civil servants. The total troops included in the conventions of Cairo and Alexandria were above 24,000, all tried veterans of France."—ALISON, v. p. 149.

disturbed by the social disorganisation consequent on the hostile occupation of an important portion of its territory, and this period of comparative repose lasted for about five years, during which time the great nations of Western Europe were contending for the mastery of the world. In 1806, however, England and Russia were allied against France, whence it became the interest of the Emperor Napoleon to embroil Turkey with Russia, so that a division of the forces of the latter should be engaged on the Danube, while the grand army of France was operating against another on the banks of the Vistula. General Sebastiani was accordingly sent to Constantinople as a special envoy for this purpose, and he succeeded in persuading the Sultan to remove the Hospodars of Moldavia and Wallachia, the Princes Ipsilanti and Morusi, from the government of their respective provinces, and to replace them by the Princes Suzzo and Callimachi, who were known to be friendly to the French connexion, while the others were favourable to the Russian. As this could not be done, according to the terms of the treaty of Yassy, without the consent of Russia, that power remonstrated and threatened war. England, anxious to promote the common cause in which she was united to Russia, and naturally desirous to prevent the growth of French influence in Turkey, added her representations and menaces to those of her ally; and though the unfortunate Sultan, beset on all sides, tried to appease the anger of Russia and England by replacing the dismissed hospodars, he was unsuccessful in his efforts. In November 1806, a Russian army of 40,000 men, under General Michelson, entered the principalities, which it speedily overran, while England resolved to force the Dardanelles with a fleet, and to compel the Porte to abandon the French alliance on pain of the bombardment of the capital. Seven sail of the line and three frigates, under Admiral Sir John Duckworth, were therefore despatched on this duty; and entering the straits on the 19th of February 1807, they passed the Turkish batteries on either side without much loss, and captured several Turkish ships of war which they destroyed; and on the 20th anchored off Prince's island, within eight miles of Constantinople. The consternation of the Divan and the population of the city was so intense, that General Sebastiani, the author of this formidable visitation, was requested to leave Constantinople, as the authorities could no longer answer for his safety, and this alarm was increased by an intimation from the British admiral, that if his terms were not complied with within twenty-four hours, he would resort to hostilities. The city was defenceless, the crowd furious, and the danger great, and had Sir John Duckworth obeyed

General Sebastiani at Constantinople.

British force the Dardanelles.

British fleet threatens Constantinople.

his orders, or adhered to the conditions he had himself submitted to the Sultan's government, the Turkish capital must have fallen—but he did neither; and General Sebastiani having addressed the Divan in energetic language, recommending a vigorous resistance, and pointing out the inadequacy of the force which assailed them to effect any lasting purpose, he advised them to try negociations with a view to gain time, and meanwhile to repair the fortifications, and summon the people to man them. Animated by his example, and instructed by his military knowledge, the Turks acted implicitly under his orders. Men, women, and even children, worked at the batteries, and so ardent was the enthusiasm that succeeded to despair that in six days 917 cannon, and 200 mortars were mounted on the ramparts. Meanwhile the British fleet was idle and the negociations going on, the admiral having been completely overreached by the French ambassador. His mission had failed in every point, and anxious now only for the safety of the squadron which was entrusted to his care, he took advantage of a favourable wind, and weighing anchor on the 1st of March, he proceeded again to pass those straits which on his upward voyage had proved so comparatively harmless. They were so no longer. Enormous masses of granite, weighing seven and eight hundred pounds, and fashioned into the shape of balls, were projected from the huge pieces of stationary ordnance that were mounted on the castles, and inflicted severe injury on the ships as they sailed slowly past them. Two hundred and sixty men were killed and wounded in this unlucky enterprise, which in all its circumstances and accidents was one of the least creditable operations of the war.[1] Having failed in coercing the Divan into submission, the allied English and Russian fleets now instituted a strict blockade of the Archipelago and the straits; and as this caused a great scarcity of provisions in Constantinople, the Turkish fleet was forced out to

Enthusiasm of the Turks in its defence.

Retreat of the British fleet.

[1] Very little is known of the history of these extraordinary cannons, which are brass, and are composed of two pieces joined together by a screw at the chamber, the breach resting against a piece of massy stone-work. They are of course stationary, and one examined by the Baron de Tot in 1770 had been cast in the reign of Amurath. The calibre of these guns is about 2 feet 3 inches diameter, and according to the Baron the charge of powder required for one that he caused to be fired was 330 lb.! The immense granite balls did fearful execution when they happened to strike the object aimed at. The Royal George, flag-ship, was nearly sunk by one of them. The Windsor Castle, of 74 guns, had her main-mast cut in two—the Thunderer had two ports knocked into one—and the Repulse had her wheel shot away, and 24 men killed and wounded. French cannoniers directed these guns, which would have been much less formidable in the hands of the Turks. —*Brenton's Naval History*, ii. p. 192.

raise the blockade, but was defeated and utterly destroyed by the Russians under Vice-admiral Siniavin, in the month of July 1807.

British attack on Egypt.

Another melancholy consequence resulted from this war, namely, an attack on Egypt by the British, the precise object of which it is difficult to understand; for as there was no longer a French army there to excite uneasiness, and as the permanent occupation of that country as the highway to India could hardly enter into the contemplation of the English Ministry at a time when all the resources of the nation were required to meet the continental war, it is difficult to see what political purpose could be served by weakening Turkey, and rendering her more open than recent events had made her to the aggressions of her powerful and hereditary enemy. The attempt, however, was only partially successful; and though the British troops behaved with their customary gallantry, and possession was obtained of Alexandria and Damietta without much difficulty, a considerable check was experienced at Rosetta, and it was with no feelings of dissatisfaction that the British Cabinet heard of the convention entered into by General Stewart with the Turkish authorities in September 1807, by which an exchange of prisoners was guaranteed, and the evacuation of the Egyptian soil finally resolved upon.

Sultan Selim, in whose troubled reign these occurrences took place, was strongly impressed with a conviction of the superiority of the European over the Asiatic system of military tactics, and determined to introduce the former into Turkey, and, if possible, to create a force for the defence of the empire which should not only be able to cope with European troops in the field, but should also serve as a counterpoise to the overgrown power of the Janissaries. This resolution he acted upon so early as 1802, by the institution of a corps called, from the accident of its origin, Nizam Dschedid, or New Order. It was armed and disciplined in the European manner, spacious barracks were erected for its accommodation, additional taxes for its support were imposed, and a council of twelve members was formed, to which, under the immediate supervision of the Sultan, its management and control were intrusted. The Janissaries murmured at this indirect attack upon their influence, and were supported in their discontent by the more ignorant and bigoted portions of the populace who identified the history of the empire with the fame of its national militia; but the external dangers which menaced the country prevented any positive outbreak till the year 1807, when a conspiracy for the deposition of the Sultan and the suppression of the Nizam Dschedid was formed. In the month of May the Janissaries rose in a body, seized the batteries of the Seraglio, and compelled the garrison, which con-

sisted of troops of the New Order, to join them. Presently the insurrection spread to the refuse of the population, and a brazier of Constantinople having been placed at its head the rebels demanded the lives of the twelve military councillors, seven of whom were accordingly put to death by the Sultan's orders in the vain hope of appeasing the rioters. They then set fire to the city and murdered the Reis Effendi, who had been sent to summon them to surrender; and having made an inflammatory appeal to the miscellaneous mob of the capital, an ungovernable rabble, led by the Janissaries, and roused to madness by the foulest passions, filled Constantinople for days together with blood and terror, and succeeded in obtaining, from the weakness of the Sovereign, the heads of the remaining five members of the council. After a variety of sanguinary struggles with his revolted soldiery the unfortunate Sultan was formally deposed, and his cousin Mustapha, a weak and frivolous prince, was raised to the throne. In this revolution the Mufti and the Ulemas took an active part against their sovereign, and by their intrigues and intolerance contributed largely to his downfal; but Selim had many and powerful friends among the more intelligent classes, who respected his virtues and approved his policy, and the knowledge of this fact prevented Mustapha from making an immediate attempt upon his life, and a reaction in his favour having taken place among the troops on the Danube, these men, under the command of Mustapha Bairacter, Aga of Rouschouk, who was devoted to the deposed monarch, marched upon Constantinople with the intention of reinstating him. They demanded the person of Selim, and were assured by the new Sultan that they should have it; but sending secret orders for his death, that unhappy prince was strangled in prison, in June, and his dead body presented to his adherents. The character of Selim has been eloquently described by Sir John Hobhouse,[1] who, visiting Turkey a few years afterwards, was enabled, from personal knowledge obtained on the spot, and when the events which preceded and accompanied his violent death were still fresh in the memories of living men, to form a correct estimate of the qualities by which one of the best of the Moslem sovereigns was distinguished; and he has said of him, that "it would be impossible to find an instance in the annals of any country of an attempt equal to the new constitution of Selim, either in the magnitude of its design, or the decisive originality of its bold innovations." He failed, however, according to the same authority, from want of resolution at the proper moment, and from want of preparation when the crisis of his fortunes arrived; but his exertions in the cause of

[1] *Travels in Albania.*

his country were not lost upon his people or his successor, and his melancholy fate proved, if it did nothing else, that regular government in Turkey could not co-exist with the supremacy of the Janissaries, and that, ere long, one or other must be destroyed. Sultan Mustapha was instantly deposed by the Bairacter, and all those who had been concerned in the murder of Selim were put to death; and Mahmoud, the brother of the deposed Mustapha, and like him the cousin of the deceased Selim, was raised to the throne, and publicly acknowledged as the sovereign of Turkey, by the title of Mahmoud II. in November 1807.

This revolution, so injurious to Turkey in other respects, had a singular effect upon her external relations, since it furnished Napoleon with an apology for betraying his unsuspecting ally, whom he had involved, for objects of his own, in a war with England and Russia, and for plotting with the Czar (the Emperor Alexander) the dismemberment of the Turkish empire. The battle of Friedland (14th June 1807) was fought much about the time that the unfortunate Sultan was struggling with his revolted soldiery for his life and crown; and a short month before Buonaparte obtained that victory by which he humbled Russia, and entered into that treaty (Tilsit) by which he bribed her, he had declared, in a public audience given to the Turkish ambassador at Finkenstein, that "his right hand was not more inseparable from his left than the Sultan Selim should ever be to him;"[1] and yet we now know that the *secret articles* of the treaty of Tilsit contained express stipulations for the expulsion of the Turks from Europe, and the division of the Ottoman territory between the two high contracting parties. Wallachia, Moldavia, Servia, and Bulgaria, were to be assigned to Russia; Greece, Macedonia, Dalmatia, Egypt, Syria, and the islands, to France; but the possession of Roumelia, and the occupation of Constantinople, by Russia, Buonaparte steadily refused to allow, "as it would destroy," he said, "the balance of power in Europe."[2] This refusal, and the obligation to withdraw his troops from the principalities, and to grant an armistice to the Porte, which he imposed upon the Czar, probably saved the Turkish empire from

[1] Alison, vi. 314.

[2] Napoleon said at St Helena—"All the Emperor Alexander's thoughts are directed to the conquest of Turkey. We have had many discussions about it, and at first I was pleased with his proposals, because I thought it would enlighten the world to drive those brutes, the Turks, out of Europe. But when I reflected upon its consequences, and saw what a tremendous weight of power it would give to Russia, on account of the number of Greeks in the Turkish dominions who would naturally join the Russians, I refused to consent to it, especially as Alexander wanted to get Constantinople, which I would not allow, as it would destroy the equilibrium of power in Europe."—O'Meara, i. 382.

immediate ruin: yet the war which was thus concluded under circumstances so strange and so ominous, like all those in which she had been engaged with Russia since the days of Peter the Great, was disastrous to Turkey. Her fortresses had been taken one after another, her provinces overrun, and her fleet destroyed. The drain upon her resources in men and money had been great—the inadequacy of her defences against a military power of the first class had been demonstrated by the ease and rapidity with which the French had subdued Egypt—while her subsequent alliance with France, and her consequent rupture with Britain and Russia, showed how closely she was now implicated in the apparently remote political movements of the nations of Western Europe, from which she was separated not only by position, but by difference in language, religion, institutions, and habits. Her internal weakness had been likewise revealed to the eyes of Christendom. It was seen that her rulers and nobles had ceased to command the reverence which a rude and ignorant people only concedes to qualities like its own, and which alone its grossness can comprehend; and that the foresight of the more intelligent members of the state only served, when acted upon, to light up the dormant prejudices of an Asiatic race, and to stimulate the fierce bigotry of the disciples of Islam. The revolt of the Janissaries, and the deposition and death of Selim, shook the Ottoman throne to its centre. Another insurrection of these turbulent soldiers induced Mahmoud to give orders for the instant execution of his brother, the deposed Mustapha, in whose behalf they had risen; but the brave Bairacter fell in the struggle which ensued, and the Sultan was again the slave of his guards, who would doubtless have destroyed him, had he not chanced to be the last surviving member of the house of Othman. At the time of his accession Mahmoud was twenty-three years of age. His character was firm and energetic, though his disposition was not free from that cruelty which seems to be inborn in Asiatic natures; and to the extraordinary vigour which he displayed in after-life may be attributed the preservation of what remains of the Ottoman rule in Europe.

In 1808 hostilities with Russia were again renewed. They continued for four years, and were closed by the treaty of Bucharest in 1812. The alliance between Napoleon and the Czar, which had been consolidated by the treaty of Tilsit in 1807, was now dissolved; and the two military potentates who in that year had decreed the dissolution of the Turkish empire, and aspired to the joint government of the world, were now deadly enemies bent on each other's destruction. Napoleon had invaded Russia with an

armament so vast and so well appointed, as to threaten the Autocrat of all the Russias with the fate with which he had menaced the Sultan; and it became necessary for the Czar, in so great a national emergency, to collect the forces of his empire upon his own soil. Peace was therefore concluded with Turkey, and the 80,000 men who were then serving on the Danube were recalled to oppose the French in the North. Still, though the treaty of Bucharest was concluded under circumstances unfavourable to Russia had the Porte been able to take advantage of them, Turkey, as usual, suffered a loss, while Russia achieved a considerable gain. By this treaty Russia advanced her frontier to the Pruth, where it remains to this hour. She also secured the navigation of the Danube for her merchant ships, and for her vessels of war the right of ascending that river to the mouth of the Pruth. The Czar, on his part, agreed to surrender Anapa and the other places on the Asiatic side of the Black Sea, which he had obtained possession of during the war; but he evaded this stipulation, and that act of dishonesty became afterwards one of the causes of a fresh contest. Turkey, therefore, gained nothing by the peace except a respite from hostilities, while Russia obtained Bessarabia, an acquisition of immense value in a military point of view, and which has served ever since as the highway by which she has approached Turkey from the east. It gave her a frontier on the Danube as high as Reni, the virtual command of the Kilia, or northern, mouth of that great European stream, and made her western border conterminous with the eastern frontier of Moldavia.

Turkey took no part in the deliberations of, and was represented by no plenipotentiary at, the congress which met at Vienna in 1814 to settle the affairs of Europe after the downfal of Napoleon; still the necessity of upholding the Ottoman Empire as an essential element in the balance of power was tacitly, if not openly, admitted even then, and has been recognised ever since as an established axiom in the political creed of the leading cabinets. Beyond this negative advantage, which however was considerable, Turkey was but slightly interested in the territorial and other arrangements made by that congress; but as Russia and the other states of Europe needed repose after the long struggle in which they had been engaged, she had reason to hope for relief from that system of active interference in her internal concerns by which she had been tormented for a quarter of a century —a hope that was very partially realised. The external wars which were closed by the peace of 1814 were succeeded by internal commotions of more or less intensity among the principal nations of the

Her hopes of rest.

West, and this excitement of public feeling upon all social questions gradually found its way into Greece, then a Turkish province—partly from its proximity to the countries wherein the new opinions chiefly prevailed, and partly from the sanguine views of national regeneration entertained by natives of Greece who had served with distinction in the great European armies, and carried back to their homes an ardent desire for the emancipation of their native land. As the Greeks had neither material nor pecuniary resources to rely upon, and as they were aware that the great powers would suffer no interruption of that peace which they had with so much difficulty established, they had recourse to secret combinations, and formed a society under the name of the *Hetairia* (companionship) in Greece, Turkey, Germany, and Russia, the affiliations of which were both numerous and extensive, though the existence of the Society itself was wholly unknown to the Turkish Government till the Greek revolt broke out in 1821. The object of this confederacy was the independence of Greece and its final separation from Turkey, and it embraced not only nearly the whole of the Greek priesthood, including 116 prelates of the Greek Church, but in a fourth class reserved for its highest members, and numbering only sixteen individuals, there were *secretly* enrolled the names of several of the most distinguished men in the East and West. To this class was attached Count Capo d'Istria, by birth a Greek, and the private secretary of the Emperor Alexander; and though it has never been positively ascertained that it was so, there are good grounds for believing that to the same order of the Hetairists belonged the Czar himself, the Crown Prince of Bavaria, the Hospodar of Wallachia, and other men of note, whose connexion with the Society it was thought prudent or politic to conceal. The ruling committee met at Moscow, and determined all the movements of the association in the ancient capital of Russia; nor is it an insignificant fact, as illustrative of the history of this body, and the complicity of Russia in its designs, that the men who first raised the standard of revolt were at the time officers in the Russian army, though native Greeks.[1] Its ultimate objects were likewise silently promoted by the sympathies of educated Europe, which saw with grief the most classical land of antiquity degraded and oppressed by the infidel Turk, and both political feeling and religious sentiment, played an

Commotions in Greece.

Secret Societies in Greece.

Russian officers begin the Greek war.

[1] Alison, History of Europe, from 1815 to 1854, vol. iii. 84. The names of these officers were Theodore Vladimaruko, a Colonel, Prince Alexander Ipsilanti, a Major-general, and Colocotroni, a Major.

unseen but important part in the liberation of Greece. The struggle began in 1821 in the Danubian principalities and in the Morea, and as it advanced, societies in aid of the Greeks were formed in this and other countries. The parties who belonged to them were called Philhellenes, and several military and naval men of distinction joined the armies and fleets of Greece; but the governments generally stood aloof from all participation in the contest which raged with destructive fury between the now enraged Turk and the resisting Greek; and it is a curious fact, not easily intelligible at first sight, that the Emperor Alexander not only steadily refused to recognise the legitimacy of the movement, or to assist it in any way, but ordered the name of Prince Ipsilanti, with whom it had begun, to be removed from the Russian army list. At that time much political agitation prevailed in Spain and Italy, which the congress of Verona, of which Alexander was a leading member, was endeavouring to appease, and he no doubt felt that to extinguish civil insurrection in the Spanish and Italian peninsulas, while he promoted it in the Peloponnesus, would have been incompatible with his character and functions as a European pacificator; but other and more powerful reasons had great weight with him, and led to that display of moderation towards Turkey in the hour of her trouble, to which she has been so little accustomed at the hands of the Czars. The Emperor Alexander was more cautious than his brother Nicholas has shown himself to be, and was open to higher influences both as a man and a sovereign; and when the Greek revolution broke out, his mind, still impressed by the incidents of that great war in the midst of which his youth and early manhood had been spent, was deeply affected by the danger to society in Europe from the spread of what he considered jacobinical principles. "From the moment," said he, in a conversation which he afterwards held with Chateaubriand, "that I discerned the revolutionary mark in the troubles of the Peloponnesus, I kept aloof from them. Nothing has been spared to turn me aside from my purpose, but in vain. My self-love has been assailed, and my prejudices appealed to, but Providence has not put eight hundred thousand soldiers under my orders to satisfy my ambition, but to protect religion, morality, and justice, and to establish the principles on which human society reposes."[1] What the Czar may have done secretly through his innumerable agents it is impossible to determine; but it is certain that he openly discountenanced the enterprise of his associates, the Hetairists, who

Its commencement.

Emperor Alexander discourages it.

His reasons for doing so.

[1] Quoted by Alison, iii. 97.

had calculated with confidence on his support, and that this circumstance alone had well nigh ruined the cause of the Greek patriots. That cause, however, was now too deeply engraven on the hearts of the people of Greece to be destroyed by anything short of the extinction of the race; and after a struggle of seven years, in the course of which the Turks perpetrated unheard of atrocities, and the Greeks underwent incredible sufferings, the independence of Greece, and its final separation from Turkey, were both accomplished.

Its effects upon Turkey.

It would not suit the limits of this work to enter upon a detailed narrative of the Greek war of independence, which was one of the most sanguinary and revolting episodes in modern history, numerous as these have been; but regarded politically, and apart from those silent influences which affect generous minds in all ages, it is impossible to deny that its issue was fatal to the permanence and stability of the Turkish empire in Europe. Such scenes as the massacre at Chios by the Capitan Pasha, Kara Ali, in 1822, and the conversion of a smiling garden into a desolate wilderness, and other similar barbarities, are calculated only to excite a sensation of horror and disgust, and may well cause any person of ordinary humanity to "hang his head to think himself a man," while the heroic resistance of a handful of Greeks opposed to the whole population of Mahommedan Turkey, naturally excites a feeling of admiration in the breasts of those who can honour courage and do reverence to patriotism; but it is true—for experience has decided the question—that the Greeks as a people were unworthy of the sacrifices made for them by their leaders and allies, and that the only country which has derived any positive advantages from the separation of Greece from Turkey, and the erection of a feeble Græco-Bavarian monarchy which is unable to defend itself, and is a source of constant uneasiness to other states, is Russia. The battle of Navarino (20th October, 1827) finished the war by destroying not only the Turkish but the Egyptian navy, and led to the immediate evacuation of the Morea by Ibrahim Pasha, and a cessation of hostilities by the Porte, which was rendered helpless by the loss of its fleet: but as that battle was the consequence of a misapprehension on the part of the admirals of the combined fleets, and was fought, if not in direct opposition to orders, at least without them, it was not only an offence against military subordination, but, what it was called by the British minister of the day, an "untoward event." To render intelligible the mixed questions involved in this subject, however, it will be necessary to allude shortly to the incidents that preceded and followed that catastrophe.

Closed by the battle of Navarino, October 1827.

We have seen that at the commencement of the Greek war of independence the governments of Europe stood aloof from all connexion with it; but after it had lasted for six years it became obvious that between the immediate and active intervention of the great powers, and the extermination or reduction to slavery of the Greeks, there was no alternative. One impediment to conjoint action was removed by the death of the Emperor Alexander in December 1825, and the accession to the throne of Russia of his brother Nicholas, the present Czar. The Greeks had applied to these powers for protection and help, and the governments of France and England, considering the opportunity a favourable one for bringing about a peace between Turkey and Greece, entered into negociations with Russia for that purpose; and on the 24th of April 1826, a protocol was signed at St Petersburgh in which these three powers engaged, as mediators and allies, to use their good offices with the Sultan towards that end, proposing, at the same time, that Greece should remain nominally dependent on Turkey; that she should pay to her an annual tribute in exchange for this qualified liberty; that she should be governed by native authorities whose nomination should be sanctioned by the Porte; and that she should for ever enjoy perfect religious toleration and freedom of trade. This offer of mediation, and the conditions annexed to it, the Sultan absolutely declined to accept, and the desolating and cruel war in the Morea waged by Ibrahim Pasha, son of Mehemet Ali, Pasha of Egypt, continued for another year with, if possible, aggravated ferocity; when, on the 4th of July 1827, a treaty was signed in London between England, France, and Russia, by which the three contracting powers mutually engaged to enforce, by hostilities if necessary, the adjustment of the differences between the Porte and the Greeks, on terms to be prescribed to both parties, and which were an extension rather than a curtailment of the conditions of the protocol of the previous year. The nominal sovereignty of Greece was still to remain with Turkey, and an annual tribute was to be paid, but the Turks were to surrender to the Greeks whatever property they possessed in Greece on receiving a pecuniary indemnity, and all the fortresses were to be given up to the Greek troops. An armistice between the contending parties was meanwhile to be proclaimed, and the Turkish government was informed, that if the terms of the treaty of London were not accepted within a month, the three powers would be obliged to adopt "such measures as they shall judge most efficacious for putting an end to a state of things which was become incompatible even with the true interests of the

Causes of that battle.

Protocol of 1826.

Conditions of the Treaty.

Sublime Porte, with the security of commerce in general, and with the perfect tranquillity of Europe." This treaty was indignantly rejected by the Porte, and the right of interference by the three powers in the domestic affairs of an independent and friendly state, which was engaged in punishing its revolted subjects "on its own territory, and in conformity with its sacred law," utterly denied; and so lively was the anger felt at this attempt at mediatory concussion that the treaty was regarded by the Divan as tantamount to a declaration of war, and measures of defence against an attack provided. It is apparent, indeed, that such a treaty, devised and arranged without the knowledge of Turkey, and yet affecting her territorial and political interests most vitally, could be justified only on the ground of humanity, which in the case of the Greeks had been outraged to a fearful extent, and that sacred principle would perhaps cover a greater departure from the strict letter of international law and usage than was obviously involved in it; but it is as the proximate cause of the battle of Navarino that we have to consider it at present, for to that event it led by something like an inevitable necessity; and we are to remember, when assigning so much importance to that sanguinary engagement, that it inflicted a severer blow on Turkey than she had received since the seizure of the Crimea by the Empress Catherine—that it weakened her naval resources so much, as to expose her in after years to the most serious reverses—that it altered entirely the character and relations of what is called the "Eastern Question,"—and that, in its remote effects, it has led to the present war between Russia and England, which will ultimately embrace all Europe:—to know the causes, then, which led to this battle is to possess the key to much, if not to all, that has happened in European and Asiatic Turkey for the last twenty-seven years.

Refused by the Porte.

Consequences of this refusal.

The Admiral in command of the Mediterranean squadron at that time was the late Sir Edward Codrington, a very gallant but somewhat incautious officer. In addition to the English fleet, the French and Russian squadrons under Admirals de Rigny and de Heiden, served under the orders of the English Admiral; and the attacking force consisted of ten sail of the line, ten frigates and a brig, and one or two smaller vessels. The combined Turkish and Egyptian fleet consisted of four sail of the line, nineteen frigates, and twenty-nine corvettes, assisted by the batteries. The action lasted four hours, and was one of the severest ever fought in modern times, and the loss in men was proportionally great: but the Turkish and Egyptian fleets were entirely destroyed, and when morning dawned nothing was to be seen of the

Admiral Codrington's conduct.

proud armament that rode on the waters of the bay the day before but fragments of wrecked ships, and dismasted and stranded hulks. The work was done, and done completely; but the question which afterwards arose, and which was keenly debated in England, was —why was it done at all? The ministry were dissatisfied, for the Admiral, they said, had exceeded his instructions, and he was recalled. He, again, appealed to his orders, which, he alleged, were so far imperative, that he was enjoined by them to enforce an armistice on the Turkish commander should all other means fail:—that these means had failed:—that Ibrahim Pasha was allowed by him to enter the bay of Navarino on the express understanding that an armistice was to be observed—that he broke that understanding by carrying fire and sword through the land, and that it was his duty to stop these atrocities by an attack on the Turkish fleet. It is difficult at this distance of time to estimate the precise value of the arguments used on both sides in reference to this unpleasant business, for if we should even admit that there was, which is not improbable, considerable ambiguity in the wording of the Admiral's instructions, we find such unquestionable evidence under his own hand, in the letter which he addressed to the several captains of his fleet when he assumed the command;[1] of his understanding that the "intention of the allies was to interfere as conciliators," and that "most particular care must be taken, that the measures adopted against the Ottoman navy, do not degenerate into hostilities," that we are unable to discover any satisfactory cause for that misapprehension of the meaning of his orders which was afterwards urged in his defence. That he had *no* objections to display his prowess in the famed Gulph of Lepanto is also obvious from his intimating to Ibrahim Pasha when he entered the Bay of Navarino, "that he should not be sorry were an opportunity given to him to *destroy* the Turkish fleet;"[2] and we fear that the only conclusion that can be arrived at is, that this very gallant old seaman allowed his feelings to get the better of his judgment, in a case which required a rarer combination of tact and patience than he possessed. Still, it must be admitted that his position was a difficult one, and that the only apparent way of carrying out the object which he understood his government to be anxious to attain was, to deprive the Turks of the means of prosecuting that ferocious war which the powers had determined to put a stop to. We shall only further remark on this matter, that the Turks could not be held to be bound by the terms of a treaty which they had peremptorily refused to accept, and that they were at

Mistakes his orders.

Concluding reflections.

[1] Brenton's Naval History, ii. 643. [2] *Idem*, 616.

peace, or thought themselves to be so, with the powers whose joint navies destroyed their fleet in the bay of Navarino.[1]

The consequences of the battle of Navarino are only now beginning to be thoroughly understood in Western Europe, and the conviction is all but universal that it was a political blunder of the first magnitude, regard being had to the preservation of the balance of power, and the prevention of the overgrowth of the Muscovite empire; but in order to shew how fatal its effects upon Turkey were, how little it promoted the views of either France or England, and how largely it advanced the interests of Russia, a short retrospect of what happened at Constantinople in the latter years of the Greek war is necessary.

Re-organization of the Turkish army, 1826.

The Sultan Mahmoud was as much convinced as his predecessor Selim had been, that the organization, discipline, and equipment of the Turkish army must be changed, and the European model adopted on all these points, if the Ottoman empire was to be saved from destruction; and the reverses of the imperial troops in Greece, sustained at the hands of a body of insurgent peasantry, served to give additional strength to this belief. The fate of Sultan Selim twenty years before was not forgotten, and neither were his precepts; but though caution was necessary in dealing with so delicate a matter, it was also felt that something must be hazarded for the common good. The Sultan had therefore enrolled a considerable body of artillerymen who were instructed in the science of gunnery by European officers, and who observed to some extent the European tactics; and having proceeded successfully so far, he determined, in 1826, to reorganise the infantry in a similar manner. Accordingly, towards the end of May, a *Hatti Scheriff*, duly signed and attested, was read in the mosques, and proclaimed in the public places of the chief cities, whereby it was enacted, that the existing privileges of the janissaries should be continued for life to their present holders, but should cease at their death; that fifty out of the 196 regiments of which the corps of janissaries was composed should furnish fifty men each towards the foundation of a new infantry, to be drilled, clothed, and armed, after the European fashion; and to secure the consent

[1] "England *had the air* of being the soul of an alliance contracted between her, France, and Russia. However, the only inheritance which a minister (Mr Canning), who had been able to conciliate the interests of his country with those of humanity, left his successor, was a treaty of 6th July. His premature death opened a field to other views, and the great event of Navarino did not lead to those consequences which Europe expected. Let others inquire if we owe this grand catastrophe to mere hazard, or to the warlike humour of a brave sailor."—VALENTINI *guerre contre les Turcs*.

of the great body of the people to so violent an alteration in the structure of the regular army, the support of the Mufti, the Ulemas, and of some even of the chiefs of the janissaries, had been obtained. It was hoped, therefore, that no disturbance of the public peace would follow this experiment, but on the 14th of June the slumbering discontent of the janissaries broke out, and on the evening of that day betrayed itself by acts of insubordination amounting to open mutiny. Assembling in tumultuary bands they attacked and pillaged the houses of the Grand Vizier, the Capitan Pasha, the Aga of the janissaries, and the diplomatic agent of the Pasha of Egypt, their inmates escaping with difficulty from the fury of this enraged and brutal soldiery; and there is no reason to doubt that, had the Sultan been in Constantinople, and his palace been stormed, the scenes of 1807 would have been re-enacted. As it chanced he was at his palace on the banks of the Bosphorus, and the rioters, satisfied with the victory they had achieved, and anxious to enjoy the fruits of their plunder, dispersed themselves among the wine shops of the city, and abandoned themselves to every kind of excess. At day-break on the morning of the 15th they again assembled in large numbers in the square of the Atmeidan, and prepared for the most vigorous resistance should their demands be refused. Their camp-kettles were overturned, which was their usual signal for revolt, and they issued proclamations calling upon every janissary who was true to his religion and his race to repair to the place of rendezvous; but the government had not been idle in the meantime, and had resolved to put down the insurrection or perish in the attempt. On hearing of the tumult the Sultan instantly proceeded to the city and placed himself at the head of the artillery, and such other troops as he could depend upon. His gallant bearing revived the drooping courage of his adherents, the Sandjak Scheriff, or sacred standard, was displayed, and the public criers were ordered to denounce the janissaries as enemies of their country, and rebels to their sovereign, and to call upon all true believers to rally round their prince and the banner of the Prophet. This appeal was answered in a spirit of the most fervent loyalty by the population of Constantinople of every age and condition, who hastened, fully armed, to the assistance of the Sultan and his troops. The regular force arrayed against the mutineers amounted to 10,000 men; and the janissaries having been thrice summoned to submit, and having as often refused to do so till they received the heads of four of the offending ministers, the contest began by a well-directed fire of musquetry from the insurgents, answered by a discharge of grape-shot from the artillery at point-blank distance. For a short while

Contest with the Janissaries, June 1826.

these intrepid men stood firmly in the face of the terrible battery which mowed them down by hundreds, but yielding to necessity, they at length retreated, though in good order, to their barracks, followed by the imperial troops. No attempt was made by the latter to force the gates, but shells and other missiles were projected upon the building, which took fire, when the janissaries, seeing that their destruction was now inevitable, offered to surrender. The offer was sternly refused, the fire of the artillery was continued, and 4000 men, the remnant of that haughty and turbulent body-guard who had for centuries kept the Ottoman authorities in awe, and who had that morning insolently braved the anger of their sovereign, and demanded the lives of his servants, perished miserably either in the flames, or in the effort to cut their way out. The victory of the Sultan was complete, and the power of the janissaries for ever broken; and it has been computed that the number who fell in the capital and the provinces during the next three months, amounted to 40,000 men.[1] To complete this triumph over his domestic foes Mahmoud ordered the name of the janissaries to be proscribed, their barracks to be erased, their kettle-drums to be broken, their standards to be destroyed, and their duties to be assigned to the new troops, and had Turkey been in a condition to profit by this sanguinary military revolution the consequences would have been altogether beneficial; but as matters stood in 1826 the destruction of the finest body of trained soldiers she possessed, however necessary to her internal peace that destruction might be, sensibly impaired her means of defence at a time when she was engaged in a life and death struggle with the Greeks, and had to contemplate a prospective combat with France, England, and Russia, which might fall upon her at any hour. These distractions were farther increased by the ungenerous conduct of her hereditary enemy, Russia, at this critical juncture of her affairs; for that power, taking advantage of her crippled condition, preferred certain loose charges of breach of treaty against her in September of the same year, exactly three months after the suppression of the janissaries, and before any force capable of replacing that national militia could be organised, and, as a matter of course, found the Divan wholly unprepared to resist the demands that were made upon it. This factitious dispute was arranged by the convention of Akerman (a town in Bessarabia) on the 8th of October 1826, when the Sultan was obliged to submit to such terms as his powerful adversary chose to dictate; and though these did not involve the surrender of any fresh territory, they served to

Janissaries destroyed to a man.

Convention of Akerman, October 1826.

[1] ALISON, iii. 248.

consolidate doubtful claims, and to establish a pretext to Russia for future interference in the concerns of her co-religionists in the Turkish dominions, which, if admitted even as a conditional right, would secure to the Czar a kind of ecclesiastical protectorate over two-thirds of all the subjects of the Sultan in Europe and Asia, and which he is at this moment endeavouring to enforce.[1] When all these complications are considered, it will appear that the battle of Navarino was not an insulated event the effects of which might be corrected by time and management, but the complement to a series of the most terrible national disasters that could be crowded into the short space of one year; and who shall wonder that that incident produced a deadening sensation throughout Turkey?

State of the Capital.

The excitement caused at Constantinople by the intelligence of the battle of Navarino was great, and for some time it was feared that the popular discontent would manifest itself in the old form of an attack on the Christian population of the city; and had the janissaries been still in existence there can be little doubt that an indiscriminate massacre of the Franks would have ensued. Nothing of the kind, however, occurred, but the Divan retained the firm attitude it had assumed from the first in reference to the Greek contest, and refused, in the most peremp-

[1] Some of these conclusions are necessarily inferential, and are to be extracted from the spirit rather than the letter of the terms of the convention of Akerman, for Russia never goes straight to her purpose, and the words "religion" and "protection" are not to be found in them. They are both assumed to be the natural results of the just interpretation of pre-existing treaties, Russia herself being the interpreter; and when the proper hour arrives the astonished Turk is told that his ancestors had done things which are binding upon him, though he never heard of them before, and this religious protectorate is one of them. The arrogance and absurdity of such a claim in any case whatever, where the contracting parties are independent potentates, and represent nations which are independent of each other, are self-evident; and in the case of a country like Russia, where religious toleration is wholly unknown, is singularly offensive; but so far as we have been able to ascertain, the treaty of Cainarji, on which this outrageous pretension is founded, contains nothing more than a stipulation that the Sultan shall allow the undisturbed exercise of the Greek religion at Constantinople by such of the inhabitants of that city as profess it. This simple and most proper privilege has gradually expanded, under the fostering care of the Czar, into a vast and overshadowing hierarchical right which imposes upon him the most weighty pontifical responsibilities; and in vindication of it he has not only not hesitated to break the peace of the world, and to unsettle the canons of national morality, but to imperil the stability of his throne and the integrity of his dominions. There has been much unnecessary criticism on the conduct of the Turks in reference to the convention of Akerman, and particularly as to their bad faith, but there seem to be but slight grounds for these charges; and even if they did consent to its articles "to gain time," who can blame them? Russia at least is not the power to complain of the employment of diplomatic *finesse*.

tory terms, to recognise the right of foreign states to interpose themselves between the Sublime Porte and its revolted subjects;[1] and looking upon the destruction of its fleet as an act of undisguised hostility on the part of the three powers, it demanded, through the Reis Effendi, "that the Allied Courts should desist from all interference in the affairs of Greece; that the Porte should receive an indemnity for the loss sustained by the destruction of its fleet; and that the Sultan should obtain satisfaction for the insult that had been offered to him." To this demand the Allied Ambassadors replied: "That the convention of the 6th of July (1825), which was still in force, did not allow the Allies to abandon the cause of Greece; that the Turkish fleet gave occasion to the battle of Navarino, which deprived the Porte of all claim to indemnity; and that the Porte had the less reason to look for satisfaction for a supposed injury, since it had been duly warned that such an event as the battle of Navarino might occur if it did not listen to the counsels of moderation, or if it should provoke a contest by being the first to attack." An accommodation between parties differing so widely on the basis of an agreement was nearly, if not wholly, impracticable from the first; and the breach was daily widened by the inflexible determination of both sides not to recede from the ground they had taken up. The Sultan and his ministers prepared energetically for war and laid an embargo on the foreign shipping in the harbour, while the resident ministers continued their efforts to pacify the Porte, but unsuccessfully; and on the 8th of December 1827, the allied ambassadors finally left the capital. The Russian minister repaired to Odessa, and the French and English ministers to the Ionian islands; and much about the same time, Count Capo d'Istria, the secretary of the Czar and the creature of Russia, proceeded to Athens, where he was installed as the first president of the Greek republic, whose independence of the Ottoman empire was now formally proclaimed, and guaranteed by the three mediating powers.

Only a few months elapsed before Turkey was again involved in

"[1] My positive, absolute, definitive, unchangeable, eternal answer is, that the Sublime Porte does not accept any proposition regarding the Greeks, and will persist in its own will regarding them even to the day of the last judgment."—ALISON, iii. 230; *Reply of the Sultan.* Everything connected with that unfortunate battle is embarrassing, not to say humbling; and to this day Ibrahim Pasha's account of the action has remained unanswered.—AL. *id.* 227. The protocol of July 1825 was not a treaty binding upon Turkey, which never accepted it, but an engagement between the three powers to do certain things whether Turkey would or not; and it is not denied now that the Allies were the aggressors in the battle, and that their appearance in the bay in battle array was in itself a hostile act.

hostilities with Russia; for the Czar, who was fully alive to the necessity of seizing the opportunity now offered of further humbling the Porte, and advancing the hereditary policy of his house, declared war in form on the 26th of April 1828. The time chosen for this last attempt on the integrity and independence of the Ottoman Empire was not indifferent, and would of itself serve to shew the motives by which the autocrat was governed on this occasion. The closure of the Greek war by the forcible intervention of the allies, the consequent loss of a province and of a fleet, and the diminution of material and pecuniary resources to a large extent, were all of them events barely six months old. It was impossible that much could be done in so short an interval to repair the disasters inseparable from an unsuccessful contest of seven years' duration; and while the Sultan had not a ship to protect his coasts, and keep his communications open by sea, one Russian fleet navigated the Mediterranean, while another, issuing from Sebastopol, had command of the Euxine. Two years had not quite passed away since the corps of the janissaries had been suppressed, and the right arm of the Turkish militia had been cut off; and in addition to the loss of an efficient body of soldiers, whose history was more or less identified with the national reputation, the Sultan had to contend against the suppressed feeling of anger which that event had excited in the minds of the members of the old Turkish party, and which was fatally displayed in the subsequent campaigns. When, therefore, Nicholas forced a quarrel upon him in 1828, which his own diplomatic skill and the efforts of his ministers were wholly unable to compose, he was labouring under two of the greatest calamities that could under any circumstances have presented themselves,—the want of a fleet, and the want of an army. Lastly, his position in regard to the leading European states, particularly England and France, was an uneasy one, in consequence of the attitude which these two powers had assumed in the recent struggle for Greek independence, and the overruling obligations of the treaty of London, which not only prevented them from assisting him, but rendered them worse than neutral in a contest which did not affect Turkey alone, but was to decide with whom the empire of the European world was to rest. During the whole of his reign that energetic but unfortunate sovereign had been more deeply implicated in the tortuous policy of the Western powers than any of his predecessors for centuries, and, as has been well observed, had had, at one time or other, the whole of Europe on his shoulders; while at the moment which Russia chose for a fresh assault on his dominions he was under what has been

War with Russia, 1828.

Complicated foreign relations.

not unaptly called "the ban of political excommunication."[1] Russia knew these things well, and she knew moreover that the greatest ignorance and indifference prevailed in Western Europe on the "Eastern Question," with which the principal cabinets evinced a marked disinclination to meddle; and now that the independence of Greece was secured, partly through her own instrumentality, she was aware that the sympathies of the popular mind were rather with her than with the Grand Turk, whose oppression of a people of classical descent and renowned history was deeply resented by the Christian nations generally. The wonder is not, therefore, that in the terrible struggle for national existence which followed the declaration of war by Russia in 1828, the Porte was defeated, and obliged to submit to the severe terms that were imposed upon her by the treaty of Adrianople, but that she should have outlived the struggle at all; and under these circumstances, it is of less consequence than it would be otherwise to examine minutely the grounds of complaint which Russia urged against a power which a combination of internal and external incidents had rendered comparatively helpless. It is now well known that the meditated attack had been in active preparation for years, and that no observance of treaties, and no ordinary amount of submission, would have averted the blow aimed at her so long as a single vestige of Turkish independence remained, or a single province in Europe or Asia continued to prefer the sovereignty of the Sultan to the Protectorate of the Czar.

Complaints of Russia.

Russia complained as usual of the violation of treaties on the part of the Porte, of indifference to the sacredness of international obligations, of impediments to Russian commerce in the Bosphorus and Black Sea, of attempts to prevent the conclusion of a peace between Persia and Russia, and of the avowal that it had accepted the terms of the convention of Akerman merely to procrastinate, and with no intention of fulfilling them. These would seem to be but slender causes for a war of any kind, and more especially for one such as Russia was now preparing to wage; but the Porte declared the charges brought against it to be "false and unjust, and to have no other object than to cover the insatiable love of conquest and usurpation that distinguished the cabinet of St Petersburgh;" adding, that "if the existing treaties had been infringed, Russia alone was guilty of the act." All the other accusations of Russia were disposed of in much the same manner, except the charge of duplicity in respect to the convention

[1] The Sultan Mahmoud and Mehemet Ali Pasha, p. 21.

of Akerman, to the consideration of which we may devote a few words.

We have already stated the circumstances under which the convention of Akerman was extracted from the fears and necessities of Turkey in October 1826, at a time when the Greek insurrection was at its height, and when the Sultan was menaced by the two great maritime powers in conjunction with Russia; hence the Porte had no alternative but to accept the terms of that convention, however oppressive their character might be; and we are told by a competent witness that it did accept them "sincerely" and "in good faith."[1] It is proper to remark, however, that this treaty of Akerman was much disliked by all classes in Turkey, and that its acceptance by the government, added to the recent conflict with the janissaries, sensibly affected the popularity of the Sultan and his ministers. Accordingly, in the following year, when the battle of Navarino occurred, and it was known that the allied navies had destroyed the combined Turkish and Egyptian fleets, the Sultan, irritated to madness by an event which threatened him with ruin, determined at once to declare war against the three powers, and was with difficulty dissuaded from committing so rash and so foolish an act—but unfortunately not before he had caused to be issued a *Hatti Scheriff*,[2] addressed to the Pashas and Ayans of the provinces, calling upon them to arm in defence of their country and religion. Smarting, no doubt, under the distressing conviction that the unpopular convention of Akerman had not averted the blow which now threatened to crush him, though Russia had stipulated in that treaty *not* to interfere farther in the Greek contest, and kept that promise by sending an admiral and a squadron of ships of war to Navarino,[3] and anxious to explain to his dissatisfied people why it was that he entered into that convention, he allowed a clause to be inserted in the manifesto, couched in these terms:—"The demands made by the Russians last year were on no account admissible, nevertheless, the pressure of circumstances was such that, wholly against his will, and through pure necessity, he was obliged to conclude a treaty that was required for the safety of the Mahometan nation."[4] It is upon this incautiously worded sentence, occurring in a public document addressed to the

Treaty of Akerman unpopular.

Offensive manifesto issued by the Sultan.

[1] *Progress of Russia in the East*, p. 105.

[2] 20th December 1827.

[3] The Turkish Government has publicly asserted this fact, referring to the protocols for its verification, and the truth of the assertion has not been publicly denied.—*Progress of Russia*, &c. p. 95.—*Note.*

[4] ALISON, iii. 263.

secondary functionaries of the empire, and obviously drawn up hastily, that the charge of infidelity to treaties, which has been so industriously circulated ever since, was officially rested by the Russians in 1828, and it cannot be denied that it was a moral error as well as a considerable diplomatic blunder, which the Czar was not slow to take advantage of; for, though Russia notoriously never adheres to a treaty with Turkey when it suits her interests to disregard it, and had played false even in this very convention of Akerman, a plausible ground of complaint against her was at last found, greedily seized, and instantly acted upon. Every attempt of the Ottoman Government to retract the offensive expressions was haughtily resisted, and the Emperor of Russia, in the full flush of pride and power, came forth from the fastnesses of the North at the head of his disciplined hosts to avenge the outraged principles of international morality so dear to him and his race, and to punish the Oriental barbarian who had failed in a clumsy attempt to emulate the inimitable dexterity of his powerful Sarmatian neighbour.

It is impossible in a work of this kind to attempt even the slightest sketch of the incidents of the war which had now commenced, for a description of which we must refer to treatises expressly dedicated to the consideration of military matters;[1] but we may state that the Turks, though taken at every disadvantage, without a fleet, and with an undisciplined and ill-organized army—the ranks of which were filled chiefly by mere lads whom the Sultan desired to educate in his own way—defended themselves and their country with the most heroic bravery, and that they sank at last under the triple pressure of divided councils, ill-contrived operations, and inadequate military skill. Yet for two years, and single-handed, they withstood the best armies of Russia led by her best generals, and did not abandon the unequal struggle till one division of the Russian army had reached Bourgas on the Black Sea, and another Enos on the Mediterranean; and not even then till the ambassadors of the Western powers at Constantinople, particularly those of England and Austria, had united their efforts to obtain a pacification.

The Russians crossed the Pruth in May 1828, with an army of 158,000 men, under General Wittgenstein, so celebrated for his conduct in the retreat of the French from Moscow, which was reduced at the end of the campaign in November of the same year to 80,000 men; a half of this mighty host had therefore perished by

[1] The Russo-Turkish Campaigns of 1828 and 1829, by Col. Chesney, R.A., is an excellent work; and much interesting information will be found in the 15th chapter (vol. iii.) of Sir A. Alison's "History of Europe from the Fall of Napoleon," &c.

sickness or the sword, and the only trophies which rewarded this frightful waste of human life were Brailow in Moldavia, and Varna on the Black Sea, the former wrested from an array of Turkish irregulars, and the latter acquired through the treachery of its governor, who betrayed it into the hands of the enemy.[1] The other operations were almost entirely in favour of the Turks, such as the combats near Shumla, the battle of Kurtesse, and the successful defences of Shumla and Silistria, followed, in the latter case, by the retreat of the Russian army across the Danube from before its trenches.

The second campaign began early in April 1829, and was conducted by General Diebitsch, the successor of Count Wittgenstein, who captured Silistria, defeated the Turks under the Grand Vizier, in a pitched battle fought in the valley of Kulewtscha,[2] crossed the Balkan[3] in July, descended into the plains of Roumelia, and on the 10th of August entered Adrianople, the ancient capital of the Ottomans, as a conqueror, but with only 15,000 or 17,000 men;[4] and had the military officers of the Sultan possessed the skill or enterprise necessary for such an undertaking, this handful of troops might have been destroyed or captured, and the fortune of the war changed. But fear had seized the minds of all: the invading army, of whom only 8000 were in a state fit to march,[5] was compared to the leaves of a forest in number, and believed to amount to 60,000 men; and on the 28th of August 1829, the second campaign and the war were simultaneously closed by the humiliating treaty of Adrianople. Had not the Sultan been deceived as to both the numbers and condition of Diebitsch's army it is certain that he would have continued the war at *all* hazards, but he was imposed upon by the reports of his officers and ministers; and it is said, that when the fatal treaty was brought to him for signature, his usual firmness forsook him, and he wept bitterly.[6]

War closed.

[1] The name of this person was Jussuf Pasha. He was second in command, and surrendered at discretion when the garrison was still 6800 strong, and the ramparts were covered with 162 pieces of cannon. No assault had been given, though it was alleged that a practicable breach had been made, and the Russians considered the place indefensible. The siege by sea and land lasted for 89 days, and the surrender was made on the 11th October 1828. Jussuf Pasha, immediately after its fall, proceeded in a Russian frigate to Odessa, and was rewarded by the Czar with ample grants of land in the Crimea.—ALISON, iii. 291. CHESNEY, 163.

[2] 11th May 1829.

[3] A range of high mountains which run east and west, and separate Bulgaria from Roumelia.

[4] CHESNEY, 246.

[5] *England, France, Russia, and Turkey*, p. 33.

[6] CHESNEY, 245.

By the treaty of Adrianople Russia, who began the war by a solemn declaration that she did not desire territorial aggrandizement, acquired Anapa and Poty in Asia, a portion of the pashalic of Akhilska, a considerable extent of coast on the Black Sea, and the islands formed by the mouths of the Danube, which give her the command of that river. All the Turkish fortresses on the left, or Wallachian bank of the Danube, including Georgiova, were to be destroyed, and the right bank abandoned for six miles above its embouchure, and all Mahometans holding property on the left bank were ordered to dispose of it within eighteen months. The virtual separation of Moldavia and Wallachia from the Porte was attempted by sanatory and other regulations, and the old claim of a protectorate over the members of the Greek Church was again mooted. A general amnesty was to be proclaimed by Turkey;—Russian subjects residing in the Ottoman dominions were to be exempted from responsibility to the national authorities, and Russian merchants were to pay only the tariff of external commerce (3 per cent. on exports);[1] and, lastly, a sum of FIVE MILLIONS STERLING was exacted from Turkey as an indemnity for the expenses of a war that had been forced upon her on the most frivolous pretences, and the Danubian provinces, with Silistria, were to be held in pledge for this debt. What more could the Czar have demanded had his cavalry been stabled in the Hippodrome of Byzantium? and is it any wonder that the courageous spirit of Mahmoud at length gave way, and that he wept when he signed such a treaty as this?

The Porte was still languishing under the effects of the onerous treaty of Adrianople, when, in 1830, a new danger threatened her, and from a new quarter. Mehemet Ali, Pasha of Egypt, one of the most extraordinary men which the East has produced in modern times, resolved to profit by the weakness of his sovereign, and to take possession of Syria, the first step, as is now known, towards a declaration of independence. His army, notwithstanding the losses it had sustained in the Greek war, was superior to anything the Sultan could bring against it, and he had still a considerable naval force with which he could operate by sea. His son Ibrahim Pasha, the fierce invader of the Morea, commanded his troops, and in a series of bloody encounters he defeated the levies of the Sultan, took Acre and Damascus, and ultimately Aleppo. An army of 36,000 men, under Hussein Pasha, was sent by the Porte to guard the passes leading over Mount Taurus, and took post at Beila, between Antioch and Scanderoon; but notwithstanding his superiority in numbers and

Invasion of Syria.

[1] "There is not a single native Russian merchant in Turkey."—*England, France, Russia, and Turkey*, p. 30.

artillery, and the strength of his position, he was attacked by Ibrahim, and utterly routed. Ibrahim now crossed the Taurus and entered Caramania, and the road to Constantinople lay open before him, when a last effort was made to arrest his progress. A fresh army of 60,000 men, under the Grand Vizier, Redschid Pasha, was hastily collected and sent against him. The Vizier found him strongly encamped near the village of Konieh, and instantly attacked him; but after a sanguinary battle of six hours' duration, he was defeated with immense loss. His army was dispersed, and the whole of his artillery, baggage, and ammunition, fell into the hands of the victorious Ibrahim, who, advancing to Brousa, threatened Constantinople. Nothing now remained to the Sultan and his ministers but an appeal to the great European powers, and in this extremity France and England were applied to for aid, but in vain. The political events of 1830 and the two following years in both countries, disabled them from rendering any assistance to Turkey, who was thus compelled to throw herself into the arms of the Czar, who gladly seized the opportunity offered to him of creating practical obligations that might be afterwards turned to advantage. Negotiations were now entered into with Mehemet Ali and the march of Ibrahim on the capital was countermanded, but the Pasha rejected with scorn a treaty which proposed to strip him of his Syrian conquests, and ordered his son to resume hostilities, and not to conclude a peace except on the terms which he himself had dictated. Ibrahim now advanced to Routakai, and threatened the capital, when a Russian fleet from Sebastopol proceeded to the Bosphorus, and 15,000 Russian troops were landed at Scutari, on the Asiatic side of the strait. The Porte was thus oppressed by the double calamity of a Russian protectorate and an Egyptian invasion, when the Sultan, to avert the calamities that were but too plainly impending over him, consented to yield Syria to Mehemet Ali, who then became a more powerful potentate than his nominal master. A treaty of peace, concluded in May 1833, followed, and immediately thereafter the Turkish territory was evacuated by the Russian troops and the Egyptian army.

Battle of Konieh, 2d Dec. 1832.

Peace, May 1833.

The conduct of Russia upon this occasion has been much criticised, and she herself has always boasted of its disinterestedness, and it would be unfair to deny that, in consequence of the supineness of the other powers she was allowed to render important services to the Sultan; but she extracted as the price of these services the treaty of Unkiar Skelessee (a village on the Bosphorus), by which Turkey became involved in a defensive alliance, which bound her to assist Russia should she be attacked,

while Russia engaged to protect Turkey against any enemy who might attack her. By a secret article, also, Turkey undertook, in lieu of military assistance which she might not be able to render, to close the Dardanelles against foreign ships of war; the effect of which article was, not only to exclude the navies of other nations while the Turkish seas were open to the navy of Russia, but to invest Russia with the control of the Dardanelles and the entrance into the Euxine; and though the maritime powers protested energetically against this concession to Russia at the expense of other states as a direct infringement of the marine police of Turkey, they did so without effect.

Secret article of the Treaty.

In 1839 the peace of the Porte was again disturbed by Mehemet Ali, who renounced his obedience to the Sultan by openly refusing to pay tribute, and claimed the hereditary possession of Egypt and Syria as independent possessions of his house; but these extravagant pretensions were opposed to the integrity of the empire, and to the reverence due by all good Mussulmans to the Sultan as the Caliph of the Ottomans, and the first Imaum of Islamism. Mehemet Ali and his son were therefore deprived by royal proclamation of their dignities, estates, and offices, and a fleet and army were equipped to chastise them. The army, however, under Hafiz Pasha was defeated by Ibrahim at Nezib on the Assyrian frontier, on the 24th of June; and a few weeks afterwards the fleet under Achmet, Capitan Pasha, was carried to Alexandria by that traitor, and delivered up to the Pasha of Egypt. These sad tidings the Sultan Mahmoud did not live to hear. His health had been undermined by incessant anxiety and latterly by intemperance, and he died a natural death on the 1st of July 1839, in the 57th year of his age, and the 31st of his reign.

Second revolt of Mehemet, 1839.

Death of the Sultan, July 1839.

The reforms introduced into the whole economy of oriental life by Mahmoud evince the remarkable energy and steadfastness of his character, and indicate an amount of intelligence that must have been derived from nature alone, since it was not, assuredly, the result of education. Born in the purple, and reared in the Seraglio, his knowledge of the world when he ascended the blood-stained throne of the Sultans could scarcely have exceeded that of a child; and yet from the first moment of his assumption of imperial power he betrayed an ardent desire for the improvement of his people, and a profound sympathy with the enlarged views of his unfortunate predecessor, Selim. The darkest stain which rests upon his memory was impressed upon it by the foul butcheries of the Greeks perpetrated in his name, and no doubt

Character of the Sultan.

with his consent; still he is represented by those who knew him in his hours of relaxation as "mild and amiable—a cordial friend and gentle master—and as being remarkably fond of his children;"[1] the latter a quality which is seldom if ever associated with an absolutely cruel temper. So soon as the destruction of the janissaries relieved him from that military tyranny which weighed so heavily on the sovereigns of Turkey for centuries, he carried out his meditated changes with vigour and discrimination. Much of that state etiquette by which royalty in the East has been always shrouded was abolished, and a simpler order of court ceremonial introduced. He diminished the number of pashas, and withdrew from them the power of life and death; and the revenues of the state in his reign were so carefully collected and so judiciously managed, that notwithstanding the loss of contributions from Greece, Albania, Wallachia, Moldavia, Egypt, Syria, and the Caucasian provinces, his expenditure never exceeded his receipts. He sensibly improved the administration of justice, and in the case of political offenders he abolished the confiscation of the movable estate which had hitherto followed the execution of the holder, and forbade all interference with the estate itself when the heirs of a culprit were minors; and a writer personally acquainted with the state of society in Turkey at the time has said, "that his administration, as contrasted with former reigns, was characterized by economy, moderation, humanity, and gradual but real progress."[2]

Administrative reforms.

The wisdom of his military reforms was formerly much doubted; but experience has shewn that they were required, and that if Turkey was to be called upon periodically, and at no long intervals, to withstand the assaults of European powers, or of Asiatic powers armed after the European manner, a total change in the equipment and discipline of her infantry force was indispensable. We may conclude, then, that the reign of the deceased Sultan, as it was the longest, so was it the most eventful in every way that has occurred in the history of the Ottoman Empire since the commencement of the present century, and that he, and the more enlightened of his ministers, communicated that impulse to the Turkish mind of which the vital proofs are being so conspicuously afforded at this hour.

Mahmoud was succeeded by his son, Abdul Medjid, the present Sultan, then a youth of seventeen years of age; and as no commotion among the janissary party at Constantinople, and no disturbances in the provinces, followed his elevation, the young sovereign began

[1] Dr Walsh. [2] Sultan Mahmoud and Mehemet Ali Pasha, p. 21.

his reign under more tranquil circumstances than either his father or his cousin. His attention was first directed to the settlement of the Egyptian dispute which the ambition and obstinacy of Mehemet Ali rendered exceedingly difficult; but so desirous was the Sultan to effect a speedy accommodation, and so distrustful had his ministers become of the usefulness of foreign intervention, that they had resolved to send a special envoy to Alexandria to negotiate a peace, when the ambassadors of the five great powers presented a note to the Porte, requesting it not to come to a final arrangement without their concurrence, and begging it to trust to the friendly dispositions of the mediating cabinets; and as this request was supported by the appearance of an English and French squadron in the Dardanelles, the Porte acceded to a demand which it could not successfully evade had it been so disposed. The management of the Eastern Question thus passed out of the hands of the Porte into those of the great European powers, whose mutual jealousies and conflicting interests had nearly dissolved an alliance which professed to have for its object the good of Turkey alone. France was then ruled by King Louis Philippe, whose chief minister was M. Thiers; and as the old hankering after Egypt still continued to influence the French councils, Mehemet Ali became in some sort the representative of French interests in the Levant. The Northern Powers, on the other hand, in conjunction with England, determined to uphold the legitimate rights of the Porte—while Russia was individually bent on preserving that control over the navigation of the Dardanelles which she had stealthily acquired through the treaty of Unkiar Skelessee, and to strengthen that influence in the Divan which her recent services to the Sultan had enabled her to obtain. The result of these singular complications was the separation of France from the other powers, her isolation on a question of great European importance, the formation of the quadruple alliance to which she was not a party, and the growth in France of a feeling of national irritation which threatened to explode in a European war. In May 1840, a treaty for the settlement of the Egyptian question was drawn up in London, and signed by the four powers, and immediately acted upon. Alexandria was declared in a state of siege—Acre was taken by storm by Commodore Napier, and Ibrahim Pasha put to flight. One disaster followed rapidly on another, and at length Mehemet Ali gave in his submission to the Sultan, who, on the recommendation of the allied ambassadors, was reinstated in the hereditary pashalic of Egypt, while Syria, which he had so long, and so tenaciously, held, returned to its natural subjection to the Porte. Mehemet was

Egyptian dispute.

Treaty of London, 1840.

bound to pay a yearly tribute to the Porte, and to introduce into Egypt the same laws and taxes as prevailed in the other provinces of the empire; and the Egyptian quarrel, which at one time threatened to end in the ruin of the Ottoman power, and to set Europe in a blaze, was finally closed on the 11th of June 1841, by the restoration of the Turkish fleet which had been betrayed into the hands of the Pasha two years before.

Between the years 1841 and 1848 Turkey enjoyed a comparative degree of tranquillity, though she was not free from those occasional disturbances in her more remote provinces to which weak states, whose territories are widely dispersed, are liable. Thus, in the year 1841, there arose in Western Syria a civil war between the Druses, who profess a rude kind of Christianity, and their neighbours, the Marionites, who are reputed to be Catholics, which raged for several years with great fury, and notwithstanding the diplomatic intervention of the foreign cabinets was not finally closed till the year 1846. In 1842 hostilities broke out between Persia and Turkey about a frontier boundary line, which were terminated by the joint intervention of England and Russia; and in the same year an old controversy about the sovereignty of the principality of Servia reached its height, and caused the Porte much trouble and uneasiness, in consequence of the vigorous assertion by Russia of a right to the protectorate, which the Western Powers thought it proper to recognise. In 1843 an insurrection broke out in Albania by an armed resistance to the *Tanzimat*, or law of enlistment, which was put down by Omar Pasha, then a rising officer in the Turkish service; but the Albanian insurgents attacked the Christian villages, and committed gross outrages on the Christian population, and thus communicated a religious complexion to the revolt which greatly embittered it. Upon this occasion the Porte acted with becoming firmness and moderation; but having discovered, in 1846, that Christianity was secretly professed by a considerable portion of the inhabitants of that mountainous district, though they conformed outwardly to the Mahometan rites, it let loose the horrors of persecution against them, and endeavoured to force these poor people to embrace Islamism by such revolting severities that the allied powers were obliged to interfere for their protection. These manifestations of religious intolerance, following, as they did, some very violent acts of oppression perpetrated on the Armenian converts made by the American Protestant mission at Constantinople, created a feeling of much dissatisfaction in Western Europe, where it was argued that if Turkey was really desirous

Druses and Marionites.

Albanian insurrection.

Armenian converts.

of entering into the common brotherhood of nations she must accept, along with the privileges, the obligations which such a connexion imposed, and soften the rigour of her ecclesiastical law as regarded her own Christian subjects. The representations of the European ambassadors were but imperfectly successful with the Turkish government even when that government was directed by the enlightened Redschid Pasha, who had not influence enough in the Divan to carry out those measures of executive amelioration which he knew to be necessary for the peace and prosperity of the country; and as late as August 1843, a young Armenian, Serkis Papaz Oghlu, who, in a moment of anger in consequence of some family disputes had embraced Islamism, and subsequently abandoned it, was beheaded at Constantinople for his apostacy. This tragical event, which happened during the ministry of Rifaat Pasha, a timid and temporising man, excited a strong sensation both within and without the diplomatic circle; nor was its intensity diminished by the knowledge of the fact that the life of the unfortunate youth had been promised to the English ambassador, but had been sacrificed to the savage bigotry of the multitude, and the equally savage bigotry of the Mufti, who exclaimed, when the council hesitated, "Are we Mussulmans?"—an appeal that was easily understood, and speedily answered.[1] The only other subject of sufficient importance to require notice as being incidental to this period was, the temporary suspension, in 1846, of diplomatic relations with the new kingdom of Greece, in consequence of a quarrel between King Otho and the Turkish ambassador resident at Athens, who had refused to sign a passport for Caratassos, a colonel in the Greek army, and an aide-de-camp of the King, but formerly a chief of banditti. A bitter feud between the two courts followed. The Turkish ambassador was recalled, and the Porte threatened, if a suitable apology were not formally made for the insult offered to its representative, to curtail the privileges of the Greeks dwelling in Turkey by excluding them from the trades' guilds, by depriving them of the coasting trade which from their nautical habits was almost wholly in their hands, and by refusing them access to the Dardanelles. In this extraordinary dispute, by which the peace of the world was menaced, France took the part of Greece—why it is not easy to understand; but the other powers, including even Russia, declared so strongly in favour of the Porte that the Court of Athens was obliged to give

Capital punishment for apostacy.

Turkish ambassador at Athens.

[1] MICHELSEN, *Ottoman Empire*, &c. p. 73.

way, and to make, in 1847, that official apology to Turkey which had been so often demanded, and so long withheld. Since that time the friendly relations of Greece and Turkey have not been disturbed. In order that the course of this narrative may not be broken at a future time, we shall so far anticipate the current of events as to state here, that in February 1848, Mehemet Ali of Egypt fell ill, and that his intellect became impaired to such an extent that his son, Ibrahim Pasha, was obliged to take into his own hands the supreme direction of the affairs of the Pashalic—that in September of that year Ibrahim repaired to Constantinople, where he received at the hands of the Sultan his investiture as Viceroy of Egypt—that he died in the following November, and was succeeded in the Pashalic by Abbas Pasha, a grandson of Mehemet Ali, and a man of strong Eastern prejudices and passions—that in August 1849, Mehemet Ali also died, and that the Porte was thus relieved from a source of anxiety and danger which had pressed heavily upon it for many years.

Sickness of Mehemet Ali.

Death of Ibrahim Pasha.

The great events which distinguished the year 1848, and which must render it memorable in the annals of Western Europe, affected Turkey but slightly in the first instance, though in their remote consequences they have led to the present war. While European thrones were tottering and ancient dynasties were threatened by dissolution, and while the populations of France, Germany, and even England, were agitated by an intense political fermentation, the Ottoman Empire was in a state of profound repose. It was too remote from the scene of operations to be exposed to the contagion of example, and too indifferent to the objects of European contention to take any part in a strife which, in its aims and purposes, was wholly unintelligible by the Turkish mind. Turkey was, therefore, a mere spectator of the troubled incidents of that time, and it is affirmed that her rulers even hoped for some advantages from the difficulties which then beset the Austrian monarchy, her oldest European antagonist. Presently, however, the spirit of revolt began to manifest itself in the trans-Danubian provinces—first in Moldavia, where the boyars reclaimed, and not without reason, against the tyranny of the Hospodar, and insisted on the strict observance of the constitution guaranteed to them by the protecting powers, Turkey and Russia; and afterwards in Wallachia, where the demands of the disaffected were not confined, as in Moldavia, to the restitution of rights secured by formal treaties, but extended to the speculative adoption of those extreme democratical opinions prevalent in Poland and Hun-

Events of 1848.

gary, and to the erection of a republic after the fashion of that which had been recently established in France by the provisional government. The Porte met these demonstrations of popular discontent in a conciliatory but firm manner, and had succeeded in allaying the disturbances in Moldavia, and in resisting the encroachments of the violent party in Wallachia, when Russia interfered, and marching an army into the Principalities, suppressed the incipient Danubian insurrection. A new treaty was therefore concluded between Russia and Turkey in 1849 at Balta Liman, by which it was stipulated that Russia should be secured for seven years in the same rights she then enjoyed in the Principalities, engaging to evacuate them when the Hungarian revolution had terminated. On the close of that struggle many of the disbanded soldiers and officers who had been engaged in it, and along with them the leading members of the revolutionary government which had been established in Hungary, including the ex-dictator, Kossuth, sought and obtained an asylum in Turkey — their extradition was demanded by Austria and Russia, and refused—the sacred rights of hospitality were honourably observed by her in the midst of great difficulties—and supported by the public opinion of Europe, and the presence of an English fleet in the Dardanelles, she triumphed over a combination that threatened to crush her. These incidents connect the Revolution of February 1848, in France, by a necessary sequence with the war of 1854; but as the apparent cause was different, a few words must be devoted to its consideration.

Treaty of Balta Liman, 1849.

Palestine, as the birth-place of Christianity, has been always considered a sacred territory by the Christian nations of the earth, and to those localities which witnessed the principal scenes in the life of our Saviour a peculiar sanctity has attached itself in every age. The excesses of thought and action occasioned by this feeling led to the Crusades in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, and, by a series of extraordinary circumstances, to vast changes in the social and political combinations of central and western Europe; but in more modern times this spirit has been softened into a mere sentiment of respect for the Holy Land, not unmixed, perhaps, with a slight tinge of poetical sensibility in those natures which are easily moved by devout impressions. Among the Protestant communities of Europe and America this feeling produces slight results, and leads to little beyond the casual visits of intelligent individuals to a region remarkable for its historical and religious associations; but the members of the Greek and Latin churches are still in wont to perform yearly pilgrimages to the

Religious pilgrimages.

holy places,[1] which they believe to be invested with some mysterious, if not supernatural, influences. The liberty of visiting these shrines can be obtained only from the Porte, and it has been for centuries the custom of the Ottoman government to grant licenses of this kind to the Christians of the East and West, who resort at particular seasons in great numbers to these sacred spots. The majority of the pilgrims, however, would appear to be Greeks, Armenians, and members of other oriental churches, with comparatively few Catholics, as the Latins are called; but within the last ten years the number of the latter has considerably increased, and when the members of the rival churches have happened to meet at Jerusalem, commonly in Easter, scenes of the most scandalous description have occurred, ending in many instances in open violence. To the Turk it is a matter of profound indifference which of the two parties worships in the Syrian temples, and were it not for the danger of exciting unfriendly feelings towards himself among the Christian nations he would no doubt refuse all access to the churches to both of them; but when they do go there he insists on their keeping the peace, and not disturbing the public tranquillity by unseemly brawls and sanguinary riots; for it has repeatedly happened that during these disgraceful conflicts the Turkish authorities have been obliged to interfere, and, in order to prevent bloodshed, to guard the entrance to the Temple by Mussulman troops during the celebration of Christian worship. These contests have always arisen out of the competing claims to preference put forth by the members of the rival creeds, the Greeks resting upon the firmans, or decrees, received at various times from the Porte assigning to them the use of certain sanctuaries; and the Franks relying with equal confidence on successive capitulations, or treaties, in favour of the Catholics, entered into between the kings of France, beginning with Francis I. in 1535, and ending with Louis XV. in 1740. These French treaties of course include the whole Catholic world, and we are to presume that the Greek firmans also include all the races professing the Greek religion; but Russia has no individual *status* in these ancient conventions, and it is only in her usurped capacity of head of the Greek Church that she has any place at all in this controversy. Properly speaking the patriarch of Constantinople ought to represent the Greek

Contests between the rival sects.

[1] The number of these places has been sometimes rated as high as twelve, but in this country it is commonly restricted to three, viz. the sanctuaries of Bethlehem, Nazareth, and Jerusalem. Properly speaking, the "holy places" would include the entire geography of Syria, but the term is applied only to these localities which have been selected by the Greek and Latin churches as the objects of religious pilgrimage.

Church, and ecclesiastically he does so; but as that despotic barbarian, the Czar Peter, chose to assume the title and prerogatives of the Greek patriarchate, his descendant, the Czar Nicholas, is as profoundly impressed by the legitimacy of his own claim to the pontifical chair of the East as if the rights involved in it had been originally conferred by an œcumenical council. The dispute which has given rise to the present war began in 1847 by a complaint from the French embassy at Constantinople, that one of the sanctuaries claimed by the Latins had been desecrated by the Greeks, when every reparation for an offence of which it knew nothing was made by the Porte.[1] Russia became alarmed and insisted on her right to defend the accused Greeks, and, to complicate the matter still farther, Austria appeared in the field as one of the heads of the Catholic confederacy; it cannot therefore be thought a matter of astonishment that the Turkish government was greatly perplexed by appeals to its sense of justice which it could not decide in favour of one side without offending the other, and that in circumstances so trying it should have temporised, and endeavoured to gain time. This has been called "double dealing," and it is the part of the transaction which has been considered in this country to constitute a case for the Czar, which he afterwards managed with such desperate activity; but we cannot view it in that light. The firmans which he alleged to have been broken by the concessions made to France were not treaties entered into between the Ottoman Sultan and the Russian Emperor, but between the Ottoman government and the members of the Greek Church, who were in the habit of repairing to Jerusalem for religious purposes, and who must have been, for much the greater part, its own subjects, with whose relations to the Porte, sacred or civil, Russia had nothing whatever to do; but we see in the whole of this extraordinary business the operation of that occult principle on which Russia was now systematically acting, and evidence of her determination to vindicate by even an appeal to arms that assumed religious protectorate which she afterwards openly declared to be inherent in the imperial crown. France could refer to treaties solemnly ratified and claiming an antiquity of three centuries, and Austria, though her conduct towards Turkey at this time was altogether reprehensible, might seek a cover for her pretensions in the fact, that as a

Quarrel between the Latins and the Greeks.

Difficult position of the Porte.

[1] The desecration consisted in the removal by the Greeks, as was alleged, of a silver star marking the spot of the Saviour's birth, which was suspended in the air in one of the chapels claimed by the Latins. The direct interference of the French government on this occasion led to the re-opening of the entire question of the Holy Places.

Catholic state she was included in the conventions with France; but Russia could advance no such justification of her imperious conduct, for even had the firmans in favour of the Greeks been violated, of which there is no proof accessible to us, the question would still arise, upon what ground Russia was called upon to resent an injury which, if it affected her at all, could only have affected her indirectly, and to the smallest possible extent? It is farther to be remembered that this quarrel was not occasioned by anything that the Porte had done, or could do—that its issue, in so far as the complaining parties were concerned, was utterly indifferent to Turkey—that she had no interest in offending three of the greatest European powers by a decision in favour of either, but the very reverse—that if she gave a little to the one and a little to the other since she was not in a condition to turn them all out of Palestine, which would have been her true course, she ought not to be accused of "double dealing" when conforming to a mere necessity,—and that, whatever the intentions of France might be, the object of Russia and Austria plainly was to engender a complaint on which future and offensive operations might be based.

Temperate conduct of France.

The progress of this dispute was partially suspended by the troubles which arose in France and Germany in 1848, but it was re-opened in 1853 by the Emperor of the French (Louis Napoleon), whose policy as head of the State obviously was to support the Church, and to maintain unimpaired the authority of the pontifical chair. So soon, however, as it was discovered that the peace of the world would be compromised by insisting on too rigorous terms a compromise was accepted by the French government, many of the claims of France were quietly withdrawn, and the French ambassador was ordered to soothe the irritation of the Porte, and to act in conjunction with the British ambassador, so as to bring about a settlement of the quarrel with Russia; but this was found to be no easy matter. The Czar was determined not only to check the growth of French influence at the Porte but to convert an assumed power into a positive right, and to establish his authority over the subjects of the Sultan who professed the Greek faith by a Senid or convention, which would give a legal complexion to a claim that had hitherto rested on a naked usurpation backed by force. Accordingly, he dispatched Prince Menschikoff to Constantinople, who arrived there in February 1853 with a large train of military and naval officers, and who soon shewed that his mission had other objects than the peaceful termination of a question about the pretensions of the Eastern and Western churches to certain trifling privileges in Syria; for he demanded openly the acknowledgment by the Porte of a right by

Russia to protect the Greek Christians in Turkey, as conferred upon her by the "glorious treaty of Kainardji." As this unheard of claim was founded on two clauses in that treaty, which have been much misunderstood, we shall reproduce them here.

Treaty of Kainardji.

"Article VII. The Sublime Porte promises constantly to protect the Christian religion, and the churches belonging to it; and it also *permits* the ministers of the imperial court of Russia to make, on all occasions, *representations* as well in respect of the new church at Constantinople (of which mention will be made in Art. XIV.), as of those who belong to it—promising to take them into consideration as coming from a person in the confidence of a neighbouring and sincerely friendly power."

"Article XIV. After the example of the other powers, it is *permitted* to the high court of Russia, besides the chapel erected in its house of embassy, to construct in the quarter of Galata, in the street named Bey-Oglu, a public church of the Greek religion, which shall be always under the protection of the ministers of that empire, and held free from all interruption and annoyance."

It is obvious that nothing but Russian ingenuity could extract out of these *permissive* articles a positive right to a religious protectorate over the great majority of the Sultan's subjects, and yet there is nothing else that can be adduced in favour of the pretensions of the Czar made through his envoy, whose conduct during his short stay at Constantinople was marked by extreme arrogance and violence, while the conduct of the Porte was distinguished by forbearance and moderation. The demand of Menschikoff was refused as being inconsistent with the reciprocal duties of subjects and sovereign, and of sovereign and subjects, though a last attempt was made by the Porte to prevent an open rupture by the publication, on the 6th of June, of a *Hatti-Scheriff*, addressed to the Greek patriarch, confirming, in the most explicit terms, the rights hitherto enjoyed and to be enjoyed in future, by the members of the Greek church in the Turkish dominions, and if this had been the only point aimed at by Russia that document would have satisfied the Czar; but it was not so, and Menschikoff and Count Nesselrode, the Russian chancellor, having exhausted every effort to break down the determination of the Sultan and his ministers, the Russian ambassador suspended all diplomatic relations with the Porte, and left Constantinople on the 21st of June 1853, but not before he had addressed to the Turkish minister for foreign affairs, one of those ambiguously worded letters in which Russian diplomacy delights, and in which the Czar's claim to a political, as well as a spiritual, supremacy over the Greek subjects of the Sultan was not obscurely set forth.

Departure of Menschikoff.

We cannot enter into the tedious and unsatisfactory negociations between the Porte and Russia and the mediating powers—Austria, Prussia, England, and France—which followed these occurrences. Suffice it to say, that in anticipation of those events that actually fell out, Russia had been long making extensive military and naval preparations in Bessarabia and the Crimea—that on the 3d of July 1853, the Russian army, under Prince Gortschakoff, crossed the Pruth, with the avowed design of obtaining a "material guarantee" for the fulfilment of the just desires of the Emperor; that the Porte was advised by its allies not to consider this decidedly hostile act a cause of war; that a circular was addressed by Count Nesselrode, the Russian chancellor, to the diplomatic agents of his government, to be communicated to the courts to which they were accredited, justifying the proceedings of his imperial master, but containing on the very face of it, as an eminent writer has remarked "the impress of most palpable falsehood;"[1] that on the 26th of June the Czar caused to be published in the St Petersburgh Gazette a manifesto setting forth the reasons that had induced him to occupy the Principalities, and appealing to the religious feelings of his people, who were assured that he had no wish for conquest, and no desire for an increase of territory, but that he was determined to preserve at all risks "the integrity of the privileges of the orthodox church;" that on the 21st of October he issued another impious proclamation in which he complained of the blindness and obstinacy of the Porte, reiterated the purity of his motives, solemnly invoked the aid of the Most High in support of his righteous cause, and concluded one of the most extraordinary state papers ever submitted to the wondering eyes of Europe, by exclaiming, in the language of the Psalms—"In thee, O Lord, have I trusted; let me never be confounded;" that the combined French and English fleet was moved up to Besika bay, at the entrance to the Dardanelles, to protect Constantinople, and to watch the progress of the negociations that were still pending; that the four mediating powers met in conference at Vienna to concert measures for the settlement of the Turkish question, from which conference Turkey was most strangely excluded; that a note which should serve as the basis of peace was prepared by the conference, and accepted by the Czar, but rejected by the Porte, on the ground that it had not been consulted on a matter vitally affecting the very existence of the Ottoman empire, while the note submitted to its consideration contained stipulations "incompatible with the sacred rights of his Imperial Majesty the Sul-

Russian army crosses the Pruth.

Czar's proclamations.

Vienna note.

[1] Quarterly Review, No. 187.

tan;[1] that the modifications in this note, suggested by the Porte, and which would have rendered it acceptable to Turkey, were declined by Russia, and that in consequence of this refusal, the Grand Council of the Turkish nation, consisting of 140 magnates of the empire, met on the 26th of September, and in order to appease the popular anxiety, which was becoming extreme, and to put a stop to the further encroachments of the Czar, declared war against Russia. Fourteen days of grace were given, and on the 23d of October 1853, hostilities began between the two armies on the Danube.

War declared.

Though Turkey and Russia were now actually at war, and hostilities were vigorously carried on in the Principalities between the armies of the two states, it suited the interests of the mediating powers to consider the war as isolated, and as confined to a dispute between the Divan at Constantinople and the Russian Court at St Petersburgh, but as not involving the general peace of Europe; hence they continued their mediatory functions, and while Russia was exercising an absolute sovereignty in Moldavia and Wallachia, and her troops were in daily conflict with those of Turkey, they endeavoured to bring about an accommodation by repeated modifications of the Vienna note, which, as often as it was presented to him, the Czar peremptorily rejected. The combined French and English fleets were removed from Besika Bay to the anchorage of Beikos in the Bosphorus, and even entered the Black Sea in detachments, and as it was known to the French and English cabinets that Russia had declared her "intention to abstain from taking the offensive anywhere in the contest so unhappily begun in Turkey,"[2] no apprehension was entertained of an attack on the Turkish ships of war in that sea, or in the Turkish ports in Asia, when, to the surprise and horror of the world, the murderous affair of Sinope occurred. The main Ottoman fleet had returned to the Bosphorus, having left at Sinope a squadron consisting of seven frigates, three corvettes, and two steam-vessels. On the 27th of November this small fleet was attacked by the Russian Admiral Nachimoff, with six sail of the line, two frigates and four steam-ships, and after a most heroic resistance of four hours' duration was literally annihilated, one steam-ship only of the Turkish flotilla escaping, all the rest having been either sunk or burnt. The loss in men was estimated at between four and five thousand; and when an English squadron

Attack on Sinope.

Annihilation of the Turkish squadron.

[1] Explanatory Note of Redschid Pasha to the representatives of the Four Powers, 20th August 1853.

[2] Circular of M. Drouyn de L'Huys to the different French Legations.

visited the scene of this tragedy a few weeks afterwards, the waters of the bay were found to be covered with the wrecks of the destroyed vessels, and the beach to be strewed with the mutilated carcases of the Turkish sailors. The wretched town of Sinope also suffered severely from the fire of the Russian fleet which was directed against it, and two English trading vessels which happened to be in the harbour at the time were sunk at their moorings. This frightful massacre, perpetrated by stealth, and within three hundred miles of the anchorage of the combined fleets, excited a profound sensation throughout Europe, and to this hour the inactivity of the allied fleets on that occasion has never been satisfactorily explained. They might easily have intercepted the Russian squadron on its return to Sebastopol, and as the attack on Sinope was a distinct breach of faith, the capture of the attacking ships would have been perfectly justifiable, though war had not yet been declared against Russia.

The next five months were spent in fruitless attempts to persuade the Czar to accept such a security for the desiderated privileges in Palestine as the combined powers thought themselves justified in exacting from the Porte, while a furious contest was going on on the banks of the Danube between the Russian and Turkish troops; but no solicitations could induce the Emperor of Russia to accede to the proposals of the Western and Central powers, and the latter, worn out by the incessant delays that were interposed to a pacification, and seeing that the object of the Autocrat, in his aggression upon the Porte, was conquest, and not, as he alleged, the vindication of the rights of his co-religionists in Turkey, resolved at length to present an *ultimatum*, to be accepted or rejected within five days. It was rejected, and, on the 28th of March 1854, war was simultaneously declared against Russia by England and France.

28th March 1854.

The issue of this war is still in the balance, but, so far as it has gone, it has been favourable to Turkey in its results. Omar Pasha, the distinguished Ottoman commander, has exhibited the highest military qualities in his defence of the posts on the north bank of the Danube committed to his care; and though opposed to the veteran and disciplined soldiery of Russia, led by her most able generals, he has succeeded in baffling their attempts to capture them,—has caused the siege of Silistria, conducted by Marshal Paskievitsch in person, to be raised,—and compelled the Russian army to retreat towards the Pruth. The combined fleets have cut off all communication between the Asiatic settlements of Russia and the Crimea, and prevented reinforcements for the army on the Danube from being transported by sea; and as a military contingent of fifty

thousand English and French troops under Lord Raglan and Marshal St Arnaud has been transferred to the East, and has already in part reached Varna, the Porte is in a condition to carry on the war infinitely more favourable than at any former period of its history. An immense French and English fleet is also employed in the blockade of the Russian ports in the Baltic; and as there is some chance at this moment that Austria will at last join the Western alliance, there is a reasonable prospect that the outrageous ambition of the Czar will be restrained within sensible limits, and prevented from periodically disturbing the general peace of Europe. Of the necessity of the war for the protection of the common interests of mankind, there are few who doubt; and we may entertain the hope, that the "safe and honourable peace" of which statesmen talk will secure the independence of Turkey, enable her to improve her institutions, and open up to the different nations of Europe those beautiful and fertile countries which are at present afflicted by her feebleness and mal-administration, and oppressed by the exhausting tyranny of Russia.[1]

[1] The following details, illustrative of the rapid growth of Russia during the last 150 years, is taken from Sir John M'Neill's work, entitled, *Progress and Present Position of Russia in the East.* 1836.

POPULATION OF RUSSIA.

At the accession of Peter I. in 1689, . . .	15,000,000.
At the accession of Catherine II. in 1762, . .	25,000,000.
At her death, 1796, ...	36,000,000.
At the death of Alexander in 1825, . . .	58,000,000.

The acquisitions of Russia from Sweden are greater than what remains of that kingdom.

Her acquisitions from Poland are nearly equal to the Austrian Empire.

Her acquisitions from Turkey in Europe are of greater extent than the Prussian dominions, exclusive of the Rhenish provinces.

Her acquisitions from Persia are equal in extent to England.

Her acquisitions from Turkey in Asia have an area not inferior to that of Turkey in Europe, Greece, Italy, and Spain.

The acquisitions she has made within the last 64 years are equal in extent and importance to the whole Empire she had in Europe before that time.

The Russian frontier has been advanced towards

Berlin, Dresden, Munich, Vienna, and Paris;	about 700 miles.
Constantinople, ...	500 ,,
Stockholm, ...	630 ,,
Teheran, ...	1000 ,,

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CHRONOLOGY OF THE SARACENS AND TURKS.

The condition of Arabia, for many centuries both before and after the Christian era, is involved in the deepest obscurity. Of the annals of its people during the vast interval of historical silence, little more is known than may be inferred from the permanence of that wild character among the roving tribes of the desert, which was first dimly traced by the finger of prophecy, and is still stamped with the enduring impression of immemorial antiquity. The northern part of Arabia has at all times been thinly overspread by a pastoral people, dwelling by hordes and in tents, and restlessly wandering over the arid expanse of the desert. Among these the patriarchal government is alone acknowledged; the parent is the chief of his family, and one family exercises the office of sovereignty over the whole tribe. The southern portion, or land of Yemen, was at an early period brought under the cultivating skill of the husbandman, hence it was distinguished by the epithet of *Arabia Felix*, Happy Arabia. Its comparative fertility induced its inhabitants to adopt a settled mode of life, and to devote themselves to agriculture and commerce. . . . . In the midst of sandy Arabia, near the coast of the Red Sea, and at a distance of about two hundred and fifty miles from each other, arose the two principal cities of Mecca and Medina. Of these, the former, which contained the *Caaba* or most famous temple of the ancient Arabian superstition, had been held in especial veneration by the nation, from a period antecedent to the Christian era, as the holiest seat of their idolatry, which comprehended the adoration of the sun, moon, and fixed stars. . . . . During the sixth century we find the tribes of the desert, under the general name of SARACENS (from some unknown etymology) engaged alternately in capricious alliance and desultory hostilities with the Eastern and Persian Empires. In its political aspect Mecca presented the rude shape of a republic, in which commerce had created an opulent and powerful aristocracy, while the simplicity of Arabian manners still retained the patriarchal gradations of government. The general extent of Arabia has never been subjugated. Even the victories of Trajan, though exaggerated by his flatterers into the boast of a conquest, did not extend his empire beyond the most northern part of the peninsula. Happy Arabia, however, had frequently been subdued, and, about the period when Mahomet proclaimed himself a prophet, was reduced to a province of the Persian Empire.

A.D.

? Sovereignty of the *House of Haschem* of the *Koreish tribe* at Mecca, to whom belongs the privilege of guarding the sacred temple of the Caaba at Mecca.

[The genealogy of the Haschem family presents a long succession of illustrious ancestors; which for many generations were esteemed the noblest of their tribe and country.]

? Caravans between Syria and Yemen established by members of the Koreish tribe.

? *Abdol-motalleb* (grandfather of Mahomet) guardian of the Caaba, ruler of Mecca.

? Division of the family inheritance among the several sons of Abdol-motalleb.

Abdallah, the youngest son of Motalleb, and father of Mahomet, engages in commercial pursuits. He marries the Beautiful Amina, a daughter of a family of the noble tribe of the Zarites.

569 *Mohammed born at Mecca.*

578 Death of the parents of Mohammed.

580 Death of Mohammed's grandfather.

The uncles of Mohammed divide his father's property, leaving to the young orphan only five camels and one female slave.

Abu-Taleb, the eldest of Mohammed's uncles undertakes the guardianship of the orphan, and instructs him in the arts of war and trade.

Mohammed accompanies his uncle to the fairs of Syria during his earlier years.

593 Mohammed appointed factor to Kadijah, the widow of a wealthy trader, at Mecca.

594 Mohammed marries Kadijah.

[From the period of Mohammed's marriage to the year 609, he slowly matured his plans of operation for the future. His deportment towards his fellow-citizens was courteous and benevolent, his charities were extensive, and his devotions at the Caaba unremitting. At stated seasons he withdrew to the holy retreat of Mount Hara, near Mecca, for the devotional purposes of fasting, meditation, and prayer: thus he obtained among the populace the reputation of being preeminently holy, while spiritual pride or delusion sublimated his own mind to the idea of being a prophet of God.]

609 Mohammed proclaims himself a prophet.

[This destined founder of a new, widespreading, and enduring system of religion was an unlettered barbarian—not having ever been taught to read or write.]

Mohammed's first converts:—his wife, Kadijah, cousin Ali, friend Abu-beker, and his slave Zeid.

Mohammed's further success:—ten respectable citizens of Mecca join the prophet.

612 Mohammed formally proclaims his mission at a banquet of all the males of the house of Haschem.

Mohammed begins to publish the Koran.

[For ten years after Mohammed's assumption of the prophetic office, the progress of conversion proceeded but slowly.]

621 Death of Mohammed's uncle, and of his wife Kadijah.

Persecution of Mohammed by Abu Sofian.

The privileges of the house of Haschem pass into the hands of the house of Ommia.

621 Plot to murder Mohammed by the Koreish.
622 The "Hegira," or flight of Mohammed from Mecca to Medina, Friday, July 16; from which period commences
The Mohammedan Era.
[About thirty-two of our solar years correspond to thirty-three of the Hegira.]
Mohammed establishes himself at Medina, as a prince and a prophet.
623 War with the Koreish begun.
Battle of Beder; victory of Mohammed.
624 Battle of Ohud; defeat of Mohammed.
625 Battle of the Ditch, or of the Nations; Medina besieged by Abu Sofian and the Koreish, without success.
627 Rash expedition to Mecca; by treaty with the Koreish, Mohammed and his followers are permitted to worship in the Caaba.
Revolution in the popular mind in favour of Mohammed from this event.
629 War resumed with the Koreish.
Sudden appearance of Mohammed with 10,000 followers before Mecca.
Mecca surrenders to Mohammed.
The idols of the Caaba destroyed, and their worship made a capital offence.
630 The Hawazanites and Tayefites compelled to embrace the doctrines of the prophet.
The Jews of Koraida butchered.
[In his persecution of the Arabian Jews the pseudo-prophet gave the first impulse to his followers of that fierce and sanguinary spirit of intolerance which was shortly to be exhibited on a wider theatre.]
631 Battle of Mutah; defeat of the troops of the Eastern Empire; being the first Mohammedan victory over a foreign enemy.
632 Conquest and conversion of Arabia complt.
The Saracens invade the Eastern Empire; the invasion indecisive.
Rise of the Khalifate of Medina (661.)
Death of Mohammed, aged 63; his father-in-law,
Abubeker, succeeds; he is the first of the Arabian Khalifs; capital, Medina.
[The powers of the Khalif included both the spiritual and secular authority. See 622, and compare with 945.]
Apostacy from the Mohammedan faith spreads extensively in Arabia.
Khaled, at the head of a congenial band of fanatics, attacks the apostates, defeats them with slaughter, and reunites those tribes whose zeal was on the decline.
Persia and Syria invaded by the Saracens.
Bosra, a frontier town of Syria, reduced.
633 Battle of Aiznadin; the Saracens victorious.
Damascus besieged by Khaled and Abu-Obeidah.
634 Damascus is captured by Khaled; by whose orders thousands are put to the sword.
The desultory portions of the *Koran* first collated and compiled into a volume by Abubeker (652.)
634 *Omar* I. succeeds Abubeker in Medina.
[Triple conquests of the Saracens during the Khalifate of Omar—Syria, Persia, and Egypt.]
635 Heliopolis and Emesa besieged.
636 Victory over the Persians at the battle of Cadesia.
The city of Bassora founded.
636 At Yermuk the army of Heraclius is routed and totally expelled Syria.
637 The Saracens sack Ctesiphon.
Jerusalem besieged; the Patriarch Sophronius capitulates.
[Sophronius offered to capitulate, in the name of his clergy and people, but insisted that the articles should be ratified by the presence and personal subscription of the khalif. Out of respect for the sacred dignity of Jerusalem, and the desire of gratifying his army, Omar was persuaded to accede to the condition; he, accordingly, proceeded to the camp, ratified the articles, and obtained possession of the city. According to the terms of capitulation, the lives of the Christians, and permission for the exercise of their faith, were purchased by a heavy tribute. Many humiliating distinctions in dress, appellations, and customs, were added, so as to preserve a line of ignominious separation between the conquered and their masters.]
Omar founds a mosque on the side of the temple of Solomon.
638 Flight of Heraclius and his son, Constantine, from Antioch to Constantinople.
The Saracens capture Antioch and Aleppo.
Egypt invaded by the Saracens.
Decisive battle of Nevahend; defeat and submission of the Persians.
Omar founds the city of Cufa (640.)
The Saracens subdue Spain and Palestine.
Amrou lays siege to Alexandria.
640 Alexandria captured by the Saracens, under Amrou, and its library burnt.
The subjugation of Egypt completed.
The Persian seat of government transferred, by Omar, to Cufa, on the western bank of the Euphrates (638.)
641 Armenia overran by Mugheyrah (762.)
642 Conquest of Khorassan by Ahanaf.
644 A Persian slave mortally wounds the khalif, Omar, in the mosque at Medina, being the first act of treason which defiled the khalifate, but the signal and precedent for a thousand bloody tragedies of regicide, tyranny, conspiracy and massacre.
[The khalifate of Omar was the heroic age of Saracen history; for during this short period of less than ten years, the gigantic foundations of the Saracen power were perfected.]
Othman succeeds; whose accession ushered in a reign distinguished alike by foreign conquests, and the growth of domestic anarchy.
Othman recalls Amrou from Egypt.
645 Attempt of the Byzantine empire to recover Egypt from the Saracens.
646 The Alexandrians solicit the return of Amrou; their request is granted.
The first Saracen fleet—built by Othman.
Amrou drives the Greeks a second time out of Egypt, and recovers Alexandria.
Amrou's conquests in western Africa.
647 The Greeks again lay siege to Alexandria.
Amrou dispossesses them a third time.
Foundation of the Mosque of Mercy, in Alexandria, on the spot where Amrou arrested the avenging fury of his troops.

647 Conquest of Mauritania, and nearly all Northern Africa, by Amrou.
Amrou supplanted by Abdallah, in command of the expedition against Western Africa.
Abdallah leads 40,000 men against Tripoli.
648 Victory of Abdallah at Sufetula, in Africa; the African prefect, Gregory, is killed by Zobeir.
An epidemic decimates the Moslem army.
Cyprus captured by the Saracens.
649 The partiality of Othman for his own family provokes general discontent and disgust.
Nubia and Abyssinia invaded by Moawiyah.
Cilicia and Isauria ravaged by Bizr.
650 The title, "Emir," first conferred, by Fatima, daughter of Mahomet, on all his descendants.
Conquest of Nubia and Abyssinia.
651 Abdullah sends an expedition agnst. Sicily.
Rhodes captured; the Colossus destroyed.
652 *Conquest of Persia completed* by Othman; flight and assassination of Yezdejird III.
Second revision of the Koran; Othman's corrected edition (still in use) first published (634.)
[The Arabic of the Koran is now taught in the Peninsula—even at Mecca, as a dead language.]
654 General revolt of the Moslems against Othman, who appeases their fury by acknowledging his errors.
655 The disaffection is rekindled by the artifices of Ayesha, the widow of Mohammed.
Assassination of the aged Othman, though defended by the sons of Ali.
Ali, the cousin and son-in-law of Mohammed, succeeds to the khalifate.
[His deficiency in the acts of worldly policy involved his reign in disquiet and calumny.]
656 The government of Cufa and Bassora denied Zobeir and Tella.
657 Injudicious recall of most of the provincial lieutenants to Medina.
Disaffection of the lieutenants towards Ali.
658 Rebellion of Moawiyah, (son of Abu Sofian,) commander in Syria, and Amrou, lieutenant in Egypt; aided by the wicked and abandoned Ayesha.
Zobeir and Tella join the rebellion (656.)
659 *First civil war* of the Saracens; Zobeir, Tella, and Ayesha against Ali.
Battle of Bassora, or the "day of the camel;" defeat of the insurgents; death of Zobeir and Tella, and capture of Ayesha.
Truce concluded with the Greek Empire by Moawiyah, who also cedes Rhodes to Constans (651.)
660 Desultory war of 110 days, on the great plain of Siffin, on the confines of Persia and Syria, between Ali, and Moawiyah and Amrou.
The conflict between Ali and Moawiyah is to be regarded as the continuance of a feud which had commenced before, or, at least, during, the lifetime of Mohammed, between the two rival families of Haschem and Omnia, 621.]
Loss of 45,000 of the insurgents, and 25,000 of the army of Ali.

660 Artifice of Amrou to turn the tide of popular feeling in favour of the rebels.
Disaffection towards Ali increases.
Ali withdraws his troops to Cufa.
Three fanatics simultaneously attempt the assassination of Ali, Moawiyah, and Amrou, each having chosen his victim.
Ali is alone killed in the mosque of Cufa.
[From Ali descended the twelve *Imams* of the Persians. See notes 660, 661, and 680.]
Hassan is proclaimed *khalif at Cufa.*
Moawiyah's sovereignty acknowledged in Arabia, Syria, and Egypt; he is proclaimed *khalif at Damascus.*
[By transferring the seat of the khalifate, from the Arabian to the Syrian capital, Moawiyah prepared the way for more important innovations. He succeeded in establishing his own dynasty, by the questionable title of lineal descent, on the undisputed throne of the khalifate.]
Abdication of Hassan at end of six months.
Ommiyadan khalifs at Damascus.
661 *Moawiyah* sucds. the unambitious Hassan.
[By a singular fortune, the political dispute between the family of Ali and their enemies, has been perpetuated into a religious and national schism; and the distinction between the orthodox Mussulmans and the votaries of Ali, is preserved in the inveterate hatred of the Turks and Persians. The former claim the appellation of *Sonnites*, or orthodox, stigmatising the latter as *Shiahites*, or sectaries, because they heretically reject the legitimacy of the first three khalifs, denouncing them as usurpers, and maintaining, that as Mohammed was the prophet, so was Ali the *vicar* of God.]
Yezid procures the murder of Hassan.
662 Complaints from the provincials of Western Africa, against the Byzantine governmt.
663 Moawiyah despatches an army to their relief; the Saracens obtain advantages.
665 Akbah sent into Africa; the Greeks every where defeated by the Saracens.
667 Subjugation of Western Africa by Akbah.
Revolt agst. Akbah in Africa; he is killed.
670 Equipment of an immense armament, naval and military, under Sofian and Yezid, (the khalif's son,) for the overthrow of the Eastern Empire.
671 Smyrna, and several islands of the Archipelago, conquered by Yezid and Sofian.
672 Sofian and Yezid pass the Hellespont unopposed by the Greeks.
The Saracens lay siege to Constantinople, but are compelled to return to Cyzicus.
Second attack on Constantinople by the Saracens—unsuccessful.
673 Third assault of the Saracens on Constantinople—repulsed.
674 Fourth Saracen attack on Constantinople —equally unsuccessful.
675 Fifth attempt to take Constantinople; the Saracens are again repulsed.
Daring incursions of the Maronite bands to the very gates of Damascus.
676 Sixth annual siege of Constantinople by the Saracens—unsuccessful.
Internal distractions and revolts in some of the provinces against the khalifate.

677 Seventh annual effort to take Constantinople; the surviving remnant of the invaders being again repulsed, return home.
[30,000 proceed by land *for* Syria, but they are nearly all cut off by the Greeks, while the fleet is scattered by a storm. This failure cast a transient cloud over the glories of the khalifate; and the pale star of the Cæsars rose dimly, for an instant, in the ascendant.]
678 Peace with the Greek emperor; Moawiyah agrees to pay an annual tribute of 3000 pounds of gold, with presents of horses and slaves, &c.
The Maronites harass the Arabians.
679 Popular disquietude, contentions, and domestic troubles, afflict the last years of Moawiyah.
680 *Yezid* (son) succeeds at Damascus (661.)
Hossein, son of Ali, is invited by the Cufians; he therefore quits Medina, and is proclaimed khalif at Cufa.
He is betrayed and murdered; but his family are spared, and restored to Medina.
[From this source, the descendants of Mohammed and Ali have overspread the Mussulman world, being distinguished by a hereditary or family appellation, and by the peculiar privilege of wearing a turban of green. The Fatimite and Almohaden khalifs in Egypt and Syria, in Western Africa and Spain, and the reigning dynasty in Persia, have been the most illustrious pretenders to a pure descent from Ali and the daughter of Mohammed.]
682 War with the Greeks, generally successful.
683 *Moawiyah* II. khalif.
684 *Marwan*, khalif.
Abdalmalek, khalif.
685 Truce with the Greeks; the khalif consents to pay a daily tribute of 1000 pieces of gold, one slave, and one horse.
Acquisition of a moiety of the income of Armenia, Iberia, and Cyprus, with the right of having garrisons in those places.
689 Unsuccessful attempt to seize the Greek dependencies in Africa.
690 A Saracen army, under Akbah, takes possession of Cyprus, and expels the Greeks.
692 Invasion of Asia Minor and Mesopotamia.
Great military successes in Asia Minor.
693 Armenia reduced by the Saracens.
696 Fez, in Africa, founded.
697 Hassan captures Carthage and loses it agn.
698 Carthage conquered by the Hassan.
The submission of all the Greek settlements on the coasts follow in rapid succession.
700 Conversions of the Moors to the faith of the Koran spiritedly carried on.
704 *Walid*, khalif.
709 Victories of the Arabs in Asia Minor.
The conquest of Africa completed.
Amalgamation of the Arabian and Moorish races, by the introduction of 50,000 Bedouans; hence the
Adoption of the Moors by the Arabs.
[In the brief space of a single generation the blood of both races became rapidly and thoroughly commingled.]
710 The Arabs invade Nicomedia; the Greek emperor escapes to Constantinople.
712 Spain subdued by the Saracens; hence
The kingdom of the Arabians in Spain.
[The distinction of the origin of the Saracen invaders was, even now, so confounded under their common appellations, that the Mussulman conquerors of Spain have been indifferently termed either Arabians or Moors.]
714 *Soliman.*
Vast preparations for the conquest of Constantinople; Moslemah (Soliman's brother) commander-in-chief.
Victorious progress of Moslemah.
715 Attempt of the Greeks to burn the Arab navy frustrated.
716 Moslemah lays siege to Constantinople; terrible destruction of the Arab ships.
The siege is protracted during the winter; thus causing the sacrifice of thousands, under the walls, by disease and privations, as well as by the sword.
717 *Omar* II.
718 Renewal of the siege of Constantinople.
720 Omar poisoned after a just reign of only two years and five months.
Yezid II. succeeds.
720 Sad reverses of both army and navy.
Remnant of the fleet scattered by a storm.
725 War with the Greek empire continued.
726 Conquest of Cæsarea in Cappadocia, and of Neo-Cæsarea in Pontus.
Project for conquering France.
732 Terrible defeat at Tours.
735 Visible decline and corruption of the dynasty of the Ommiyades at Damascus.
739 The Arabs, under Malak and Batak, invade Phrygia; another division enters Cappadocia; and a third body, under Soliman, marches in the rear.
Defeat and death of Malak and Batak; failure of the expeditions; and return of the remnant of the armies to Syria.
742 *Waled* II.
Earthquake in Palestine and Syria, and throughout Asia; immense loss of life; 500 cities destroyed, &c.
743 *Yezid* III.
Marawan II.
Revolt of Abu Moslem, and elevation of Mohammed, great-grandson of Abbas, the uncle of the prophet; hence the
Rise of the Abbassides.
Civil war between the Ommiyades and Abbassides, or the *white* and *black* factions.
Abbassides defeated; Iiderim, successor of Mohammed, is surprised and imprisoned.
The Abbassides proclaim Saffah at Cufa.
Renewal of the civil war.
749 Christianity rapidly declines in Africa from this period.
Seat of governmt. transferred to Baghdad.
750 Battle of the Zab; defeat of the Ommiyades, occasioned by an accident; flight of Marawan towards Egypt; he is overtaken at Busir and killed.
End of the dynasty of the Ommiyades, and establishment of the
Dynasty of the Abbassides.
Saffah the first khalif of this race.
[The line of Abbassides numbered thirty-seven reigning princes, and their rule extended over a period of 524 years.]

750 The family of Ommia proscribed; seventy are slaughtered in the presence of Saffah.
751 Revolts in Africa and Spain.
752 Defeat of Abdalrahman in Africa.
753 *Almansor.*
[Characterised for his penuriousness.]
754 Abdallah disputes Almansor's title to the khalifate; hence civil war.
Battle of Nisibis; defeat of Abdallah by Abu Moslem, who also captures him.
Almansor grows jealous of Abdallah, he has him assassinated.
Irruption of the Turks into Persia.
755 Triple division of the khalifate:—
1. Asia or the east ruled by the Abbasides.
2. Africa governed by the Edrisites and Fatimites (785, 788.)
3. Spain or the west by the Ommiyades.
757 Almansor destroys the cities of Ctesiphon and Seleucis.
762 or 765 Baghdad founded, and the seat of governt. removed thither from Damaseus.
Economical and other reforms.
Conquest of Armenia, Cappadocia, Cilicia.
774 *Mohadi*, son of Almansor.
[Remarkable for wantonness and luxury.]
776 Pilgrimage of Mohadi to Mecca; he carries snow (on camels) into that sacred city; the first time that natural production was ever seen there.
778 Rise of Macanna the masked impostor.
Besieged in a fortress by Mohadi; he poisons his companions, then kills himself.
781 Haroun al Raschid, Kalif of Bagdad, begins a war of 24 years against the Romans.
782 Campaign against the Greek Empire, of 90,000 Saracens, under Haroun.
784 Death of Mohadi, from an accident while hunting. His eldest son
Musalhadi, a violent and cruel prince.
Rebellion of the descendants of Ali, under Houssain, who is proclaimed khalif at Medina (see 680.)
785 Defeat and terrible slaughter of the Alides.
Edris escapes to Barbary (788.)
Musalhadi issues orders for the assassination of his brother, Haroun, but his mother anticipates the fratricidal act, by causing Musalhadi to be suffocated; whereupon
786 *Haroun Alraschid* ascends the throne.
[His territory extended from the Atlantic to the Indus, and from the Straits of Babelmandeb to the Sea of Aral. Public income, about £35,000,000.]
788 Revolt of Edris in Barbary.
797 Haroun brings the Greek Empire under tribute—30,000 pieces of gold annually.
798 Campaign against the fierce inhabitants of Khorassan and other northern countries.
Determined opposi. of the Zendicians, &c.
799 Revolt of Jahia, the Alide, in Ghilan.
Overtures are made him; he surrenders and is treacherously murdered.
Execution of the Vizier Giafar, and immolation of all his family.
800 Revolt of the Aglabites in Africa.
Division of the Moslem empire between the sons of Haroun:—*Amin* or *Alamin* receives the khalifate; *Mamoun*, the northern or eastern parts; *Mutaman*, the north of Mesopotamia and Armenia.
803 The Greeks refuse to pay tribute.
804 Campaign in Phrygia, &c.; dreadful devastation by fire and sword.
805 War with the Greeks continued.
806 Victorious termination of the war with the Greeks; Nicephorus consents to pay a tribute (according to some) of 300,000 pieces of gold; and to suffer the captured towns to remain in ruins.
808 Haroun proceeds against a rebel chieftain in Khorassan (642, 798.)
He is taken ill at Tus, or Tuz, and dies.
Alamin, his second, but first legitimate, son, succeeds to the khalifate.
[A dissolute and imbecile sovereign.]
811 Attempt of Alamin to deprive Mamoun of his possessions—Persia, Tartary, &c.
Civil war between the brothers.
812 Battle near Rei; Taher, Mamoun's general, defeats the army of Alamin.
Mamoun assumes the title of khalif.
813 Alamin is besieged in Baghdad; the citizens revolt; he is delivered to Taher, who decapitates him.
Mamoun or Almamoun succeeds.
Public revenue, about 30,000,000 sterling.
[The reign of Mamoun was characterized for wealth, splendour, and liberality.]
Mamoun munificently patronizes literature, science, and the arts.
814 Revolt of the Taherites.
820 Arabian literature, &c. flourish; colleges and schools are founded at Baghdad, Bassora, Kufa, and Nishabur, by the khalif, who munificently patronizes men of science and letters.
Syrian physicians and Hindu mathematicians and astronomers reside at court; and works on astronomy, mathematics, medicine, metaphysics, and natural philosophy, are translated into Arabic from the Greek and Sanscrit languages.
First dismemberment of the Saracen empire in the East (see Tartary.)
823 Crete captured from the Greeks.
Candia, the new name for Crete.
827 Ptolemy's "Almagest" trans. into Arabic.
Sicily under Saracen rule.
829 Settlement of Saracens in Calabria.
833 Expedition against the Greeks.
Death of Mamoun from a surfeit of dates.
Motassem (brother) succeeds.
Turkish youths (mercenaries) are brought to Baghdad, whom Motassem forms into a body-guard; hence
Decline in the power and authority of the khalifs from this period (861, 936.)
836 Motassem lays the foundation of a new capital, Saumara, to which he transfers the seat of government (870.)
[The palace of Motassem was erected on an eminence raised in the following manner, in obedience to the khalif's order. Each soldier in his cavalry, said to amount to 130,000 men, filled his charger's nose-bag with earth, which he emptied at an appointed spot. Upon the mound thus raised, the palace was built.]
837 The Amorium war; conducted on both sides with the most savage cruelty.
Sosopetra, the native city of Motassem, utterly destroyed by Theophilus; and its

inhabitants treated with the most wanton brutality.

838 Great victory over Theophilus; himself and army put to flight—loss 30,000 men.
Revenge of Motassem at Amorium.
[70,000 Christians perished before the vengeance of Motassem was gratified.]

841 *Haroun Wasic*, or Wathek Billah, (son of Motassem,) a weak and debauched prnc.
[His wantonness and waywardness qualified him to serve as hero in a singular romance, known to most readers of the present day.
The Turkish body-guards, like the Roman prætorians, usurp the chief power (833.)

846 *Motawakkel*, or Motavakel, (brother of the last,) remarkable only for his cruel persecutions of Jews and Christians, who are compelled to wear distinguishing badges, (broad leather belts,) lest they should be confounded with Mussulmans.

850 Alfraganus, the astronomer, flourishes.
"Hindasi" introduced fr. India. (See 1008.)

851 Visible decline in the power of the khalifs beyond the vicinity of Baghdad.
Increasing insolence of the Turkish body-guards, and submission of the khalifate to their tyrannical authority (833.)

855 The government of Motawakkel is so oppressive, that he becomes odious in the eyes of his subjects.

860 Victories of Omar in Asia Minor.
Thebit-Ibn-Chora, annalyst, geometrician, and astronomer, flourishes.

861 Murder of the cruel Motawakkel by his son, *Montasser*, one of the objects of many wanton and degrading cruelties.
Montasser dies of remorse, or of poison, after a reign of six months.
The Turkish guards dispose of the throne, acording to their pleasure, from this time.

862 Omar sends 70,000 of the inhabitants of Asia Minor into perpetual captivity.
Mustain succeeds Montasser.
He is compelled to surrender, to the Turkish guards, the privilege of electing their own commander, by which the already limited power of the khalifate is greatly lessened (833.)

863 Battle of Amasia; terrible defeat by the Greeks; Omar is killed, and his head sent to Constantinople by Petronas.

865 Mostain put to death by the Turkish guard.
Motaz, or Muattez, *succeeds*;
In whose reign a severe blow was inflicted upon the khalifate, by the loss of Egypt.

866 Tyranny of the Turkish guards increase.

868 Egypt revolts, and regains its independnc.
Revolt of Yakoub ben Leis, (or al Laith,) surnamed *al Soffar*, "the Brazier," in Persia (see Persian Chronology.)

869 The Turkish body-guard kill Motaz.
Muhtadi, or Mothadi, succeeds—a mere puppet of the body-guards.

870 Muhtadi becomes another victim to the caprice of the guards. He is succeed. by *Mutammed*, or Mothamed, who endeavours to limit the power of the guards.
Baghdad restored to the honour of being the chief seat of government (836.)

871 Fortress of Bari taken by Louis of France.

872 The Soffaride dynasty in Persia founded.

874 The Samanides revolt (see 900.)

877 Albategnius, one of the greatest promoters of Arabian astronomy, flourishes.

880 The Solar Apogee discovered by Albategnius; who also publishes astronomical tables, and other scientific works (877.)

890 The Carmathians or Karamites, in Eastern Arabia, appear in arms; they declare utter hostility to the pomp and extravagance of the court at Baghdad.
[The origin and name of this fanatical sect are ascribed to one Carmath, who, in the beginning of this century, commenced a career somewhat similar to that of the great impostor. This formidable schism, though restrained by the khalifate, during its vigour, contributed largely to accelerate its decline.]

891 The Carmathians defeated by Muaffick, brother and general of the khalif.
They retire to the deserts, where they gather strength, and await their opportunity to take revenge on the khalifate.

892 *Muthaded*, or Motadhed Billah, khalif.
Bahrein, Syria, and Mesopotamia, overrun by the Carmathians under Taher.

893 The Hamadanites revolt, and found The Hamadanite dynasty of Syria.

900 Overthrow of the Soffarides by the Saminides in Persia (874, 902.)

901 Cufa, Bassora, Raca, and Baalbec, plundered and depopulated by Carmathians.
Taher defeats Muthaded's troops under the walls of Baghdad.

902 *Muktafi* succeeds Muthaded.
[Although helpless and humbled, as much by the domestic tyranny of their own guards, as by the successful revolts in various quarters, the Khalifs, by their external splendour, continued to excite the amazement and admiration of strangers.]
Persia conquered by Ismael Samanee.

903 The Karamites attack the pilgrims going to Mecca; 20,000 are slain, and the caravan plundered.

905 Egypt again subject to the khalifate (868.)

907 *Muctader* succeeds Muktafi.
[In this reign the government was virtually in the hands of the Turkish guards and female minions, whose influence prevailed to so great an extent, that a woman presided in the courts of justice.]

908 Deposition of Muctader by the guards; he is soon after restored.

910 Second deposition and restoration of Muctader by the Turkish guards.
[Notwithstanding this capricious conduct of the guards with respect to their sovereign, they exhibited him, either from pride or policy, to the nations of the west in the utmost magnificence of an oriental court. See 902.]

912 Rise of the Fatimite dynasty in Egypt, &c.

919 The Edrissite dynasty in Africa overthrown by Mahedi Abdallah.

929 Abu Taher, the Carmathian, enters and sacks Mecca; the Caaba is poiluted, and 30,000 moslems fall (? 930.)
Death of the justly celebrated Arabian astronomer, Albategnius, who flourished at Baghdad and Rakkah since 877.

932 *Kahir* succeeds Muctader.

933 Deposition of Kahir by the guards, who also deprive him of sight.
Kahir begs his bread from this time.
The Buyide revolt and dynasty in Persia.
Al Radhi, or Razi, succeeds Kahir.
The Karamites compel the khalifate to pay an annual tribute of 50,000 dinars.
934 Rebellion of the Ikshidites in Egypt.
936 Rapid decay in the khalifate of Baghdad; disorders so increase that Radhi recalls the governor of Wasith to Baghdad, and confides to him, with the title Emir al Omrah—"commander of the commanders"—an almost unlimited authority.
["About 180 years from the foundation of Baghdad, during which period the power of the Saracens had gradually declined, a dreadful reaction took place in the conquered countries. The Persians in the east, and the Greeks in the west, were simultaneously roused from their long thraldom, and, assisted by the Turks, who, issuing from the plains of Tartary, now, for the first time, made their appearance in the east, extinguished the *power* of the khalifate, and *virtually* put an end to the Arabian monarchy in the year 936, after it had continued 800 years. A succession of nominal khalifs continued to the year 1258; but the provinces were lost; their power was confined to the walls of their capital: and they were in real subjection to the Turks and the Persians until the above year, when Mostassem, the last of the Abbassides, was dethroned and murdered by Holagou, or Hulaki, the Tartar, the grandson of Zuighis."—*Mansford*.]
940 *Motaki* succeeds Al Radhi.
Turbulence of the guards; commotions in various quarters; general insubordination; power of the viziers; khalifate a nominal dignity.
943 *Mustekfi*, or Mostakfi, succeeds Motaki.
Distractions of the empire continue.
945 Moizzeddaula, the Buyide, dethrones Mustekfi, and elevates to the khalifate *Muteia*, or Mothi, whose power is limited to the pontifical dignity, and the government of Baghdad and its vicinity.
Moizzeddaula reserves to himself the office of vizier; and, as Emir al Omra, engrosses all political power.
[The office of Emir al Omra remained hereditary in the family of Moizzeddaula until 1056.]
946 The brutal and capricious tyranny of the guards repressed by the vizier.
957 Cyprus recovered by the Latins.
960 Rhazes, Arabian physicn. fl. (b.920,d.1010.)
961 Loss of Crete; Candia, after having endured a siege of seven months, is taken, and plundered of its vast treasures by the Greeks.
962 Syria ravaged by the Greeks; Aleppo and other towns taken, and their treasures plundered.
The Turkish guards offer no successful resistance to the progress of the Greeks.
963 Geber, Arabian astronomer, flourishes.
964 Defeats in Cilicia by the Greeks.
965 Loss of Damascus and other places.
966 Mopsuesta stormed, and 200,000 moslems killed and taken prisoners.
Tarsus and Cyprus lost to the Greeks.
967 Mesopotamia ravaged by Nicephoras.
He is repulsed, with loss, in the defiles of Kourdistan.
968 Approach of the Greeks to Baghdad.
Fall of Antioch to the Greeks.
972 The Egyptian khalifate conquered by the Fatimites of Mahadi. (See Africa.)
973 *Tayi*, or Taia, succeeds Muteia.
980 Albirunius, the Arabian geographer, fl.
984 Ebn Iounis, astronomer, &c., fl. (1003.)
991 *Kadir* succeeds the khalif Tayi.
1000 "House of Wisdom" established at Cairo.
1006 Damascus taken by the Turks.
1008 Death of Ebn Iounis, (or Younis.)
[In his works we find reference to the arithmetical system of notation, by nine figures and zero, which was introduced from Hindostan by Mohammed Ben Musa, about the middle of the ninth century, under the title "Hindasi." The Hindus in no case refer to the original invention, but always ascribe it as one of the gifts of deity; which is the best proof of its possessing an antiquity antecedent to all existing records.]
1010 Death of Rhazes Abubeker, Arabian physician, aged 80 (? 932.)
1031 *Kaim* succeeds the khalif Kadir.
1037 Death of Avicenna, (Ebn Sina) a physician of first rate talents, but of most irregular habits; author of seven tracts on Alchemy, (?) and of several medical works.
[He was born at Bacara, in Persia, A.D.980.]
1056 The Seljukes, under Togrul Beg, possess themselves of the khalifate of Baghdad.
1061 Marriage of Kaim's dau. and Togrul Beg.
Togrul Beg becomes Emir al Omrah, which dignity his family retain till 1152.
1074 *Mokledi* succeeds the khalif Kaim.
1076 Jerusalem in the hands of the Turks.
1090 Alhazen, an Arabian philosopher and astronomer of high reputation, fl.
[He explained the phenomenon of the horizontal moon, and indicated the true cause of the crepuscula in the morning and evening. His optical works were translated into Latin in 1572, under the title "Thesaurus Opticæ." One of his problems—"Having given a concave or a convex speculum, as also the place of the eye, and the visual point, to find the point of reflexion." See 1673, 1761.]
1094 *Mostajer* succeeds to the khalifate.
1100 Abdallah, Hariri, Sharfaddin, and Tograi, Arabian poets, flourish.
1115 From this period the science of the Arabians dates its decline. A general shade appears to have been cast over every species of human knowledge; and nearly 400 years are again lost in darkness and obscurity.
1118 *Mostarshed* succeeds Mostajer.
1134 *Rashid*, khalif of Baghdad.
1135 *Moktafi* succeeds Rashid.
1145 Rise of Noureddin, Atabec of the Turks, in Syria.

1160 *Mostanjed* succeeds Moktafi.
Bills of exchange invented by Jews, as a means of protecting their property in times of persecution.
1170 *Mostadhi*, khalif of Baghdad.
1171 Rise of Saladin.
1179 *Nasir* succeeds Mostadhi.
1192 Abdallattif, professor of medicine at Damascus; author of about 160 works, one-fourth of which are on medical subjects.
[Born at Baghdad in 1162; died at the same place, when on a pilgrimage to Mecca, in 1231. Of one of his works—"Compendium of the History of Egypt"—only a single MS. is known to exist. It was brought from the east by Pococke.]
1225 *Dahir*, (or Al Zaher) khalif of Baghdad for a few months only.
1226 *Mostanser*, succeeds Dahir.
1222 Solyman Shah, with 50,000 Kharizmian Turcomans, seek refuge in Asia Minor.
1228 Solyman Shah's departure for Tartary.
He is drowned in the Euphrates; his son, Ortogrul, returns again into Asia Minor.
Ortugrul and his followers enter the service of Aladdin, Seljukian sultan of Roum (1299.)
1231 The Turks capture Jerusalem, and expel the Saracens.
1236 District of Sultanoi granted to Ortugrul.
1242 *Mostassem* succeeds Mostanser.
The Turks retake Jerusalem.
1250 The Kharizmians invade Syria.
1261 The Turks recover Constantinople from the Latins.
1263 Settlement of about 15,000 Turks on the western coast of the Black Sea.

THE TURKISH EMPIRE.

1258 *The Abassidan khalifate of Baghdad overthrown* by the Mongols; Mostassem is hunted from his throne, and murdered by command of Hologou.
Baghdad pillaged for 7 days, and burnt.
1259 Birth of Othman at Súkût, Bithynia.
1272 Overthrow of the power of the Seljuks.
Anatolia conquered by the Moguls.
1273 Birth of Abulfeda at Damascus, author of "Compendium of the History of Mankind," works on geography, medicine, Mohammedan jurisprudence, (d. 1331.)
1281 Osman, son of Orthogrul, of Iconium, having established himself, with 400 families, in Asia Minor, is created sultan of Sultanoni.
Kara-jahissar is granted to the Kharizmians (1228.)
1282 Osman fixes himself at Jeni Shehr.
1290 Acre defended by the knights of Malta.
1291 The Turks drive the Latins from Acre, which completes the conquest of Palestine from the Christians.
End of the Crusades.
1292 Expulsion of the last sultan of Iconium by the Mongols.

THE OTTOMAN EMPIRE.

1299 Rise of the Ottoman empire in Asia.
Othman I. or Osman, the first sultan; hence the name Ottoman.
Jeni Sehr, the capital of the Osmanlis.
Othman murders his uncle, Deindar.
[This may be regarded as an early introduction to the subsequent system of fratricide among the Ottoman princes.]
1301 Ottoman war with the Greeks; successful.
Muzalon defeated; Bithynia ravaged.
1304 Conquest of Nicea completed.
1307 Marmara invaded and reduced.
1310 Rhodes taken by the knights of Malta.
1311 Cenchrea burnt by Othman.
1313 Sack of Ephesus, Tripolis, and Tyræa.
1315 Sardis conquered by Othman.
1318 Orchan, son of Othman, opposes the Mongols.
1321 First passage of the Ottoman Turks into Europe (see Greek Empire.)
1325 Boursa (Prusa) captured by Orchan.
1326 Death of Othman, aged 70. His successor, *Orchan*, sultan of the Turks in Asia.
Orchan appoints his brother Aladdin to the office of Wezir or Vizier.
1327 Prusa made the capital of the Turks.
[The residence and birth-place of the first six Osmanlian Sultans.]
Conquest of the rest of Bithynia.
Lydia conquered from the Eastern Emp.
1328 Legislation (laws) of Aladdin; who also establishes a mint; appoints the military turban; arranges a standing army, &c.
1330 Victory of the Turks over Andronicus.
Nice falls into the hands of the Turks.
Further successes over the Greeks.
1331 Nicomedia conquered by Orchan.
1333 Alliance of Orchan with the Greek empr.
1335 War of Orchan with the neighbour. emirs.
1336 Khorassi (Mysia) conquered, and Bergama (Pergamos) captured.
The Academy of Prusa founded (1320.)
1337 Surrender of Bali-kesri (Palæo Cæsarea) to Orchan, by Ajlan Bey.
1338 Fall of Karamania (Phrygia) under the Ottoman yoke.
1341 Umur Bey, emir of Aidin (Lydia) becomes an ally of John Cantecuzene.
The Turks encounter the Venetians for the first time—in the Archipelago.
1353 First permanent settlement of the Turks in Europe; Soliman, son of Orchan, seizes a fortress on the Thracian coast.
1357 *Establishment of the Turks in Europe.*
Fall of Gallipoli, key of the Hellespont, before the victorious arms of Amurath.
1358 Death of Soliman (see Greek Empire.)
1360 Death of Orchan, aged 75.
[During the reign of Orchan a "constitution" and laws were given to the people; the discipline and tactics of the army were improved; learning was encouraged, and numerous mosques, colleges, and hospitals were established.]
Amurath (or more correctly Al Murad) son of Orchan, succeeds.
[He was politic and warlike, a lover of justice, and an encourager of learning.]

1361 Capture of several fortresses on the Hellespont.
Amurath takes Adrianople.
Ancyra (Angora) captured from Akhilar.
Thrace conquered by the Turks.
Fall of Philippolis; peace succeeds.
Janizaries, or the sultan's foot guards first raised.
1362 *Adrianople the capital of the Turks.*
1363 Amurath marches against the Servians.
Defeat of the combined army of Hungarians and Servians under Louis.
1364 Amurath still at war with the Servians.
Five years' campaign in Thrace.
1369 Rise of Timour at Samarkand.
1372 Subjugation of Servia and Bulgaria.
1373 Treaty of Amurath with the Greek empire; great increase of the territorial possessions of the Turks.
1376 Marriage of Bajazet, Amurath's eldest son, to the daughter of the emir of Kermian.
1380 The emir of Hamid sells his sovereignty.
1381 Three of the ten divisions of the Seljukian kingdom under the Ottoman yoke, viz.:—*Khorasi* obtained by conquest (1336), *Kermian* by marriage (1376), and *Hamid* by purchase (1380.)
Sophia, a city near Mount Hæmus, captured, &c.
1382 Natolia subdued by Amurath.
1385 Conspiracy of the sons of Amurath and John V. of Constantinople.
1386 War with Aladdin, the emir of Karamania.
1387 Victory of Amurath over the Karaman Ogli in Cilicia; intercession of Aladdin's wife—peace is the result.
1388 Revolt of Servia and Albania.
Part of Albania conquered.
1389 Victory of Kassova in Servia; defeat of the combined Christian army of Albanians, Dalmatians, Hungarians, and Wallachians.
Assassination of Amurath by a Servian prisoner.
Bajazet I. succeeds Amurath.
[Bajazet, who was called *Ilderim* or "the lightning," signalized the commencement of his reign by having his brother, Yakub, strangled. The reasons assigned in justification of this fratricidal act were so highly appreciated by succeeding sultans, that the imitation of the example of Bajazet became a standing law of the empire, whose chiefs thenceforth refused to bear a brother near the throne.]
1390 Philadelphia in Asia Minor conquered by Bajazet, his most servile allies being Greeks, commanded by the emperors John and Michael.
1391 *The Turks obtain a footing in Constantinop.*
1394 First year of the ninth century of the Mohammedan era.
1395 Victories of Bajazet; Bulgaria conquered.
Constantinople besieged by Bajazet.
Equipment of the first Ottoman fleet.
1396 Nicopolis besieged; Bajazet comes to its relief.
Battle of Nicopolis; Sigismund defeated, Sep. 28.
1399 Ahmed, sultan of Persia, takes refuge with Bajazet, who espouses his cause.
Protection also given to Kara Yussuf.
1400 *The Turks established in Constantinople;* Bajazet obtains some streets and separate Cadis in Constantinople by treaty.
War between Bajazet and Timour, Sep. 1.
Invasion of Syria by Timour.
Aleppo plundered, Nov. 11.
1401 Damascus sacked by Timour, Jan. 23.
Fall of Baghdad, July 23.
1402 Battle of Angora; Bajazet defeated and made prisoner by Timour; to whom The Turks in Asia Minor, the Ottomans in Egypt, and the Greeks become tributary.
1403 Siege and capture of Smyrna by Timour.
Return of Timour towards the East.
Death of Bajazet; his remains are delivered, by Timour, to his son Mousa.
Dismemberment of the Ottoman Empire.
Revolt of the emirs of Aidin, Kermian, Karamania, Muntesha, Teki.
Struggle for the throne between the three sons of Bajazet—Mohammed, Isa, and Solyman.
Civil war of the Ottomans; anarchy prevails for ten years.
Solyman I. is established at *Adrianople;*
Isa is proclaimed sultan at *Prusa;*
Mohammed reigns in *Anasia.*
Alliance of Solyman with Manuel.
1404 Struggle between Isa and Mohammed for the supremacy in Asia; the latter obtains the victory.
1408 Solyman crosses over into Asia to war with Mohammed; but speedily returns to attack Mousa, who had invaded his kingdom.
1409 Defeat of Mousa.
1410 Adrianople surprised by Mousa; flight of Solyman; he is taken and killed.
Mousa, sultan of the Turks in Europe.
Civil war between Mousa and Mohammed.
1411 Alliance between Mohammed and the Greek emperor, Manuel.
1412 Mousa besieges Constantinople.
1413 Defeat and death of Mousa.
Mohammed I. obtains the sovereignty of the Turks both in Europe and Asia.
Treaty with the Greek emperor, to whom several important fortresses are surrendered by Mohammed.
1414 Mohammed begins a successful campaign against all the dissatisfied emirs; hence he is called "the Noah, who saved the empire from the Tartar deluge."
1415 Mohammed acquires Bosnia.
1418 Wallachia added to the empire.
1419 Troubles in Thessaly, occasioned by the rebellion of Mustapha, who is defeated and escapes to Constantinople.
1421 Death of Mohammed of apoplexy; his son, *Amurath* II. (or Murad) succds. at Prusa.
Misunderstanding between Amurath and Manuel of Constantinople.
Mustapha is set at liberty by Manuel.
Mustapha assumes the sovereignty at Adrianople.
1422 Amurath invests Constantinople with 200,000 men; siege soon raised because of the rebellion of his younger brother Mustapha in Asa.
Civil war betw. Mustapha and Amurath.
Defeat and execution of Mustapha; hence Re-union of the Ottoman empire.

1423 George Castriot and his brother, princes of Albania (Epirus) received by Amurath as hostages (1443.)
1426 Rebellion of Sineis, governor of Aidin.
1435 War with the Venetians for Thessalonica, which Amurath captures, but he loses the Asiatic key of the Dardanelles.
1437 Peace with the Venetians.
1438 Amurath's victories over the Servians.
1439 Attempt of Amurath upon Belgrade repulsed by the "Waiwode," John Hunniades.
1443 Insurrection of Scanderbeg (George Castriot) in Epirus (1423.)
Battle near Nyssa; defeat of Amurath by Hunniades and Scanderbeg.
Independence of Albania restored under Scanderbeg.
Truce of Segedin for ten years.
Abdication of Amurath in favour of his son, Mohammed, 14 years old.
1444 The Christian powers violate the truce on the instigation of John Palæologus, and by the recommendation of cardinal Julian, the Pope's legate.
Amurath quits his retirement in Magnesia and again resumes the government.
1444 Bulgaria ravaged by Uladislas, &c.
Victory over the Hungarians at Varna; cardinal Julian and king Uladislas slain, Nov. 10.
1445 Second abdication of Amurath.
Mutiny of the Janizaries at Adrianople compels Amurath again to assume the direction of public affairs.
1446 Amurath destroys Corinth and Patras, and imposes a heavy tribute upon Constance.
1447 Renewed invasion of the Hungarians.
Victory of Amurath at Cassova; Hunniades defeated with great loss.
1450 Unsuccessful expedition into Albania.
1451 *Mohammed* II. (the Great) aged 21.
[Called *Fatih* — "Vanquisher," by the orientals, and "the first emperor of the Turks," by Europeans.
Ahmed, his brother, strangled.
1452 Revolt and speedy submission of the emir of Karamania.
1453 War with the Byzantine empire.
Constantinople captured by the Turks.
Fall of the Eastern Empire.
The head of Constantine is sent as a trophy to the principal towns in Asiatic Turkey.
Mohammed grants to the Christians of Constantinople personal security, and the free exercise of their religion.
1454 Constantinople repaired and beautified.
Coffee comes into general use in Arabia Felix—it is greatly extolled.
David Comnenus purchases from Mahommed the privilege of reigning in Trebizond.
1455 Siege of Belgrade by Mohammed.
1456 Battle under its walls; Hunniades defeats the Turks, who lose 40,000 men.
Mohammed conquers Athens.
Moldavia pays tribute.
1458 David Comnenus transfers his allegiance from Mohammed to Uzun Hassan, a Persian chieftain.
1459 Servia begins to fall under the power of the Ottoman army (1466.)
1461 Conquest of the Peloponnesus by Turks.
Scanderbeg maintains his independence.
1462 Conquest of Trebizond (1458.)
Successful, though harassing, campaign in Wallachia against the wicked Wlad or Ulad (called Drakul, "the devil.")
1463 War with Venice commenced (1479.)
Fall of Metelin (Lesbos) to the Turks.
1465 The Karmanian dynasty overturned; and Jem, the Sultan's son, made governor.
1466 Victories of Scanderbeg over the Turks.
Conquest of all Servia, except Belgrade.
1467 Death of Scanderbeg at Alessio (*anct.* Lyssus) Jan. 14; after which
Epirus falls under the Turkish yoke.
1469 Turkish inroads upon Austria.
1470 Capture of Negropont (*anct.* Eubœa.)
[Mohammed's fleet numbered more than 300 vessels, carrying 70,000 men, besides an army which he led overland of still greater amount.]
1472 The Turks enter Italy.
1473 Mohammed again defeats Uzun Hasan of Persia.
1474 The possessions of the Genoese in the Crimea wrested from them by the Turks.
1476 Moldavia, Hungary, and the Illyrian provinces of Venice and Germany ravaged by Mohammed.
1479 Peace with Venice; tribute to be paid the Porte for navigating the Black Sea.
Transylvania and the duchy of Austria overrun by Mohammed.
1480 Capture of Otranto by Mohammed.
Attempt upon Rhodes repelled by D'Abusson, the grand master.
Turkish loss 9,000 killed, 15,000 wounded.
1481 Death of Mohammed while preparing another armament against Rhodes.
[The Turkish historians ascribe to Mohammed the glory of having conquered two empires, fourteen kingdoms, and two hundred cities; but they do not disguise the fact, that he was notorious for violating articles of capitulation, and that he was the first who made *fratricide a law of the State.* See note 1389.]
Revolt of the janissaries; murder of the vizier, &c., previous to the arrival of Bajazet from Amassia.
1482 *Bajazet* II. succeeds Mohammed.
[Bajazet was the first Ottoman sultan who preferred peace to war. But though of a naturally pacific disposition, he was forced into war by the restlessness of his janissaries.]
The turbulent soldiery are appeased by a large donation—an unfortunate precedent, which henceforward becomes a regular custom.
Rebellion of Jem (Zezim) in Karmania.
Loss of the Turkish possessions in Italy.
1483 Defeat of Jem on the plains of Yenishehz; he escapes into Egypt.
1484 The coast of Spain ravaged by a Turkish fleet, sent to the aid of the Moors in that country.
1485 Negociations of Jem with the Hospitallers of Rhodes; he is detained a prisoner, and soon after sent to France.
1486 Death of the astronomer George of Trebizond.

1488 Battle of Gulistan.
1489 Jem is removed from France to Rome, where he is tormented by frequent proposals to change his religion, all of which he peremptorily rejects.
1492 First diplomatic relations between the Ottoman and Russian courts established.
1493 First *Voyiade* establishment in Wallachia.
Desultory wars of Bajazet against the Hungarians, Austrians, and Poles, commenced.
1494 First year of the tenth century of the Mohammedan era.
Birth of Solyman, or Suleiman, (1520.)
1495 Death of Jem, by poison, in Italy, (1489.)
[The misfortunes of Zezim (Jem) have been celebrated by many a romance in Europe. In the East his poems are still held in high reputation.]
1499 War with Venice; naval victory of Borrák Keis over Armenio and Loredan.
1500 Conquest of the Morea from the Venetians.
1502 The rise of the Suffavean, or Soofi dynasty, in Persia, revives the spirit of sectarian bigotry among the Moslem nations.
1503 Revolt in Karmania; hence
Peace is concluded with Venice; by which Bajazet obtains the Venetian dependencies on the mainland of Greece.
1505 Rebellion of the Shiites (Sheahs) in Anatolia under the dervish Shaitan-Kuli.
Increase in the order of dervishes.
1510 Rebellion of Selim, son of Bajazet.
1511 Defeat of Selim; he saves himself by flight.
Coffee in partial use in Constantinople.
Unsuccessful rebellion of Ahmed.
Recal of Selim; the Janissaries and Sipahis dethrone Bajazet and proclaim
Selim I. Sultan of the Turks.
Murder of the brothers and nephews of Selim, surnamed Yauz "the ferocious."
Excessive donations to the avaricious Janissaries, and consequent exhaustion of the public funds.
1513 Treaties *sold* to Venice and Ragusa.
Peace concluded with Hungary.
Jealousies, political and religious, between Selim and Shah Ismael, result in war.
1514 Battle of Shaldiran (Kalderoon) defeat of the Persians; followed by the fall of Tabriz.
1515 Successful progress of Selim's army in Mesopotamaia and Kurdistan; insurrection of Kurds in favour of the conqueror.
Battle of Karghandede; Ismael defeated.
Fall of Mardin, Nisibis, and other places.
Mesopotamia and Kurdistan subdued.
1516 War with the Egyptians in Syria.
Battle of the Darik near Aleppo; Ghori the Egyptian Sultan defeated and slain, Aug. 17.
1517 Victories of Selim over the forces of Tuman Bey, partly by valour, partly by artifice and bribery.
Battle of Cairo; a victory gained by the treachery and cruelty of Selim.
Battle of the Pyramids; final defeat of Tuman Bey.
Egypt added to the Ottoman empire.
1518 Selim obtains the sovereignty, and the title of Protector of the two holy cities—Mecca and Medina.
1520 Death of Selim of fever.
[During the reign of Selim, and the reigns of his two immediate predecessers, the Ottoman power was progressive.]
Solyman II. (the Magnificent), sultan.
Having been born in the first year of the tenth century, and being the tenth sovereign of the House of Othman, high expectations were formed of his future glory—the number ten being held in superstitious regard by the Ottomans.]
Liberation of 600 Egyptian captives.
Reimbursements of losses to merchants for breaches of official regulations.
The laws and finances of the empire regulated by a fixed code.
Appointment of the Bostanjis, a domestic corps, intended to keep the Janissaries in check, and to serve as a protection to the person of the sultan.
1521 The Hungarians discontinue their tribute.
Solyman besieges Belgrade; it capitulates; Solyman violates the terms of surrender.
1522 Conquest of Rhodes from the knights of St. John, who then retire into Candia and Sicily.
The Ottoman navy formidable to Europe.
1526 The Austrian and Hungarian territories invaded by Solyman on the urgent solicitation of the king of France.
Victory over the Hungarians at Mohatz; Buda taken; 200,000 Hungarians made captives.
1527 Alliance, offensive and defensive, with Zapolski (the Usurper) of Hungary.
1528 Oïen in Hungary surrenders to Solyman; terms of capitulation violated.
1529 Solyman invades the Austrian territories.
He besiges Vienna, but is repulsed.
1530 Desultory war in Hungary till 1533.
Death of Baber the Persian biographer.
1532 Solyman repulsed in Austria.
1533 Peace with Hungary and Austria.
War with Persia; fall of Tabriz.
1534 Submission of Baghdad.
1535 Tunis reduced by the emperor Charles V.
Babacushi the moralist flourishes (d. 1566.)
Friendly relations, for the first time, between France and Turkey.
1536 Solyman joins alliance with Francis I. of France against the emperor Charles V.
Alhassan, the Arabian historian, author of "Description of Africa," flourishes.
1537 War with Venice; Corfu besieged.
Invasion of Naples.
1538 Defeat of the Hungarians at Goria; Croatia conquered.
1539 South of Arabia subdued, and
India invaded (for the purpose of expelling the Portuguese) by Suleiman Pasha; the invasion unsuccessful.
1540 Peace with Venice on advantageous terms.
Extended political sway of the Ottomans.
1541 Repulse of Charles V. in his expedition against Algiers, chiefly owing to tempestuous weather.
1541 War resumed in Hungary; Turkish army successful; sack of Buda; the inhabitants put to the sword.
Buda, &c., annexed to the Ottoman emp.
1542 Friendly relations with Denmark and Sweden.

1543 Tenth campaign of Solyman; he again invades Hungary.
Conquest of Gran and Stuhlweissenberg.
1544 Acquisition of Wessegrad, &c.
1547 Aderbijan defeated; Ispahan captured.
1548 Peace with Austria and Hungary.
1550 War again with Persia: successful campaign of Solyman.
1551 Tripoli taken from the Knights of Malta.
1552 Renewed invasion of Hungary; Transylvania made tributary, under queen Isabella, mother of John Sigismund.
1553 War with Persia renewed.
Execution of Mustapha, the emperor's eldest son, on the instigation of his favourite wife, Roxolana.
Great discontent among the troops.
1554 Erivan captured by the Turks.
Two coffee-houses opened in Constantinople by two foreigners—Scherus from Damascus, and Hekin from Aleppo.
[According to the Arabian writer, Schehabeddin Ben, coffee became known to Gemaleddin, mufti of Aden, in Arabia Felix, about the year 1450, while travelling in Persia; and that on his return he recommended it to the dervishes as a certain means of preventing drowsiness. It subsequently passed from Aden to Mecca, thence to Medina, and afterwards to Grand Cairo.]
1555 Peace with Shah Tamasp of Persia.
1556 The great mosque of Solymanyah begun.
1559 Naval victory of Galves by Dragut.
Jealousies between the sons of Solyman—Bajazet and Selim.
1560 Rebellion of Bajazet in Koniah.
1561 Defeat of Bajazet; he escapes to the court of Shah Tamasp, who first treats him with kindness.
1562 Bajazet and his family are sold by Tamasp to Selim, by whose agents they are tortured and beheaded.
Truce for eight years between Solyman and the emperor Ferdinand I., the latter again becomes tributary to the Sultan.
1565 The Turks lay siege to Malta.
1566 The Turks abandon the siege of Malta with the loss of 30,000 men.
Solyman's last invasion of Hungary.
John Sigismund does homage for Transylvania, and Solyman promises him aid and protection.
Death of Solyman before Zigeth.
Selim II., son of Solyman and Roxolana.
[The honours of whose reign belong to his father; for his glorious memory concealed the weakness (arising from indolence and debauchery) of his successor.]
Murder of the Sultan's five brothers (1389.)
Increasingly exorbitant demands of the Janissaries; the treasury exhausted in order to satisfy them
1566 Death of the Arabian moralist Babacushi.
1567 Sluggish operations in Hungary; overtures made by the emperor Maximilian.
1568 Selim concludes a truce of eight years with the emperor.
1569 Domestic improvements, canals, &c.
Yemen and southern Arabia conquered.
1570 Selim (who loved Cyprus wine) desires to possess himself of that island.
1570 War with Venice, undertaken at the instigation of one Joseph Nassy, a Jew.
Necosia in Cyprus taken by assault, Sep. 9; Siege of Famagusta commenced, Sep.
1571 Capitulation of Famagusta, Aug. 1; hence conquest of the island of Cyprus.
Naval defeat at Lepanto by the combined Christian powers under Don John of Austria, Oct. 7.
[The Christian fleet consisted of 206 galleys—men 30,000; the Turkish 280 galleys—men 120,000; Turkish loss 150 galleys and 30,000 men.]
1572 Tunis conquered by Don John of Austria; but soon after reconquered by Sinan Pacha.
1573 The Venetians compelled to purchase peace with the loss of Cyprus (1570.)
Al Jannabi, author of "Universal History," flourishes (died 1590.)
1574 Death of Selim after a drunken debauch.
Amurath III. (or Murad) son of Selim.
The five brothers of Amurath destroyed.
Public indignation at those atrocious murders; increased rapacity and insolence of the Janissaries; disgrace of the grand vizier Sokoli; the sultan under the influence of his harem; appointment of worthless favourites to state offices, &c., &c.—all indicate an inglorious reign.
1575 Peace renewed with Austria.
1576 War with Persia renewed; victories of Osman Pasha.
1578 Invasion of Persia by the grand vizier and Khan of Crim Tartary; conquest of Tabriz and Shirwan, which are soon retaken by the Persians.
1583 Truce with the emperor Rodolph II.
Trading relations first opened with Engld.
1584 Osman Pasha suppresses a revolt of the Khan of Crim Tartary.
1585 The district of Vau conquered.
1589 The Cossacks make occasional inroads.
Solyman makes peace with Persia and obtains three provinces.
1590 Embassy from England in Constantinople.
Depreciation of the currency provokes a Revolt of the Janissaries; the palace attacked, and the heads of ministers who had tampered with the coin demanded.
1591 Revolt of the army in Egypt; the mutineers are invited to a parley, and then treacherously murdered.
War with the German empire in Hungary.
1592 Defeat of the Hungarians at Sissek.
1593 War renewed with the empire in Hungary.
1594 Victory of the grand vizier Sinan over the archduke Mathias; Raab taken.
1595 Sinan murdered by order of Mohammed.
Death of Amurath, of fever.
Mohammed III. (eldest son) succeeds.
[He was the last of the Turkish heirs to the throne intrusted with the government of a provence.]
Nineteen brothers of Mohammed strangled; and all his father's pregnant concubines drowned.
The Janissaries again revolt.
Revolt of the prince of Wallachia.
1596 Defeats in Hungary.
1597 Mohammed heads his army in Hungary, and obtains two victories.

1597 Sigismund of Transylvania joins the Turks.
1598 Raab captured by the imperialists.
Insurrections in Asia Minor; tumults, &c.
1600 Victory of *Ibrahim* at Canisa (Kanicha.)
Revolt of Abd-al-Kalim Karayasiji, nicknamed "the Black Scribe," in Asia.
Two armies sent against him defeated.
Ferishta (History of India) flourishes.
1601 The troops in the Africas begin to appoint *deys* instead of the pachas nominated by the sultan.
Firmans issued by "the Black Scribe"—the first example of such an outrage upon the privileges of the sultans.
War resumed against Persia.
Prince Mahmoud solicits his father to give him the command of an army against the rebels in Asia, for which he is executed.
1602 The prince of Wallachia submits; he is assassinated by order of the grand vizier.
Defeat and death of the "Black Scribe."
His followers maintain the war against the Turks with valour and desperation.
Insurrection of the Spahis or Ottoman cavalry suppressed by the Janissaries.
1603 The Persians recover Tabriz, and conquer Azerbijan.
Sudden death of Mohammed; his son, *Ahmed* I. (14 years old) succeeds.
Ahmed nobly refuses to stain his accession by fratricide.
1604 The Turks lose Erivan.
1605 Revolts in Syria and Karamania, under the pacha of Aleppo, &c.
Defeats in Annatolia.
Rise of Sabbatay Seva, the pretended Messiah.
Birth of Abulgazi, Tartar hist. (d. 1663.)
1606 Ahmed concludes a peace with the empire for twenty years.
1607 The Asiatic revolters burn Brusa, &c.
1608 Destruction of the rebels Kalender, Ogli, and Janbulad-zade, near Karamania.
Commercial relations established with France and Holland.
1609 Tobacco introduced into Turkey.
1610 Mosque of sultan Ahmet at Constantinople, (regarded as the best specimen of the Mohammedan religious edifices of comparatively recent date), commenced.
1611 The Turks conclude a disgraceful peace with Persia, surrendering Georgia, Erivan, and Tabriz.
Rapid decline in the maritime strength of the Ottoman empire.
1612 The Turks invade Austria.
The coasts of Asia harassed by the Florentines and Cossacks.
1615 Peace with Austria.
The Ottoman fleets retire before those of the Knights of Malta.
1617 Death of Ahmed: his brother *Mustapha* I. (an imbecile prince) succeeds.
1618 Deposition of Mustapha after 3 months.
Osman or Othman II. (son of Ahmed.)
Great defeat at Shibli by the Persians, which compels the Turks to consent to a peace, and to surrender Servia, Erivan, and Tabriz.
1620 War with Poland in Moldavia.
Great vict. over the Poles on the Dneister.
1621 Defeat at Choczin by the Poles.
1622 War with the Druses; Osman intimates his design of employing other troops than the Janissaries; hence
Insurrection of the Janissaries.
Mustapha restored; Osman strangled by command of Mustapha's mother.
[Osman II. was the first Ottoman sultan murdered by his revolted subjects.]
Fifteen months of frightful anarchy and bloodshed.
[In fact the capital was as one immense human slaughter-house.]
1623 Mustapha strangled; he is succeeded by *Amurath* or Murad IV., brother of Osman, known as the "Ottoman Nero."
1624 Rebellion of Abaza under pretence of avenging Othman's murder.
Unsuccessful invasion of Persia.
1625 Loss of Baghdad, Mosul, and other places.
The grand vizier and others executed.
Truce with the German emp. renewed.
1626 Re-introductn. of Christianity into Greece.
Defeat of Abaza by Hafiz Pacha; the former still continues in rebellion.
1627 Revolt of the khans of the Crimea.
The Cossacks harass the northern boundaries, and ravage the coasts of the Bosphorus.
The Turks again invade Persia.
1628 Ill success of the Persian war leads to
Mutiny of the Janissaries at Constantinople; dreadful slaughter; two of the obnoxious ministers put to death, &c.
Awful slaughter of the Janissaries by the rebel Abaza at Erzeroum.
Submission of Abaza to Khosru Pacha.
Abaza made governor of Bosnia.
1629 Intrigues of Bethlem Gabor for Hungary.
Campaign of Hamadan Khosru in Persia.
1631 Khosru is deprived of office: he excites a revolt of the Janissaries in Constantinop.
The revolt suppressed; Khosru executed.
1632 Dreadful insurrection of the Janissaries stimulated by the new vizier, Rejeb; deposition of the sultan proposed, &c.
Turn of affairs;—Rejeb put to death; the revolters at first conciliated, then follows executions, &c.—in short, a "reign of terror."
[For several years Murad's reign presented an unvaried repetition of massacres and executions; high and low were equally the victims of his tyranny, and no one could tell by what course he should escape from his jealousy and caprice.]
1633 Revolts and civil war in Arabia.
1634 Persia invaded by the sultan in person.
1635 Orders for the execution of Amurath's two brothers arrive from Persia, with news of the sultan's recent victories.
Bajazet and Solyman put to death.
Public indignation against the sultan.
1636 Prince Kazim, another brother of Amurath, put to death.
Revolting murders and other atrocities of Amurath on his march into Persia.
Peace with Poland renewed.
1637 The Cossacks take Azoph (1642.)
1638 Conquest of Baghdad after a 40 days' siege.
1639 Beyrout captured from the Christians.
Peace with Persia established.

1640 Death of Amurath of fever.
Ibrahim (brother) succeeds—an effeminate and sensual prince.
Kara Mustapha, grand vizier, rules the emp. with vigour, and introduces refms.
1641 Shameful misconduct of the sultan.
1642 Recapture of Azoph from the Cossacks.
1643 The piracies of the Cossacks on the Black Sea repressed by the vizier.
1644 Murder of Kara Mustapha by order of the sultan; Ahmed Pasha succeeds.
The debaucheries and buffoonery of the sultan, as well as his wanton cruelties, occasion general discontent.
1645 Prolongation of the truce with the empire.
War with Venice; in order to draw public attention from court immorality.
Expedition agt. Candia; capture of Canea.
[Candia was not finally conquered till after a lapse of twenty-four years, viz. in 1669.]
1646 Yussuf, the conqueror of Canea, strangled by order of Ibrahim.
1647 Further successes in Candia.
1648 The incapacity of Ibrahim and his grand vizier leads to an insurrection of the Janissaries and Spakis.
Ibrahim is deposed and strangled; his son *Mohammed* IV. (4 years old) succeeds, under the care of Sofi-Mohammed.
Twelve regents appointed during Mohammed's minority.
1649 Sanguinary struggle between the Janissaries and Spakis; the former victorious.
Tyrannical and turbulent conduct of the Janissaries; general discontent; decline of the empire.
[Mohammed's reign is remarkable for mutinies of the troops, intrigues of the barons, and changes in the administration—the consequence of both.]
1650 Insurrections in various places.
Second attack on Candia unsuccessful.
1651 Sofi-Mohammed put to death by the Janissaries, instigated by the harem.
Mohammed Koeprilii, grand vizier.
Koeprilii, the vizier, suppresses all the coffee *shops* in Constantinople.
[He visited both the taverns and coffee houses in disguise; in the former he met with careless revellers only, but in the latter serious and grave politicians were found, discussing governmental and other public affairs in quite an unoriental style.]
1652 Dangerous revolts at Damascus and Cairo.
1653 Defeats by land and sea. (See Italy.)
1655 Defeat at Mocenigo, owing to the cowardice of the Janissaries.
Severity of Koeprilii towards the cowards.
1656 Death of the grand vizier Koeprilii.
[During the five years that he *held* the reins of power he put to death 36,000 persons, and even on his deathbed gave orders for fresh executions.
Ahmed Koeprilii (son) grand vizier.
1657 War agt. Rococzi in Hungary, for becoming an ally of Sweden *against* Poland.
1658 Recovery of the recent losses in Italy, Dalmatia, and Transylvania.
1659 Suppression of the formidable revolt of Abaza Hassan in Asiatic Turkey.
The Dardanelles (the castles of Sestos and Abydos) built by Mohammed.
1660 Warradin taken from the Transylvanians.
Rococzi of Hungary defeated and killed.
1661 War with Austria for Transylvania.
1662 Turbulence of the Kurds.
Invasion of Hungary by the grand vizier; Neuhassel and Great Warradin taken.
1664 Turkish army overthrown by Montecuculi at St. *Gothard*; consequent Peace with Austria.
1666 Tumults at Salonica, occasioned by the false prophet Rabbi Sabatay Seva (1605.)
Mohammed causes Sabatay Seva *to be* arrested at Constantinople; he turns Mohammedan to save his life.
[The claims of this false Messiah had been acknowledged by the Jews in Turkey, Venice, Leghorn, and Amsterdam.]
Koeprilii departs for Candia.
1667 Siege of Candia renewed with vigour.
1669 Candia, invested since 1645, is at *length* wrested from the Venetians, after a loss on both sides of more than 200,000 men.
1670 Peace with Venice; acquisition of Candia.
Panayoti (the first Greek who received a public appointment in Turkey) made dragoman.
1671 The Cossacks place themselves under the protection of the Porte, which leads to War with Poland.
1672 Mohammed victorious in Poland.
1673 Desertion of the Waiwodes of Wallachia and Moldavia, hence defeat at Choczim.
[Out of 32,000 Turks scarcely more than 1,500 escaped the field of slaughter.]
1674 The Turks recover Khotin.
1675 Death of the historian Haji Khalifeh.
1676 Peace with Poland restored.
Death of the vizier Ahmed Koeprilii; he is succeeded by his brother-in-law, Kara Mustapha Koeprilii.
1678 Revolt of the Cossacks on the Ukraine, which results in War with Russia till 1682.
The ruins of Palmyra discovered by English travellers from Aleppo.
1679 Reverses from the Russian arms.
1680 The name of the Russians, hitherto despised by the Turks, begins to be formidable even at Constantinople.
1681 Peace with Russia; cession of the Ukraine and the Cossack territory.
1682 War with Austria—the sultan having espoused the cause of Tekeli.
1683 Reverses in Austria: total rout before Vienna, Sep. 12.
Further losses in Hungary.
The vizier strangled by order of the sultan; Ibraham Pacha succeeds.
1684 War with Venice; loss of Santa Maura and Prevesa.
Athens bombarded by the Venetians.
1685 Loss of Great Warradin, Tokay, Neuhassel.
Revolt of the Mainotes in southern Greece.
1686 Reverses in Hungary: loss of *Buda*—the Turks put to the sword.
[Buda had been in possession of the Turks 145 years. See 1645.]
War with Russia.
1687 Defeat at Mohacz, in Hungary.
The Morea *taken by the Venetians*; also the Dalmatian fortresses, &c.
Dissatisfaction of the Janissaries; hence

1687 *Revolution in Constantinople.*
Sultan Mohammed deposed; his brother *Solyman* II. raised to the throne.
Frightful commotions, robberies, and other excesses of the Janizaries, Spahis, and the lowest of the populace.
1688 Loss of Belgrade—taken by the imperialists; also Bosnia, Croatia, and Sclavonia.
1689 The Turks defeated by the Austrians, but victorious over the Russians, Poles, and Venetians.
[The improvement in the military affairs of the Porte is to be attributed to the appointment of a new vizier, Mustapha Koeprilii.]
1690 Belgrade retaken from the imperialists.
1691 Death of Solyman II. of dropsy.
Ahmed II. (brother) succeeds.
Total defeat at Salankemen, and death of the vizier, Mustapha Koeprilii.
1692 The war in Hungary languishes.
1694 Loss of Chio; taken by the Venetians.
1695 Death of Ahmed II. also of dropsy.
Mustapha II. (brother) ascends the throne.
1696 The grand vizier successful in Hungary; Chio recovered.
Mustapha heads his army in Hungary, and obtains a victory at Lippa.
Victory over the Russians at Azof; they are driven from its walls with a loss of 30,000 men.
Azof is retaken by the Russians.
1697 Defeat at Zeuta; the grand vizier, fourteen inferior viziers, and 20,000 Turks slain; 10,000 drowned in crossing the Theiss; immense loss of baggage and treasures, including seven horse-tail ensigns and twenty-three standards.
1698 Mediation of Engld. and Holld. for peace.
1699 Treaty of Carlowitz, concluded Jan. 26; humiliation of the Turks. Belgrade and Temesvar retained by the Porte.
1701 The revolt of the Arabs suppressed, and the pilgrimage to Mecca, which it had interrupted, renewed.
Koeprilii issues an ordinance against vampirism and magic, &c.
1702 Koeprilii resigns his post of vizier; Daltaban succeeds. Disastrous consequences to Turkey result from the bigotry and ignorance of Daltaban.
1703 The vizier Daltaban executed.
Revolt of the Janissaries; hence
Sultan Mustapha deposed. His brother, *Ahmed* III. usurps the throne.
[An encourager of printing, &c.]
1705 Revolt of the Janissaries at Constantinople; suppressed by the sultan.
1709 Ahmed treats Charles XII. of Sweden (at Bender) with great kindness; he presents him with 16,000 ducats.
[The sultan cheerfully granted protection to the Swedish monarch, because of the jealousy with which he viewed the ambitious progress of the Russian policy and arms.]
1710 War declared against Russia, partly at the instigation of the king of Sweden, now enjoying the protection of the sultan at Bender, but mainly in consequence of an injudicious attack of the Russians on the Swedes on the frontier of Moldavia.
1710 Ali Pacha, vizier, displaced by Nooman Koeprilii; who is soon succeeded by Baltanji Mohammed.
1711 Powerful army at the river Pruth, under Baltanji Mohammed.
The Russians are destitute of food, &c.
Baltanji receives from Catherine all her jewels as a present; hence
Advantageous treaty with the Russians at the Pruth; the Turks gain Azof.
[Not so advantageous as might have been made, had the vizier held out according to the urgent remonstrances of the khan of Crimea and Charles of Sweden.]
Baltanji, the vizier, disgraced.
1712 War against Russia menaced, but abandoned; concessions are also made by the new vizier, Ali Koumourdji of Nicea, who is now contemplating an attack on the Morea.
1713 Charles XII. commanded to quit Turkey.
[He obstinately refused compliance with the sultan's order to quit Bender, and with only 600 Swedes he fought against 6,000 Turks and 20,000 Tartars, until he was overwhelmed and made prisoner. He was kept close at Demotika for nearly eleven months, when he asked permission to return home, which was granted.]
1714 Return of Charles of Sweden.
The sultan declares war against Venice.
[The Venetians neglect to make due preparations for the war.]
1715 The Turks invade the Morea, and conquer it in about 100 days.
Triumphal entry of the grand vizier into Adrianople.
1716 War declared against Austria.
Defeat at Peterwaradin, by prince Eugene; death of the vizier.
Temesvar lost to the Austrians.
1717 Siege of Belgrade by prince Eugene, May.
Approach of 200,000 Turks to its relief, under Ibraham, the new vizier; a dreadful battle ensues; the Turks are defeated with a loss of 20,000 men, Aug. 5.
Surrender of Belgrade to prince Eugene.
Negotiations for peace under the mediation of Holland and England commenced.
1718 Peace of Passarowitz with Austria and Venice; Belgrade, Orsowa, and parts of Wallachia, and Servia surrendered to Austria; but Cerigo and the Morea are retained.
Peaceable policy of the vizier Ibraham; internal improvements; public edifices built; popular amusements patronized; the religious and national festivals celebrated with increased splendour; new mosques built, old ones renovated; forts on the frontier increased, &c.
1721 An ambassador is sent to Paris, the first from the Ottoman court.
1722 Alarm in the Ottoman court, owing to the indications of Russian ambition in the affairs of Persia.
1723 The Turks refuse aid to Tahmasp, except on condition of surrendering the western provinces.
1724 The prompt movement of the czar upon the frontiers of Persia causes great dissatisfaction in Turkey.

1725 Indignation against Tamasp of Persia, for having joined alliance with Russia; war is threatened, but through the exertions of the vizier
A partition treaty with Russia is formed, for seizing the northern and western provinces of Persia.
1726 Campaign in Persia; the districts assigned by the partition treaty are conquered.
The Turks advance farther into Persia, but they suffer a signal
Defeat by the Affghans under Ashraff, the usurper of Persia.
The first printing-press in Turkey, brought from Paris by Mohammed Effendi, ambassador to that court (1721.)
1729 Conflagration at Constantinople.
1730 Turkish troops first disciplined according to the "Christian" mode.
Reverses in Persia; the Porte loses its recently acquired provinces in that country.
Revolt in Constantinople because of the recent reverses.
The vizier and two other ministers given up by the sultan to the sanguinary vengeance of the Janissaries.
Ahmed abdicates, Sep. 17, in favour of *Mohammed* V. (nephew), who, with great difficulty, appeases the Janissaries; not, however, till the leaders of the revolt are inveigled into the palace, where they are murdered.
[During the reign of Ahmed, Turkey was proverbially a refuge for the unfortunate. Constantinople was indebted to him for many public buildings, four public libraries, and a printing establishment.]
The new vizier, Kabakulak, suppresses a second insurrection, by the most severe, nay, atrocious measures.
The Turkish historians say that he caused the death, by assassination and public executions, of 15,000 persons within six months.]
War with Persia renewed.
1731 The Turks lose ground in Persia.
1732 Victory at Hamadan; hence
Peace of Erivan; which secures to the sultan all the territory beyond the Araxes.
Great dissatisfaction with the treaty; hence disgrace of the mufti and vizier.
1733 War with Persia renewed.
Nadir Khouli appears before the walls of Baghdad, but is repulsed.
1734 The khan of Tartary is commanded by the sultan to lead an army through the Caucasus, and to strengthen his interest with the mountain tribes (1736.)
Further losses in Persia.
Victory of Nadir at Baghdad.
1735 Nadir makes overtures for peace.
1736 Death of Ahmed by poison, aged 74 (1730.)
War with Russia, chiefly through the contrivances of Nadir.
Azof is besieged by Russia without the formality of a declaration of war.
Peace with Persia; restoration of Georgia and Armenia, which Russia is anxious to obtain; the Crimea attacked; Azof taken.
1737 The Austrians take Nissa; but are defeated at Barmaluka, Widdin, &c.
1737 The Crimea conquered by the Russians; Oczakow taken.
Nissa retaken by the Turks; the Austrians suffer severe defeats.
The atrocities of the Russians in Bessarabia and Moldavia attach the Christian population more closely to the sultan.
1738 Retreat of the Russians upon the Ukraine.
The Austrians relieve Orsova, July 4.
The Russians victorious at Choczin.
The Austrians being greatly harassed by the Turks shut themselves up in Belgrade.
1739 Sanguinary battle of Krotzka, June 30; unfavourable to Austria.
Belgrade entered by the Turks, Sep. 4.
Peace of Belgrade: humiliating to Austria; while Russia restores all her Turkish conquests except Azof: the Austrian and Ottoman frontier is the Czerna and Unna.
[This was one of the most advantageous treaties ever made by the Porte: the Austrians abandoned all they had gained under prince Eugene.]
1742 War with Persia resumed: Nadir Shah advances to Erzeroom.
[Nadir pretended that the religious articles of the late treaty had not been executed by the sultan.]
1743 The Porte is, for the first time, regarded as an integral part of the European system; hence the integrity of its empire is hereafter considered as an important element in adjusting the balance of power.]
1745 Defeat by Nadir at Erzeroom.
Nadir Shah advances to Trebizond.
1746 Peace with Persia; on nearly its former conditions.
Treaty offensive and defensive with Sweden.
Negotiations with France for an alliance against Maria Theresa; broken off, because of her alliance with Prussia.
Constantinople becomes the centre of diplomatic intrigues; nevertheless, the Porte maintains neutrality during the Austrian war of succession.
1747 Internal improvements:—more public buildings erected; public shows revived, &c.; but the finances of the country are grievously neglected.
1748 Revolts in several provinces for a brief succession of years—suppressed.
1749 Civil war of religion: the Arab Wahabè tribe, a set of fanatics, desirous of restoring the ancient purity of Islamism, preach reformation, and endeavour to enforce it by the sword, under their leaders Abdul Wahhab (the reformer), and his son-in-law, Mohammed Ebn Saoud (their military leader.)
1751 Proclamation issued against the Wahabè fanatics—abortive.
1752 The Wahabè schism increases: it has an injurious effect on the superstitious mind of the sultan.
Earthquake; Adrianople nearly destroyed.
1753 The Russians make encroachments upon Crim Tartary.
1754 Death of Mohammed; after a "glorious reign" of 24 years; his brother
Othman III. succeeds.
Grand Cairo destroyed by an earthquake and a fire; 40,000 persons perish.

1754 Othman III. labours to correct public morals, which had grown lax from intercourse with Europeans.
1755 Ambassador from Prussia; the first in Constantinople from Prussia.
The great mosque of Noor-Othmani fndd.
Othman frequently changes his vizier, which occasions much discontent.
Fez, in Morocco, nearly destroyed by an earthquake; 12,000 Arabs perish, Nov. 1.
1756 Great fires at Constantinople; over 8,000 houses, including 200 mosques, are destroyed at one conflagration.
1757 Raghib Mohammed Pacha, vizier; best learned vizier in Turkey for 50 years.
Death of Othman III.; his cousin, son of the deposed Ahmed,
Mustapha III., succeeds.
Raghib marries the sultan's sister.
Baron de Tott (on the death of his father in Constantinople) obtains an appointment in the French embassy.
1758 The sultan amuses himself in regulating costume, superintending pub. buildings.
The vizier (who virtually possesses all power) regulates the administration, domestic and foreign, patronizes literature.
1759 Earthquake in Syria; Baather destroyed.
1760 Astronomical Tables of Cassini translated.
1762 The Porte is much respected by the European powers in the early part of this reign; its alliance during the seven years' war is sought by the rival sovereigns.
1763 Baron de Tott returns to France.
1764 Porter, English ambassador, nearly succeeds in inducing Raghib to form a league offensive and defensive with Prus.
Death of the vizier Raghib.
Sultan Mustapha protests against the Russian aggressions on the liberties of Poland.
1765 The Circassians and Cabardians complain to the Porte of Russian encroachments.
1766 Insurrections in Georgia and the neighbouring provinces; chiefly the result of the vacillating rule of Mustapha.
1767 Intrigues of the Russians to excite a revolt among the Christian subjects of the sultan in Moldavia and Wallachia. (See 1853.)
The Imertians and the Montenegrins of Bosnia, instigated by Russia, fly to arms.
1768 The sultan declares war against Russia; contrary to the advice of his counsellors, who urged the immediate defence of his frontiers.
Insurrection of the Montenegrins under Stephano suppressed. (See Italy.)
Attack upon the Austrian ambassador by a bigotted and infuriated rabble.
1769 New Servia devastated by the Tartars, under their khan, Krim Gherai, who crossed the Dneister on the ice.
On his return, with immense booty and thousands of slaves, he is poisoned.
Dewlet Gherai succeeds Krim Gherai.
Choczim is twice besieged by prince Galitzin; he is repulsed by Kahreman, who obtains the title of "Ghazi," or champion of the faith.
Peculation of the vizier; he marches so slowly towards the frontier, that
Choczim is assailed a third time, and captured by the Russians.
1769 Execution of the vizier.
The Turks fly from Buckharest; the Prussians enter, Nov. 17. (Restored in 1774.)
Baron de Tott comes to Constantinople, having been deprived of his consulship in the Crimea.
He enters the sultan's service; and (according to his own account), improves the fortifications, re-organizes the artillery, and performs other public works of utility.
1770 The insurgent Imertians, Georgians, and Montenegrins, receive arms from Russia.
Turkey is now assailed north, east, and west.
The Russians destroy the Turkish fleet in the bay of Tchesme.
De Tott fortifies the Dardanelles.
Revolt of Ali Bey in Egypt.
The Algerine fleet arrive in the Archipelago, and compel the Russians to abandon Lemnos.
The Greeks (the Mainotes of the south of Greece) seek to regain their independence by the aid of some Russians; they are subdued by a ruthless massacre.
1771 The Turks abandon the greater part of Moldavia and Wallachia.
A "Fetva," sanctioning the massacre of all who sympathize with Russia in the invaded territories, is issued.
Defeat by Russians at Kartal Moldavia; the Turks desert in whole battalions.
Conquest of Akerman and Bender by the Russians; to whom
Azof and Crim Tartary are lost.
1772 The Porte offers to purchase the aid of Austria by a treaty to partition Poland betw. them. Austria declines; but mediates.
Administration of the vizier Muhsinzade.
1773 The revolt of Egypt subdued; Ali Bey having been deposed by his adopted son, Mohammed Abou-Dalab.
The Danube is crossed by the Russians (for the first time) under Romanov; they are repulsed by the Turks.
1774 Muhsinzade concentrates his army at Shumlah; and adopts defensive war.
Second passage of the Danube by Romanov; he environs the army at Shumlah.
Negotiations for peace opened.
Death of Mustapha III. just as he was about to head his army. His brother,
Abd-al-Hamid, succeeds.
[Mustapha III. is described as a man of energy and moderation; especially to his Christian subjects. He appointed his brother to succeed instead of his own son Selim, who being now only in his 16th year, was deemed too young to ascend the throne in the present situation of Turkey.]
Battle of Kozlige: terrible defeat;—the Turks massacre their officers; hence
Turkey humiliated by the peace Kainarje, signed on the anniversary of the treaty by Peter the Great at the Pruth.
The Tartars are declared independent in the Crimea, Cuban, and Bessarabia; and the Porte engages to govern Moldavia and Wallachia with more moderation.
1775 Acre attacked by Turks and Moors; Daher (aged 89) betrayed and put to death.
Ahmed Pasha (Djezzar or "Butcher") succeeds.

1776 Buckowina ceded to Austria.
De Tott resigns his place in disgust, and again returns to France.
A Military Academy established, June.
1777 Jealousy and mutual intrigues of Turkey and Russia respecting the election of a khan for Crimea; Saheb Geray is elected by the Russians, Selim Geray by former.
1778 Great fire at Constantinople, 2,000 houses burned, September 4.
Earthquake at Smyrna; many lives lost.
1781 Disturbances created by the spread of the Wahhabi schismatics in Irak and Arabia.
1782 Dreadful plague and fire at Constantinople. Many libraries are destroyed, &c.
["Of the illiteracy imputed to the subjects of the grand signor there is sufficient proof; but it is not so general or so gross as it has been represented. To all the mosques founded by different sultans, academies are annexed, in some of which a great number of students are lodged and supported. Before the conflagration of 1782, the great schools in Constantinople exceeded 500, and those in which only reading and writing were taught were reckoned at 1,255. At the same time, 13 libraries were open to the public in that capital. The books were not printed, for only one press was then at work, and few productions issued from it."—*Dr. C. Coote.*]
1783 The Russians seize Crim Tartary, and depose Shahin Gherai (Geray) Khan.
The printing-press re-established in Turkey by Abdul-Hamid.
1784 The Crimea ceded to Russia.
The Tartars emigrate from the Crimea.
1786 Revolt of the Bashaw of Scutari suppresd.
Revolt of the Mamelukes under Ibraham and Mourad Bey; it is quelled by Ghazi-Hassan.
1787 War declared against Russia.
The vizier Jussuf commands the army.
Ali Pacha, now renowned for bravery, obtains a commission.
Crim Tartary invaded; Turks repulsed.
Naval defeat off the Dneiper.
1788 War with Austria.
Battle of Lugosch; Austrians routed.
The Turks invade Hungary.
Fall of Choczim; Coburg, with a Russian army, takes it.
Oczakow stormed by the Russians under Potemkin; 20,000 Turks put to the sword, December 17.
Toderinis catalogue of the imperial library of the Seraglio published.
1789 Death of Abdul-Hamid.
Selim II. (son of Mustapha III.), sultan.
Suwarrow, the Russian, marches victoriously through Moldavia.
The Austrians take Belgrade.
Fall of Bender; Potemkin takes it.
Magazine of Corfu explodes; 180 killed, March 11.
The Austrians occupy Bucharest, Nov. 10.
[Restored to Turkey at the peace of Sistowa.]
1790 Alliance with Prussia.
Ismail stormed by the Russians under Suwarrow; great slaughter of the garrison, &c.; 45,000 in all put to death.
1790 Peace of Reichenbach; Belgrade, &c. ceded to Turkey.
1791 Treaty of Galatz by which great concessions are made to Russia.
1792 Ali Pacha rules in Thessaly.
Revolt of the pasha of Widdin, Osman-Paswan-Ogli; he overruns a large territory and declares himself independent.
Ali Pacha reduces the turbulent Albanians of Janinna to obedience.
1793 European military discipline and tactics introduced into the Turkish army.
Ali Pacha commences the subjugation of the revolted Greek military (Armatoles); also the Suliotes, mountaineers near Janinna.
1795 French republic recognised by the Porte.
1798 War declared against France by Turkey.
The French, 40,000 men on board 400 transports, with 36 men-of-war, arrive off Malta, June 9.
Surrender of Malta by the grand master (Ferdinand Hompetsch) to Buonaparte, June 12.
Cairo taken by Napoleon, and the power of the Mamelukes nearly destryd. Jul. 23.
Battle of the Nile, Aug. 1; Nelson victorious; the command of the Mediterranean secured.
The oppression of the French causes the Maltese to revolt, Sep.
The English, Sicilians, and Portuguese, blockade the French in Malta; the natives besiege their oppressors in the forts.
Insurrection of Cairo, Oct. 26.
Alliance with Russia.
Syria invaded by the French, with the view of reaching Turkey.
1799 Alliance with England.
Jaffa (Joppa) taken by Napoleon, Feb.
The siege of Acre commenced, Mar. 18.
Napoleon raises the siege of Acre, May 20.
Turks defeated at Aboukir, July 25, 26.
Napoleon leaves Egypt for Europe, Aug. 24.
Malta surrendered to gen. Pigott, Sep. 5.
1800 Murder of Kleber, June 14.
The republic of the Ionian Islands formed under the protection of Turkey.
Revolt of the Servians.
1801 Landing of the British troops, under Sir Ralph Abercrombie, at Aboukir, Mar. 8.
Attack of the French upon Abercrombie's camp; they are repulsed, March 13.
Battle of Alexandria, March 21; defeat of the French; Sir Ralph Abercrombie mortally wounded.
At Cairo 6,000 French soldiers capitulate, June 27.
Egypt evacuated by the French.
Daring insurrection of the Wahhabees in Arabia; hence civil war.
1802 Peace with France. Malta restored to the knights of St. John; nevertheless England holds military possession of the island till 1814.
1803 Mecca captured by the Wahhabees.
Ali Pacha conquers the Suliotes; the remnant destroy themselves, December.
1804 The Wahhabees capture Medina.
Renewed revolt of Servia.
1805 The French regain their influence at Constantinople.

1806 Mohammed Ali, pasha of Egypt.
Moldavia and Wallachia invaded by the Russians; hence the sultan declares war.
Organization of regular troops.
1807 War declared against Russia for its occupation of Moldavia, Jan. 7.
The *passage* of the Dardanelles forced by Sir John Duckworth, Feb. 19; he is compelled to retreat, March 1.
The Janissaries are jealous of the new Turkish army; hence
Victory of the Servians over the Turks at Nyssa, April 2.
Revolt of the Janissaries; by whom
Selim is deposed and imprisoned.
Mustapha III. (son of Abd-al-Hamid) is raised to the throne, May 29.
Truce of Sloboja with Russians; the troops return with the view of restoring Selim.
Egypt evacuated by the English, Sep. 23.
The evacuation of the line of the Danube by the Russians is one of the stipulations of the treaty of Tilsit.
["Under various pretexts, however, the Russians evaded the fulfilment of this stipulation, and kept their army in the principalities, until they renewed the war in 1810."—*Sir De Lacy Evans.*]
1808 Murder of Selim by Mustapha's order, before the return of the army.
Mahmoud II. (brother of Mustapha) made sultan by the army.
Terrible slaughter in Constantinople for three days; the Janissaries revolt against the regular troops, whom they massacre.
Ali Pacha's dominions greatly extended by conquest—Western Greece, Epirus, and half of Albania.
1809 War renewed with Russia, April.
Peace of Turkey with England.
Republic of the Ionian Islands restored, Oct. 1.
1810 Reverses from the Russians; who take Giorgevo, Rudshuk, and Silistria.
1811 Mohammed Ali destroys the last of the mamelukes in the citadel of Cairo, having had them decoyed into his power.
The Russians driven across the Danube.
Defeat of Rudshuk.
Congress of Bucharest for peace between Russia and the Ottoman Porte, Dec.
1812 The integrity of the Porte is guaranteed by France and Austria, March 14.
Treaty of Bucharest; the Pruth acknowledges the boundary between Russia and Turkey. Peace with Russia, May 28.
["It was Napoleon who saved the crescent by advancing upon Moscow. Pressed by the 'grand army' the czar was compelled to relinquish the advanced positions in Turkey which he had so long striven, both by negotiation and war, to maintain,—but not without some equivalent, viz., the mouths of the Danube, (including the fortresses of Ismail, Kilia, Khotin, and Bender), Bessarabia, and part of Moldavia."—*Designs of Russia.*]
[Napoleon did all he could to induce the Porte to continue the war with Russia; but unsuccessfully.]
1813 Servia overrun by a Turkish army of 100,000 men, under Chourshid Pasha.
1813 Two thousand soldiers, on an island near Widdin, drowned by a rise of the Danube, Sep. 14.
The plague rages in Malta.
Caravan from Mecca to Aleppo, numbering 2,000 souls, overwhelmed in the Arabian desert, Aug. 23; 20 persons escape.
1814 Malta falls to England.
Renewed efforts to organize a regular army in Turkey.
The army in Egypt remodelled.
1815 The Servians again in revolt; hence
Treaty with the Servians, conceding to them civil and religious privileges.
Belzoni comes to Egypt: he submits the plan of an irrigating machine to Mohammed Ali.
1816 Belzoni at Thebes; he removes the "Young Memnon," and ships it for England.
Bombardment of Algiers by the English, under Lord Exmouth, August 27.
1817 Belzoni succeeds in finding the entrance to the rock-cut temple of Abousambul in Egypt.
Capture of the chief of the Wahhabites; he is tortured and put to death before the eyes of the sultan at Constantinople.
Plague in Constantinople, &c. Aug.
1818 The fanatic Wahhabees finally subdued.
1819 The Mahmoud canal, connecting Alexandria with the Nile, constructed.
1820 Excommunication of Ali Pacha.
1821 Revolt of Moldavia and Wallachia.
Commencement of the Greek insurrection; revolt of the Morea.
The Greek patriarch, at Constantinople, put to death; 10,000 Christians slaughtered at Cyprus; massacre of Christians at Constantinople, Bucharest, &c.
Battle of Dragatschan; Moldavians routed.
Ypsilanti, the leader of the Moldavian revolt, subdued, and the revolt quelled.
Ali Pacha driven from Janniua.
Battle of Ampli, and defeat.
Odysseus, the head of the insurgent Greeks, obtains many advantages over Omer Vrione Pacha. Foreigners flock to the aid of the Greeks.—*Philhellenes.*
Guerilla Greek warfare successful.
Baron Strogonoff's remonstrances against the arbitrary imprisonment of the banker Danesi are treated with contempt; the baron quits Constantinople; soon after
The Russian armies advance to the frontrs.
["Whether Russia has conducted herself without interested views in her conduct towards the Ottoman Porte is doubtful. Constantinople has long been an object of her ambition. The cause of humanity will have reason to triumph, should the Greeks become free, or only exchange the government of Turkey for that of Russia."—*New Monthly Magazine,* Aug.]
"The Ottoman Porte receives from all the great powers of Europe most energetic remonstrances on its cruel conduct towards the Greeks, and on the attitude which it seems disposed to assume with regard to Russia, now in strict alliance with Austria, Prussia, England, and France. The Porte denies that the punishment of several Greek ecclesiastics

proceeded from a system of persecution against the Christian religion and the Greek nation."

["The first year of the war, though marked by atrocities on both sides, was eminently successful on the part of the Greeks."]

1822 Indepndnc. of Greece proclaimed, Jan. 27.
The Greeks capture Napoli, and expel the Turks from the Morea.
Corinth besieged, Feb.
Janina possessed by the Turks.
Ali Pacha murdered; his head is sent to Constantinople, Feb.
[Notwithstanding his usurpation and tyranny he protected the Christians from Turkish persecution.]
Victory over the Greeks in gulf of Patras, March 3.
Assassination of Christians at Constantinople, March 25; at Scio (15,000) Ap. 12.
The Greeks take Trikali by storm; they murder both Turks and Jews, March 27.
Bombardment, capture, and most horrible massacre of Scio, April 23; 40,000 Greeks slaughtered and 30,000 made captives.
Athens capitulates to the Greeks, June 22.
Several Greeks under British protection put to death at Constantinople.
Loss of the fleet, admiral, &c. off Scio; the Greeks having fired the fleet, July 1.
The Greeks defeat the Turks at Larissa; Thermopylæ, and Salonica, July 8.
Exposure of 800 Greek virgins in the Asiatic slave markets by the Turks; and murder of 20,000 Christians—slaughtered in the towns and villages, July.
Victory of Greeks at Thermopylæ, Aug. 10.
Chourschid Pacha again defeated, Sep. 18.
Edict of the sultan for the immediate execution of all Christian prisoners.
Victory attends the Greek arms.
Fortress of Corinth taken by Colocotroni, Oct. 2.
Arta surrenders to the Greeks.
They also take Tripolizza, and put the Mohammedans to the sword.
[The second campaign of the Greeks scarcely yielded to the first. Against the successes of the patriots the Turks could place no countervailing advantage but the horrible massacre of Scio.]
Conquest of Nubia by the Turks.
The Greek insurrection pronounced a rebellion by the congress of sovereigns at Verona, Dec. 14.

1823 The Greeks rise superior to the Turks in naval warfare.
Greek national congress at Argos, Ap. 10.
"Philhellenes"—foreign Greek sympathizers, arrive in large numbers.
Marco Botzaris victorious, June.
Arrival of Lord Byron in Greece, August.
The cholera rages in Syria and all along the borders of the Mediterranean.
Alliance offensive and defensive concluded between the revolted Greeks and the "sovereign order of St. John of Jerusalem," July 23.
["Without a fortress, or a field, or a foot of ground, or a gun, or a sailor, or a soldier, or a shilling, this once illustrious corporation—which was supposed to be as extinct as the Saxon heptarchy—offered their alliance to the struggling commonwealth of Greece!"]

1823 [In the third campaign the Greeks gained no remarkable successes, though no ground was lost. "But for the internal divisions of the chiefs, the independence of Greece might have been placed beyond the reach of danger" this year.]

1824 Lord Byron comes to Missolonghi, Jan. 10.
He is appointed to the command of an expedition against Lepanto.
Mehemet Ali revolts, March 2.
Those Greeks who escaped the massacres at Scio, Psara, &c. take refuge in Syria.
Death of Lord Byron at Missolonghi, Ap. 19; being only 36 years and 3 months old.
Turkish fleet sails, April 23; appears before Ipsara, July 2; victory at Ipsara.
Ipsara taken and destroyed by the Capitan Pacha, July 3.
Defeat of the Capitan Pacha, with the loss of three ships, August 6.
Defeat of Capitan Pacha at Samos, Aug. 16.
Miaulis obtains many naval victories.
Naval defeat near Mitylene and Scio by the Greeks; 2 ships burnt, Oct. 6.
Provisional government established in Greece; presidents, Panuzzo and Conduriotti, Oct. 12.
Moldavia totally evacuated by the Turks, Nov. 23.
The Divan insists upon the evacuation of the principalities (so long evaded) by the Russians; they retire, Dec.
Internal dissensions in Greece; revolt of Colocotroni against the provisional govt.
The cholera in Judea, Palestine.
Colonel Stanhope recommends to his quaker friends in England the importance of sending out schoolmasters to spread the Lancasterian school system wherever the Greek conquests extended. He adds, "with the *press* and the *Bible* the whole mind of Greece might be put in labour."
[This year the cause of the Greeks attracted sympathy and confidence from all quarters. "The new enemy who now appeared in the field was more terrible than any former assailant whom the Greeks had encountered."]

1825 Arrival of Ibrahim Pacha's fleet at Rhodes, Jan. 1.
Santa Maura (Ionian islands) destroyed by an earthquake, Jan. 19.
Uncertain and critical relations between Russia and Turkey.
Insult to the Russian flag at Constantinople; M. Minziacky demands and obtains satisfaction.
Insubordination of the Janissaries, Feb.
Death of Abd-ul-Hamid, heir-apparent, aged 14 years, April.
Ibrahim Pacha, son of the Pacha of Egypt, arrives with a large force (Egyptians), who are disembarked at Modon and Coron.
20,000 Turks, from Anatoli, under Veli Pacha besiege Missolonghi.
[An unequal contest.]
Naval defeat of Capitan Pacha, June 2.

1825 Navarino and Tripolizza re-captured by the Turks.
The protection of England solicited by the provisional government of Greece.
Attack of the Turks upon Missolonghi repulsed with great loss to the assailants, August 1.
1826 Naval victory of the Greeks over the Turks, Jan. 28.
The English admiral, Sir Harry Neale, warns Ibrahim Pacha that to attempt the extermination of the inhabitants of the Morea (as had been determined on), or to carry them off as slaves to Egypt, would involve himself in war with the English fleet, Feb.
Missolonghi taken by assault of Ibrahim Pacha, April 23.
The Turkish troops evacuate Moldavia and Wallachia, May 19.
The sultan announces his resolution to form a "new victorious army"—(assakari dschedidei-mansuroje), May 29.
Battle near Salonica, June 1.
Insurrection of the Janissaries at Constantinople, June 14, 15, because of the Nizam Djedid, or new system of military discipline (European) introduced by orders of the sultan.
The new troops organized, and the Janissaries slaughtered, June 15.
[The numbers killed on the 15th, and those executed afterwards, have been variously estimated: some placing the number as high as 25,000, others at 15,000; some at 10,000, and some so low as 3,000.]
Firman abolishing the Janissaries, Ju. 16.
Victory of the Mainotes over Ibrahim Pacha, August 8, 9.
Fall of Athens before Redschid Pacha, August 15.
Fire in Constantinople; 6,000 houses burnt, August 30.
1827 Negotiations opened in London for the settlement of the Greek question—by the courts of England, Russia, and France, April.
Treaty of England, France, and Russia, on behalf of Greece, July 6.
Lord Cochrane arrives in Greece.
Admiral Rigny arrives off the port of Navarino, Sep. 29.
The English and French admirals inform the Ottoman admiral in Navarino that they have been ordered to prevent any hostile movement by sea against Greece, and they, therefore, besought him not to attempt any, Sep.
Armistice between the allied fleets and those of the Turks and Egyptians.
Ibrahim Pacha violates the armistice.
The allied squadrons enter the bay of Navarino, Oct. 20.
Horrid butcheries of Ibrahim on land.
The allied admirals demand his unmolested return to his own country; Ibrahim refuses; hence
Battle of Navarino; the Turkish fleet of 30 ships destroyed by the combined fleets, Oct. 20.
1828 Expulsion from Turkey of 132 French, 120 Eng., and 85 Russian residents, Jan. 5.
1828 Count Capo d'Istria, president of Greece, Jan. 18.
The Greek grand council of state (the Panhelion) established, Feb. 2.
Victory over the Russians at Shumla.
Greece and the adjacent islands divided into departments, April 26.
War with Russia, April 26.
Varna taken by the Russians, with a loss of 21,000 men.
Emperor of Russia heads his army, May 20.
Brehilow capitulates to the Russns., Ju. 19.
Anappa surrendered, June 23.
The heights of Shumla taken by the Russians, July 20.
Nicholas appears before Varna, Aug. 5.
The Bosphorus closed by the Turks, Sep. 8.
Surrender of Varna, Oct. 1.
The Morea evacuated by the Turks, Oct. 30.
A French army of 15,000 men replaces them—provisionally.
A Russian squadron under Gleig blockades the Bosphorus, Dec. 31.
The Porte declares its intention to resist to the utmost the pretensions of Russia, and to break the treaty of Akerman.
1829 Surrender of Missolonghi by the Turks, May 17.
Fall of Erzeroum; the Russians under Paskovitch capture it.
Sittings of the Greek National Assembly at Argos commenced, July 23.
Defeat by the Russians at Kirk-klesseh.
Fall of Adrianople to the Russians, who march towards Constantinople.
Peace between Turkey and Russia, Sep. 14: Moldavia and Wallachia placed under the protection of Russia, and 7,000 ducats paid by the Porte.
A newspaper (the first) printed in Egypt.
1830 The independence of Greece acknowledged by Turkey, April 25.
Adrianople restored by Russia.
Attack on Algiers by the French, July 4; they capture and occupy it.
Insurrection in Albania.
1831 Revolt of Mohammed Ali, pasha of Egypt; he invades Syria.
First newspaper in Turkey this year.
Insurrection in Albania suppressed.
The cholera in Turkey.
Those Christians who had been made slaves in consequence of the Greek revolution are liberated by the sultan.
1832 Acre taken by Ibrahim Pacha, son of Mohammed Pacha, May 27.
Turks defeated at Homs; followed by the
Loss of Aleppo, Damascus, and Beyrout.
Ibrahim Pacha victorious at Konieh, Dec. 21; the Turks lose 30,000 men.
Antioch taken by Ibrahim Pacha.
1833 The Russians aid the Turks; but at length the Porte is compelled to make
Peace with Mohamed Ali; acknowledging his independence and ceding Adama and Syria.
Treaty with Russia offensive and defensive; the Porte engages to close the Dardanelles against foreign vessels when required.
1834 Regular posts first in Turkey.
1835 Revolts in Syria against the oppressive government of Ibrahim Pacha.

1835 Terrible defeat at Babylon; 60,000 perish, May 29.
1838 The office of grand vizier abolished.
1839 Revolt of Mehemet Ali.
He refuses openly to pay tribute, and claims hereditary possession of Egypt and Syria.
A fleet and army equipped to suppress the revolt.
The army deftd. by Ibrahim Pasha, Ju. 24.
Achmet, Capitan Pasha, traitorously delivers up the fleet to the Pasha of Egypt, July.
Death of Mahmoud; his son,
Abd-ul-Medjid, sultan of Turkey.
Improvements—social and military.
Complications of the Egyptian dispute.
1840 Jews tortured at Damascus, Feb. 1.
By a treaty concluded at London, July 15, England, Austria, Prussia, and Russia, undertake the expulsion of Ibrahim Pasha's army from Syria.
The Egyptians evacuate Beyrout, being defeated by the allied army (British, Turkish, and Austrian), with a loss of 7,000 men killed and wounded, and 20 cannon.
Arrival of the English fleet, Nov. 2.
Acre taken by the united fleet of England and Austria under Sir R. Stopford, Nov. 3.
[The evacuation of the city by the Egyptian army was accelerated by the explosion of a magazine, which destroyed two infantry regiments and hundreds of the citizens.]
The Egyptian army quits Syria.
1841 The Egyptian quarrel finally settled, Ju. 11.
The Turkish fleet restored.
Civil war betw. the Druses and Marionites.
1842 War with Persia.
1843 Armed resistance to the *Tanzimut* in Albania.
Gross outrages on the Christians by the rebels.
The insurrectn. supprssd. by Omer Pasha.
1846 Quarrel betw. king Otho and the Turkish ambassador at Athens; diplomatic relations suspended.
1847 20,000 perish of cholera out of 60,000 pilgrims to Mecca.
Religious toleration progresses in Turkey.
Insurrection in Sicily; concessions, grudgingly yielded, are not sufficient to allay the storm.
Differences between Turkey and Greece adjusted.
1848 Levy of 60,000 to act against the Montenegrins, July.
Servian rebellion; ferocious slaughter, July.
Insurrection in Moldavia; a provisional government appointed, July; suppressed by Russian and Turkish troops, August.
Imbecility of Mehemet Ali; Ibrahim Pasha appointed viceroy of Egypt.
Death of Ibrahim Pasha, Nov.
Abbas Pasha succeeds.
1849 Treaty of Balta Liman.
Kossuth and other leading Hungarian revolutionists in Turkey.
Their expulsion demanded by Austria and Russia; refused.
Death of Mehemet Ali, Aug.
1850 Insurrection in Bulgaria.
1851 There are at this time in Constantinople—9 American protestant missionaries; 4 of the Free church of Scotland; 1 of the Waldensian church; 2 from the London Jews' Society; besides 2 native protestant pastors, all engaged in diffusing protestantism among the different sects of nominal Christians in that city and neighbourhood. There are also 3 printing-presses under the direction of the American missionaries, from which issued this year 47,500 Scriptures and tracts. The Prussian and English embassies have each a chaplain, but these are of no account as missionaries.
1853 *Russian interference in the internal affairs of Turkey:* prince Menschikoff demands, on behalf of the czar, the repeal of recent concessions made by the Porte to Roman Catholic Christians visiting the holy places of Palestine; permission to the Russian fleet to pass the Dardanelles; the evacuation of certain portions of Georgia; the surrender of the sovereignty of Montenegro; the independence of the members of the Greek church throughout the Turkish empire in all matters relating to their creed; and the eventual military occupation of the Danubian provinces for the purpose of repressing the revolutionary spirit, Ap. 2.
An ultimatissimum presented to the sultan of Turkey by prince Menschikoff, demanding the protectorate of the Greek Christians in Turkey on behalf of the czar, May 5.
The Russian ambassador leaves Constantinople, May 18.
The British fleet off Malta sail for Constantinople, June 7.
Redschid Pasha, Turkish minister for foreign affairs, receives a letter from count Nesselrode, the Russian premier, in which the sultan is informed that if the ultimatum of prince Menschikoff is not accepted, the Russian army shall cross the frontiers in a few days, June 10.
[The sultan rejected the ultimatum on the 16th.]
Russian aggression: the troops of the czar enter the Danubian principalities, July 3.
Protest of the sultan against the occupation of the Danubian provinces by the Russians, July 14.
War declared against Russia, Oct. 1.
Victory over the Russians; Selim Pasha defeats a Russian army on the frontiers of Georgia, October 20.
A portion of the Turkish troops cross the Danube, Oct. 28.
[Four armies crossed in different parts between this date and Nov. 4.]
Battle of Oltenitza; Turks victorious—Russians losing, it is said, 12,000 men, Nov. 4.
Defeat at Akhalzik, Nov. 10 (Russia.)
Attack on Sinope, Nov. 27.
[Of seven frigates, three corvettes, and two steam-vessels, only one steamer escaped. Estimated loss in men between 4,000 and 5,000.]

1853 Treacherous attack on a Turkish flotilla (during a suspension of hostilities) by a Russian squadron; the flotilla, after a noble resistance, is destroyed, and about 2,500 Turks perish, Nov. 30.
The Divan accepts the proposition of the four powers.
[The combined fleets enter the Black Sea on the 3d January, 1854.]
1854 Schamyl obtains arms and ammunition, sent from Constantinople.
Fire at Constantinople; 400 houses destroyed, Jan. 1.
Successes of the Turks at Kalafat and on the line of the Danube, on the 6th, 7th, and 8th Jan.
The Turks driven back upon Kars, owing to the incompetence of Abdi Pacha.
The freight of wheat at Odessa has fallen from 25s. to 12s. 6d. a-quarter.
So great is the demand for labour at Odessa, to load the numerous ships eager to get cargoes and be off, that as much as 16s. 3d. a-day is paid to the porters.
Russian force in the Black Sea:—Four three-deckers of 120 guns, one of which is old and not sea-worthy; eleven liners, from 80 to 84 guns; five frigates of 54, and two of 48 guns; three sloops of 36, and four of 24 guns; ten brigs of 18, eight of 14, five of 12, and five of 10 guns; three schooners of 12, and five of 10 guns, with a few steamers.
The Siraskier dismissed; Riza Pacha succeeds; Achmet Pasha succeeds Riza as minister of marine, Feb.
Conspiracy at Constantinople, involving more than one notoriously Russian agent; baron Oelsner and about forty persons arrested.
The combined fleets return to the Bosphorus on 23d Jan.; the ambassadors protest against their return to Beicos Bay.
A division of the fleet departs on the 25th for Varna, with a convoy; and the remaining ships, with Turkish transports, to Batoum, on the 28th.
The tripartite treaty or convention between France, England, and Turkey, signed at Constantinople, March 12.
Exportation of corn fr. Odessa prohibited.
The allied fleets at Beicos.
The Russians cross the Danube on the 23d March and subsequent days, and establish themselves on the right bank.
General Canrobert and upwards of 1,000 French troops land at Gallipoli, Mar. 31.
The combined fleets at Kavarna.
Admiral Dundas signals the fleet "to take, burn, and destroy everything Russian."
The Furious, war steamer, ordered to Odessa with a flag of truce to bring away the British consul; sends a boat on shore, which is not permitted to land. On returning to the ship the Russian batteries fire shot and shell into her, although her white flag is flying; she reaches the ship in safety.
1854 20,000 French and 8,000 English troops at Gallipoli.
Several British and Highland regiments at Scutari.
Odessa bombarded; the Russian Tongue battery explodes, the barracks and stores completely destroyed, and the shipping moored in the harbour burnt.
Silistria bombarded by Russians, Apr. 14.
Engagement before Kalafat between Russians and Turks; loss of the former 500, of the latter 14, April 16.
The French and British military commanders arrive at Constantinople, May.
Letters of welcome from the sultan to the duke of Cambridge, Prince Napoleon, Lord Raglan, and marshal St. Arnaud.
The sultan gives a grand banquet in honour of Prince Napoleon, May 8.
Silistria in a state of siege, May; it is held by 18,000 troops.
The Turks make a sortie, killing 3,000 Russians in the trenches, and spiking some guns.
The Russians retire from Lesser Wallachia after some fighting.
The combined fleets anchor in the Black Sea, May 20.
During a twenty days' cruise off Sebastopol, not one of the enemy's ships—"not even a scout"—come forth; while the cruisers of the allies bring in prizes from all parts.
The Russian forts on the Circassian coasts abandoned.
Mehemet Pasha, minister of marine, appointed grand vizier; Halil Pasha, minister of marine.
Assault upon two of the redoubts of the fortress of Silistria by the Russians, repulsed after three hours' hard fighting; loss of the Turks, 100 killed and wounded; Russians 1,500 killed, and triple that number wounded, May 28.
A truce agreed on to bury the dead.
The assault again renewed on the 2d, 5th, and 9th June, with like results.
The Russians spring three abortive mines; the Turks make a sortie in force, and inflict a signal defeat, June 13.
The Russians totally routed, and the siege of Silistria raised, June 15.
The Russians recross the Danube, destroying their bridges as they retreat

INDEX.

Abbassidan khalifate, extinction of, 271.
Abbassides, rise of, 79.
Abdul Medjid, 434.
Abial-Hamid, 396.
Abu-Beker, 30.
—— joins Mohammed in his flight, 37.
—— appointed khalif, 54.
—— invades Syria, 55.
—— death of, 58.
Abu Sofiân, 42.
Acre, siege of, by the crusaders, 206.
——, surrender of, 212.
—— reconquered by the Moslems, 291.
Ahmed governor of Egypt, 93.
Ahmed I., 363.
—— death of, 364.
Ahmed II., 376.
Ahmed III., 381.
—— successes of, 386.
—— abdication of, 387.
Aiznadin, battle of, 57.
Akerman, convention of, 423.
—— unpopular, 428.
Aladdin, vizir of Othman, 306.
Albanian insurrection, 436.
Alexandria, siege of, by the Saracens, 63.
——, capture of, by the French, 402.
——, battle of, 405.
Alexius, tortuous policy of, 135.
Alexius II., 228.
Alexius Angelus, 244.
Ali, 30.
—— elected khalif, 68.
—— murdered, 71.
Almeric defeated by Noureddin, 196.
Alu-Taleb, uncle of Mohammed, 29.
—— death of, 36.
Amin, khalif, 89.
Amurath I., 310.
—— death of, 312.
Amurath II., 321.
—— abdication of, 323.
Anastasius II., 21.
Andronicus the elder, 254.
Andronicus the younger, 307.
Angora, battle of, 319.
Antioch, siege of, 150.
——, capture of, 155.
——, battle of, 161.
—— reconquered by the Saracens, 283.
Arabia, condition of, 25.
——, conquest of, by Suleiman, 352.
Arabs, ancient, religion of, 27.
Ascalon, battle of, 177.
Austria and Russia, alliance of, against Turkey, 389.
Ayesha, wife of Mohammed, 53.
Azov, capture of, by Peter the Great, 377.
Bagdad, foundation of, 83.
——, capture of, by the Moguls, 271.
——, capture of, by Timour, 317.
Bajazet I., 313.
—— captivity of, 318.
—— death of, 319.
Baldwin, king of Jerusalem, 179.
—— II., 183.
—— III., 189.
—— IV., 200.
Baldwin I., Latin emperor, 243.
——, II., 253.
Balta Liman, treaty of, 439.
Barbarossa, Frederic, 207.
Barmecides, the, 86.
Basil, death of, 101.
Bassora, battle of, 70.
Bayezid II., 338.
—— dethronement and death of, 340.
Beder, battle of, 40.
Bedoween Arab described, 25.
Belgrade, peace of, 389.

Belisarius, birth of, 10.
—— defeats the Vandals, 12.
—— defeats Chosroes, 13.
—— death of, 15.
Bethlem Gabor, 366.
Bibars, 283.
Boemond, character of, 130.
—— death of, 182.
Bosra captured by the Saracens, 57.
Bucharest, treaty of, 413.
Bulgarian war, 247.
Buonaparte's views on Egypt, 402.
Caaba, the, 26.
Cadesia, battle of, 61.
Cainarjè, treaty of, 397.
Cairo, foundation of, 102.
Candia, conquest of, by the Turks, 374.
Capo d'Istria, 415.
Carlowitz, peace of, 377.
Carmathians, the schism of, 94.
Catherine's (empress) war with Turkey, 388.
Charles XII., escape of, into Turkey, 382.
China conquered by the Moguls, 269.
Chivalry, institution of, 108.
Chosroes, shah of Persia, 13.
Circus, factions of the, 5.
Clermont, council of, 117.
Codrington, admiral, 419.
Conrad of Montferrat, 219.
Constans II., 20.
Constantine III., 20.
—— IV., 20.
—— V., 21.
—— VI., 22.
Constantine Palæologus, 325.
—— death of, 328.
Constantinople, first siege of, by the Saracens, 75.
——, second ditto by ditto, 77.
——, siege of, by the crusaders, 233.
——, capture of, 241.
——, pillage of, 241.
——, siege of, by Amurath, 322.
——, siege of, by Mohammed II., 327.
——, capture of, 328.
Contests between the Latins and Greeks, 441.
Corfu, invasion of, by Suleiman, 351.
Cossovo, battle of, 324.
Crimea, conquest of, by the Turks, 335.
——, conquest of, by Russia, 395.
——, cession of, to Russia, 399.
Crusade, first, 105.
——, second, 190.
——, third, 196.
——, fourth, 255.
Crusade, fifth, 257.
——, sixth, 263.
——, seventh, 273.
——, eighth, 284.
Crusades against heretics, 294.
Crusades, consequences of, 297.
——, on religion, 297.
——, on international power, 297.
——, on European states, 298.
——, on commerce, 300.
——, on learning, 300.
——, on the state of society, 302.
Crusading spirit, extinction of, 292.
Cyprus, conquest of, by Richard, 211.
——, by Selim II., 356.
Damascus, siege of, by the Saracens, 57.
——, capture of, by ditto, 58.
Damietta, siege of, by the crusaders, 257.
——, capture of, 258.
——, captured by the French, 275.
Dandolo, Enrico, 224.
Day of the Camel, 70.
Disputes about the Holy Places, 439.
Dorylæum, battle of, 144.
Druses described, 436.
Ducas Mourzoufle, 244.
Duckworth's expedition to the Dardanelles, 408.
Eastern empire at the close of the eighth century, 23.
Edessa taken by Baldwin, 149.
—— captured by the Turks, 189.
Edward, prince of England, 286.
Egypt conquered by the Saracens, 63.
—— subdued by Turkey, 346.
——, invasion of, by the French, 407.
——, British expedition to, 407.
Eugene, Prince, defeats the Turks, 377—385.
Fatima, daughter of Mohammed, 53.
Fatimite khalifs of Egypt, 102.
Feizullah, execution of, 381.
Foulques preaches the fourth crusade, 223.
Frederick II., king of Jerusalem, 261.
Gallipoli, capture of, 309.
Geoffrey de Villehardouin, 224.
Giafar beheaded, 87.
Godeschal preaches the crusade, 124.
Godfrey of Bouillon, character of, 128.
—— elected king of Jerusalem, 175.
—— death of, 179.
Gothic war, 13.
Greece, reduction of, by Bajazet, 315.
——, commotions in, 415.
——, secret societies in, 415.

Greek or Lower Empire, 1.
Greek war of independence, 416.
Guy de Lusignan, 200.
Hakem the Impostor, 84.
Hamadan, battle of, 387.
Haroun al Raschid, 85.
—— death of, 88.
Hegira, epoch of, 38.
Henry of Champagne, 219
Henry, emperor of the East, 249.
Heraclius, accession of, 17.
—— defeats the Persians, 18.
—— is defeated by the Saracens, 20.
Hetairia, the, 415.
Holy lance, legend of the, 159.
Hungary, seven years' war in, 352.
—— invaded by Sinan Pacha, 359.
Ibrahim I., 369.
Ibrahim Pasha invades Syria, 431.
——, death of, 438.
India, invasion of, by Suleiman, 352.
Irene, Greek empress, 22.
Ismaël, shah of Persia, 343.
Janissaries, institution of, 310.
——, insurrections of, 359, 366, 368, 380, 410.
——, destruction of, 423.
Jerusalem, siege of, by the Saracens, 59.
——, fall of, 60.
——, siege of, by the crusaders, 167.
——, capture of, 174.
—— surrenders to Saladin, 205.
—— captured by the Kharizmians, 272.
John Ducas Vataces, 250.
John de Brienne, 252.
John Hunniades, 323.
Justin, Greek emperor, 3.
—— II., Greek emperor, 16.
Justinian, Greek emperor, 3.
—— reforms the law, 7.
—— II., 20.
Justinian code, 7.
Kadijah, wife of Mohammed, 29.
—— death of, 36.
Kaled embraces Islamism, 42.
—— commands the Syrian army, 55.
—— deprived of the command, 58.
—— death of, 64.
Karayasiji, revolt of, 361.
Kara Mustapha, vizier, 374.
Kerboga, prince of Mosul, 156.
Keresztes, battle of, 361.
Khanêm, Sultana, or Roxolana, 354.
Kharizmians, the, 267.
Khosrew Pacha, 366.
Koeprilii, wise reforms of, 379.
Konieh, battle of, 432.
Koran, the, 31.
—— its sources, 32.
—— literary character of, 33.
—— moral and juridical system of, 34.
Koreish, the, 28.
—— defeated by Mohammed, 43.
Kurdistan, conquest of, by the Turks, 345.
Latin kingdom of the East, extent of, 183.
—— extinction of, 254.
Leo III., the Isaurian, 21.
Leo IV., pope, 21.
Lepanto, battle of, 358.
Litvatorok, treaty of, 363.
London, treaty of, 1827, 418.
——, treaty of, 1840, 435.
Longsword, William, 273.
Louis IX., of France, 274.
—— capture of, 278.
—— death of, 285.
Mahadi, khalif, 83.
Mahmûd, sultan, 387.
Mahmoud II., 412.
——, death of, 433.
——, character of, 433.
——, reforms of, 434.
Mamelukes, rise of, 279.
Mamoun, khalif, 89.
Mansor, khalif, 83.
Manuel, Greek emperor, 227.
Marionites described, 436.
Maurice, Greek emperor, 16.
Mehemet Ali revolts, 431.
—— revolts a second time, 433.
——, sickness and resignation of, 438.
Menschikoff's embassy to the Porte, 443.
Michael Palæologus, 253.
Military engines of the middle ages, 142.
Moawiyah elected khalif, 71.
—— besieges Constantinople, 78.
Moguls, the, 267.
Mohacz, campaign of, 349.
Mohammed, birth of, 28.
—— educated by Abu-Taleb, 29.
—— marries Kadijah, 29.
—— assumes the title of a prophet, 29.
—— preaches at Mecca, 30.
—— plot to assassinate, 37.
—— flies to Medina, 37.
—— triumphantly received there, 39.
—— progressive fortunes of, 41.
—— expedition to Mecca, 42.
—— second expedition to Mecca, 43.
—— defeats the Koreish, 43.

Mohammed, subdues Arabia, 43.
—— persecutes the Jews, 44.
—— invades the Eastern empire, 44.
—— first invasion of Syria, 44.
—— second invasion of Syria, 46.
—— death, 47.
—— estimate of his character, 49.
—— guilt of his imposture, 50.
—— personal endowments, 51.
Mohammed I., 319.
—— II., 325.
—— conquests of, 332.
—— death of, 337.
—— III., 360.
—— death of, 362.
—— IV., 371.
Montasser, khalif, 92.
Moors, embassy from, to Bayezid II. 339.
Morad III., 358.
—— death of, 360.
—— IV., 365.
Morea, recovered by the Turks, 384.
—— revolt of, 395.
Moseilama, a false prophet, 47.
—— defeated by Kaled, 55.
Moslems, first civil war of, 69.
Motassem, khalif, 90.
Mustapha, Prince, execution of, 354.
—— II., 376.
—— III., 392.
Mutah, battle of, 45.
Nadir, shah of Persia, 387.
Navarino, battle of, 417.
Nazareth, reduction of, by the crusaders, 287.
Negropont, conquest of, by the Turks, 335.
Nevahend, battle of, 62.
Nice, siege of, by the crusaders, 144.
—— capture of, 146.
—— capture of, by the Turks, 307.
Nicephorus II., 97.
Nicopolis, battle of, 314.
Nile, battle of the, 403.
Ohud, battle of, 41.
Omar, elected khalif, 59.
—— goes to Jerusalem, 59.
—— completes the subjugation of Syria, 60.
—— conquers Persia, 61.
—— conquers Egypt, 63.
—— assassinated, 65.
Omar II. conquers Spain and Tartary, 78.
Ommiades, dynasty of, 72.
—— extermination of, 81.
Orchan, sultan, 306.
—— death of, 309.
Othman, elected khalif, 66.
—— conquests in Asia and Africa, 67.
—— murdered, 68.
Othman, sultan of the Turks, 304.
—— II., 364.
—— III., 391.
Palestine, invasion of, by the Mamelukes, 289.
Persia conquered by the Saracens, 62.
—— devastated by the Moguls, 268.
—— invaded by Selim I., 342.
—— invaded by Ibrahim, 350.
—— invaded by Osman Pacha, 359.
Peter the Hermit, 115.
—— preaches the crusade, 116.
—— leads the first crusade, 121.
Peter de Courtenay, 250.
Philippe-Auguste, king of France, 209.
Philippicus, Greek emperor, 21.
Phocas, Greek emperor, 16.
——, death of, 17.
Piacenza, council of, 117.
Pilgrimages, institution of, 106.
Pyramids, battle of the, 402.
Raymond, count of Toulouse, character of, 129.
Rhodes, siege of, by Mohammed II., 336.
——, capture of, by Suleiman, 349.
Richard Cœur de Lion, 209.
——, exploits of, 215.
Richard, earl of Cornwall, 264.
Robert de Courtenay, 251.
Russia conquered by the Moguls, 269.
—— wars of, with Turkey, 388, 393, 426.
Russian intrigues in Greece, 415.
Sabathai Levi, 373.
Saffah, first Abbassidan khalif, 82.
St. Bernard preaches the second crusade, 190.
St. John, institution of knights of, 185.
St. Petersburgh, protocol of, 418.
Saladin, rise of, 199.
—— magnanimity of, 204.
—— death of, 220.
Saracens, rise of the, 27.
Scanderberg, prince of Albania, 325.
—— heroism of, 332.
Sebastiani's mission to Constantinople, 408.
Selim I., 341.
—— death of, 347.
—— II., 355.
—— death of, 358.

Selim III., 401.
—— murder of, 411.
—— character of, 411.
Seljukian Turks, rise of, 101.
Shaldiran, battle of, 344.
Shiites, origin of the, 72.
Silkworm, introduction of the, 10.
Singular declaration of war, 342.
Sinope, massacre of, 445.
Sobieski relieves Vienna, 375.
Sokolli, vizier to Selim II., 358.
Sonnites, origin of the, 72.
Sources of Ottoman jurisprudence, 306.
Spahis, insurrection of, 362, 371.
Spain conquered by the Saracens, 78.
Spoleto, council of, 263.
Suleiman the Great, 348.
—— death of, 355.
Syria invaded by Mohammed, 44, 46.
—— invaded by Abu-Beker, 55.
—— subjugation completed, 60.
—— invaded by the French,
—— invaded by Mehemet Ali, 431.
Tamas Kouli Khan, 387.
Tamerlane, or Timour, 315.
Tancred, character of, 130.
—— death of, 182.
Tartars, irruptions of, 266.
Tartary conquered by the Saracens, 78.
Templars, institution of, 187.
Teutonic knights, institution of, 209.
Theodora, Greek empress, 3.
Theodore Lascaris, 250.
Theodore Lascaris II., 252.
Theodosius III., 21.
Tiberias, battle of, 202.
Tiberius II, Greek emperor, 16.
Timour, 315.
—— conquests of, 317.
—— death of, 319.
Toulunide dynasty of Egypt, 93.
Trebizond, overthrow of, by the Turks, 332.
Tribonian, a Greek lawyer, 7.
Tripoli, foundation of the country of, 181.
——, fall of, 289.
Unkiar Skelessee, treaty of, 432.
Urban II. promotes the crusades, 117.
Vandalic war, 11.
Varna, battle of, 324.
Venice, wars of, with Turkey, 334, 351.
Vienna, siege and deliverance of, 350.
—— relieved by Sobieski, 375.
Vienna note, 444.
Wahabees, rise of, 391.
Walter the Penniless, 122.
Wallachia, conquest of, by the Turks, 324.
War of the *Ditch* or *Nations*, 41.
Wlad, surnamed the Devil, 333.
Yassy, treaty of, 400.
Zab, battle of the, 82.
Zapolya, John, 350.
Zeuta, battle of, 377.
Zingis Khan, 268.
Zizim or Jem, rebellion of, 338.

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